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IN

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ERRATA IN VOL. XXI.

p. 157, line 26, *for* and "built, *read* and built.
" " 27, *for* there," *read* "there."

p. 347, lines 43 and 52, *for* "Horse and Bull Coins" *read* "Cock and Bull Coins."

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a
आ	ಆ	â
इ	ಇ	i
ई	ಈ	î
उ	ಉ	u
ऊ	ಊ	û
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî
ऌ	—	lṛi
—	ಎ	e
ए	ಏ	ê
ऐ	ಐ	ai
—	ಒ	o
ओ	ಓ	ô
औ	ಔ	au
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ḧ
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	h̤
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ
Anunâsikâ	—	m̐
क	ಕ	ka
ख	ಖ	kha
ग	ಗ	ga
घ	ಘ	gha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa
च	ಚ	cha
छ	ಛ	chha
ज	ಜ	ja
झ	ಝ	jha
ञ	ಞ	ña
ट	ಟ	ṭa
ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ड	ಡ	ḍa
ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ण	ಣ	ṇa
त	ತ	ta
थ	ಥ	tha
द	ದ	da
ध	ಧ	dha
न	ನ	na
प	ಪ	pa
फ	ಫ	pha
ब	ಬ	ba
भ	ಭ	bha
म	ಮ	ma
य	ಯ	ya
र	ರ	ra
—	ಱ	ṟa
ल	ಲ	la
ळ	ಳ	ḷa
—	ೞ	ḻa
व	ವ	va
श	ಶ	śa
ष	ಷ	sha
स	ಸ	sa
ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and square brackets, for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from Vol. XX. page* 266.)

CHAPTER IV. (continued).

THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

PART II. – THE LANGUAGE.

THE language of our inscriptions presents, especially as regards grammar, hardly any absolutely impenetrable obscurities. Much light is thrown upon it by a comparison with the analogous idioms with which literature has made us familiar. Nevertheless, the orthographical or dialectic peculiarities which distinguish the different versions, and the chronological position which our monuments occupy, lend to their study a philological importance, on which it is not necessary to insist.

I propose, in the first place, to sum up, in as condensed an inventory as possible, all the grammatical phenomena worthy of interest. In a second part I shall draw general conclusions from these phenomena. I shall endeavour to determine the true nature of the orthographical processes, to define the extent of the differences of dialect, and to group together those indications which are adapted to throw light on the state of linguistic development in the middle of the 3rd century B. C.

In spite of the continual progress with which attempts at their decipherment are rewarded, the condition of the monuments does not permit us to hope that the texts will ever be fixed with a rigorous certainty. Our facsimiles, moreover, are, at least for several versions, still regrettably insufficient.

It is, therefore, impossible to establish absolute accuracy in our statistics of the grammatical forms; and it must be understood that many of the facts which are about to be recorded, if they are rare and exceptional, are not free from doubt; but, fortunately, the characteristic phenomena reappear sufficiently often to entitle us to establish them on solid grounds, and what remains in doubt is in no way likely to compromise our general deductions.

I. — THE GRAMMAR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

A. — GIRNAR.

1. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

Changes of Quantity. — Except in certain special cases, I enter neither here nor elsewhere under this heading, words in which the lengthening or the shortening is the result of compensation, and can be explained either by the simplification or by the doubling of the consonant which follows. It is hardly necessary to add that, among the changes of quantity here noted a great many may be and can only be apparent, being referable either to mistakes of the engravers or to incorrect readings.

Vowels lengthened. — *Ânaṁtaraṁ*, VI, 8; *asaṁpratîpatî*, IV, 2; *âsu* (= *syuḥ*), XII, 7; *abhîramakâni*, VIII, 2; *chikîchhâ*, II, 5; *nâtîkâ*, V, 8; *vipûlê*, VII, 3; *vîjayamhi*, XIII, 10; *tâthâ*, XI, 4; *madhûritâya*, XIV, 4. At the end of words: *châ*, IV, 11; *êsâ* (nom. masc.), XIII, 4; *mitâsaṁstuta*, III, 4; *nâ*, I, 2; XIV, 2; *parâpâsaṁḍagarahâ*, XII, 13; *sarvatâ*, II, 6; *tatâ*, XII, 8; XIII, 4; *tatrâ*, XIII, 1; *êtamhî*, IX, 2; *paṁthêsû*, II, 8.

A long vowel regularly becomes short before anusvâra, or before a consonantal group, even when, as here, the latter is not represented in writing: but sometimes, instead of doubling the consonant, the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation: *dhâma*, V. 4; *vâsa*, V, 4 al. Sometimes the vowel remains long, even though nasalized: *anuvidhiyatâṁ*, X, 2; *atikâṁtaṁ*, VIII, 1; *susrusatâṁ*, X, 2; *vihârayâtâṁ*, VIII, I; *samachêrâṁ*, XIII, 7. We should, perhaps, add here several cases in which *â* represents a Sanskrit *aṁ* (see below *Nasalized vowels*). Sometimes, finally, a vowel remains long before a consonantal group: *bâmhaṇa*, IV, 2; VIII, 3; XI, 2; *nâst*, passim; *râsṭika*, V, 5; *tadâtpanê*, X, 1; *âtpa-*, passim; and before a mute followed by *r*: *bhrâtrâ*, IX, 6; *mâtraṁ*, XIII, 1; *parâkramâmi*, V, 11; *parâkramêna*, VI, 14.

Vowels shortened. — *Âradhi*, IX, 9; *âradhô*, XI, 4; *êtarisaṁ*, IX, 4; *danê*, IX, 7; *ôpayâ*, VIII, 5; *natikêna*, IX, 8; *susrusâ* (once *susûsâ*). At the end of words *mahaphalê*, IX, 4; *prâṇa*, I, 10; III, 4; *râja*, V, 1; *tada*, XIII, 5; *tatha*, XII, 6 (several times *tathâ*); *yatha*, III, 3 (several times *yathâ*); *va* (in the meaning of *vâ*), V, 8, 5; VI, 2, 3, 9, &c.

Changes of Quality. — *Piriṁda* or *pâriṁda* = *pul.nda* (?), XIII, 9. *Êta* (= *atra*) VIII, 1, 3; IX, 3. *Ê* is weakened to *i* in *ôvâditavya* (for °*dê*°) IX, 8; *likhâpayisaṁ*, XIV, 3 (for *lê*°). — The vowel *ṛi* is written *ra* in *vrachhâ*, II, 8; — *a* in *bhati*, XII, 6; *vaḍhi*, XII, 2, etc.; *bhataka*, IX, 4, &c.; *daḍha*, VII, 3; *kata*, passim; *kacha*, IX, 8; *maga*, I, 11, 12; *magavyâ*, VIII, 1; *suhadaya*, IX, 7; *usaṭa*, X, 4; *vistata*, XIV, 2; *vyâpata*, passim; — *i* in *târisa*, IV, 5; *êtârisa*, IX, 7, &c.; *yârisa*, XI, 1, &c.; — *u* in *paripuchhâ*, VIII, 4; *vuta*, X, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — Additions: *a* in *garahâ*, XII, 3; *garahati*, XII, 5; *i* in *ithî*, XII, 9; *u* in *prâpuṇôti*, XIII, 4.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim) for *api* which is preserved II, 2; *i* in *ti* (V, 8; XIII, 11) for *iti*, which is preserved five times; *ê* in *va* for *êva* (passim).

Contractions. — *ava* into *ô* in *ôrôdhana* (passim); *ôvâditavya*, IX, 8; *ahô*, IV, 3, if I am right in explaining it as equivalent to *athavâ*; — *a(l)u* into *ô* in *khô*; — *a(y)û* into *ô* in *môra*, I, 11; — *a(v)i* into *ai* in *thaira*, IV, 7; V, 7; VIII, 3; — *a(y)i* in *ê* in *vijêtavya*, XIII, 11, and several times in the formative affix of the causal, *hâpêsati*, &c. Cf. below; — *ayô* into *ai* in *traidasa*, V, 4; — *ya* into *i* in *parichijitpâ*, X, 4; — *iya* into *ê* in *êtaka*, XIV, 3; — if *pêtênika*, V, 5, really represents a corruption of *pratishṭhâna*, we should have in it the contraction of *a(t)i* into *ê*.

Nasalized Vowels. — The nasal, whether before a consonant, or at the end of words, is, except in two cases in which a final *m* is preserved by sandhi, invariably expressed by anusvâra. The anusvâra is omitted in a certain number of cases, such as *achâyika* for °*kaṁ*, VI, 7; *-pâsaṁda* for °*daṁ*, XII, 4; *avihisâ* for °*hiṁsâ*, IV, 6, &c. These omissions, several of which are, without doubt, only apparent, and due to the condition of the stone, are in every case accidental, and are to be referred to the

negligence of the engraver. I lay no stress upon them.

Certain cases seem to imply the equivalence of a long vowel to a vowel nasalized: *âparâtâ*, V, 5; *atikâtaṁ*, IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; *susuṁsâ*, XIII, 3; *niyâtu* (= *niryântu*), III, 3; *pâḍâ*, II, 2; *susrusâ* (accusative), X, 2; *nichâ* (= *nityaṁ*), VII, 3; *pûjâ* (acc.), XII, 2, 8; *vaṁ* (= *vâ*, *vai*), XII, 6; *sâmichaṁ* (nom. pl. masc. ?), II, 3. But in most of these examples the nasalized vowel is long by derivation, and it may as well be admitted that the sign for anusvâra has accidentally disappeared. It is also possible that the apparent confusion between *â* and *aṁ* may, in some cases, be due to an error in the reading. The second *u* of *susrusâ*, being here almost always written short, there are grounds for believing that the anusvâra of *susuṁsâ* is due to an inadvertence of the scribe; the reading *sâmîchaṁ* and its interpretation are not certain. There would, therefore, only remain *nichâ*, an unique example, and but a fragile basis for such a deduction. We might, perhaps, add *êtâ*, IX, 5, which would be equivalent to *êtaṁ* (nom. sing. neut.), unless, indeed it represents *êtâṁ*.

In one case also, *karu*, XI, 4 (cf. *karaṁ*, XII, 4), *aṁ* appears to be replaced by *u*; and sometimes by *ê*: in *athê*, VI, 4, 5; *yutê*, III, 6; *savê* (*sarvê*) *kâlê*, VI, 3, 8. But several of these facts admit, as we shall see, of a different explanation.

In *pravâsaṁmhi*, IX, 2, the nasal is written twice over, by an abuse which is too frequent in the manuscripts to cause us surprise.

(b). — Consonants.

Simple Consonants. — Changes. — *gh* into *h*, in *lahukâ*, XII, 3; — dentals into cerebrals, in *paṭi-* for *prati* (passim); perhaps *praṭi* in *hiraṁṇapraṭividhânô*, VIII, 4, but *pra* is doubtful; *usaṭa*, X, 4; *ôsaḍha*, III, 5; *vaḍhî*, XII, 2, 8, 9 (beside *vadhi*, IV, 11); *dasaṇâ*, IV, 3; *dasaṇê*, VIII, 3 (*darsanaṁ*, VIII, 4); *prâpuṇôti*, XIII, 4; *yôṇa*, V, 5;[1] — *th* into *h* in *ahô* (*athavâ*); — *d* into *r* in *târisa*, *êtârisa*, *yârisa*; — *bh* into *h* in the base *bhû*: *hôti*, *ahuṁsu*, &c.; — *l* into *r*, if *piriṁda* or *pâriṁda*, XIII, 9, is equivalent to *pulinda*. If *pêtênika*, V, 5, is really derived from *pratishṭhâna*, it would afford an example of the loss of the aspiration, *t* for *ṭh*.

Suppressions and Additions. — Suppression of an entire syllable in *athâ* (= *athâya*), XII, 9; *ilôkika*, XIII, 12; *ilôkacha*, XI, 4 (for *ihalô°*); loss of the initial *y* in *âva*(*yâvat*), V, 2, al.; of a medial consonant in *khô* (*khalu*), *môra* (*mayûra*). — Addition of a *v* in *vuta* (*ukta*), IX, 6, &c.

Compound Consonants.

kt becomes *t*: *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k*: *saka*, XIII, 6.

kr becomes *k*: *atikâṁtaṁ*, VIII, 1, &c.; *parâkâmatê*, X, 3, &c. It remains unchanged in *parâkramâmi*, VI, 11; *parâkramêna*, VI, 14.

ksh becomes *chh*: *achhâti*, XIII, 7; *chhaṇati*, XII, 5; *chhudaka*, XII, 4, &c.; *saṁchhâya*, XIV, 5; *vrachhâ*, II, 8; — *kh*, in *ithîjhakhamahâmâtâ*, XII, 9; *khamitavê*, XIII, 6; *saṁkhitêna*, XIV, 2.

gn becomes *g*: *agikhaṁdhâni*, IV, 4.

gr becomes *g*: *agêna*, X, 4, &c.

jñ becomes (*ṁ*)*ñ*: *kataṁñatâ*, VII, 3, &c.; *âñapayâmi*, VI, 6, al.

ḍy becomes *ḍ* in *pâḍâ* (*pâṇḍyâḥ*), II, 2.

ṇy becomes *ṁṇ*: *ânaṁṇa*, VI, 11; *hiraṁṇa*, VIII, 4.

tm becomes *tp* in *âtpa-*, XII, 3, 4, 5, 6.

tth becomes *sṭ* in *usṭâna*, VI, 9, 10.

ty becomes *ch*: *âchâyika*, VI, 7, &c.

tr becomes *t*, as in *bhâtâ*, XI, 3, &c. It is unchanged in *bhrâtrâ*, IX, 6; *mâtram*, XIII, 1; *mitrêna*, IX, 7; *paratrâ*, VI, 12; *prapôtrâ*, IV, 8; *pôtrâ*, IV, 8; *putrâ*, IV, 8, al.; *sarvatra*, VI, 8, al.; *savatra*, VI, 4; *tatrâ*, XIII, 1; *tatra*, XIV, 5; *yatra*, II, 7.

tv becomes *tp*: *alôchêtpâ*, XIV, 6; *ârabhitpâ*, I, 3; *chatpârô*, XIII, 8; *dasayitpâ*, XIV, 4; *hitatpâ*, VI, 11; *parichijitpâ*, XIV, 4; *taḍâtpanê*, X, 1. It becomes *t* in *satiyaputô*, II, 2, if the etymology proposed by Dr. Bühler is correct.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhâ*, II, 4, &c.; — and *s* in *usaṭêna*, X, 4.

ddh is preserved: *vadhi*, IV, 11, or more ordinarily changed into *ḍh* in *vaḍhi*, XII, 9, al.

[1] The cerebral *ṇ* is always preserved in the base; it never appears in terminations, even where it ought to exist according to the Sanskrit rule, as in *dêvânaṁpriyêna*, &c.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, IV, 5; — *y* in *uyâna*, VI, 4.

dr becomes *d* : *chhudaka*, &c.

dv is preserved : *dvê* I, 11, al.; *dvâdasa* IV, 12, al.

dhy becomes *jh* : *majhama*, XIV, 2, &c.

dhr becomes *dh* : *dhuva*, I, 12, &c.; it would appear to be preserved in (*a*)*ṁdhra*-, XIII, 9, according to the reading of Dr. Bühler.

ny becomes *ṁñ*, *ñ*; *aṁñê*, V, 5, &c.; *mañatê*, X, 1, &c. The spelling *ñayâsu*, for *niyyâsu*, VIII, 1, is connected, in a manner more or less arbitrary, with this transformation of *ny* into *ñ*.

pt becomes *t* : *asamâtaṁ*, XIV, 5, &c.

pr becomes *p* : *pakaraṇa*, XII, 3; *dêvânaṁpiya*, XIII, 9, &c.; — it is preserved in: *asaṁpratipati*, IV, 2; *dêvânaṁpriya*, I, 1, 5, 6, 8; II, 1, 4; IV, 2, 5, 8, 12; V, 1; VIII, 2; IX, 1; X, 3; XI, 1; XIV, 1; *prâchaṁtêsu*, II, 2; *prâdêsikê*, III, 2; *prâpuṇôti*, XIII, 4; *prakaraṇa*, XII, 4; *prajâ*, V, 7; *prajûhitavyaṁ*, I, 3; *prâṇa*, 1, 9, 10; III, 5; IV, 1, 5; XI, 3; *prapôtâ*, VI, 13; *prapôtrâ*, IV, 8; *pratipati*, XI, 2; perhaps *praṭividhânô*, VIII, 4; *pravajitâni*, XII, 2; *pravâsaṁmhi*, IX, 2; *priyadasi*, IV, 1, 5, 8, 12; VIII, 2; X, 1.

bdh becomes *dh* : *ladhêsu*, XIII, I, &c.

br becomes *b* : *bâmhaṇa*, passim; it would appear to be preserved in *brâmhaṇa*, IV, 2, 6.

bhy becomes *bh* : *ârabhisu*, I, 9; *ârabharê*, I, 11.

bhr becomes *bh* : *bhâtâ*, XI, 3, &c.; it is preserved in *bhrâtrâ*, IX, 6.

my is preserved : *samyapratipati*, IX, 4; XI, 2.

mr becomes *ṁb* : *taṁbapaṁṇî*, II, 2.

rg becomes *g* : *svaga*, passim.

rgh becomes *gh* : *dîgha*, X, I.

rch becomes *ch* : *vachabhûmîkâ*, XII, 9, &c.

rṇ becomes *ṁṇ* : *taṁbapaṁṇî* II, 2.

rt becomes *t*, as in *anuvatarê*, XIII, 9, &c.; — *ṭ* in *saṁvaṭa*, IV, 9 : V, 2.

rth becomes *th*, as in *atha*, passim.

rd becomes *d* : *mâdava*, XIII, 7.

rdh becomes *dh*, as in *vadhayisati*, IV, 7, &c.; — *ḍh*, as in *vaḍhayati*, XII, 4, &c.

rbh becomes *bh* : *gabha*, VI, 3.

rm becomes *ṁm* : *kaṁmê*, &c.; *dhâma*, V, 4.

ry becomes *y* : *niyâtu*, III, 3.

rv becomes *v* : *puva*, VI, 2; *sava*, passim; — it is preserved in *purva*, V, 4; *sarva*, VI, 9 (and three other times); *sarvata*, VII, 1; XIV, 2 (and four other times); *sarvatra*, VI, 8 (and three other times); *sarvê* VI, 8 (against eighteen *sava* or *savata*).

rś becomes *rs* in *darsana* VIII, 4, &c.; — becomes *s* in *dasaṇâ*, IV, 3.

rsh becomes *s* : *vasa* (*vâsa*), VIII, 2, al.

rshy becomes *s* in *kâsati* (for *kar*[*i*]*shyati*); V, 3; *kâsaṁti*, VII, 2.

rh becomes *rah* : *garahâ*, &c.

lp becomes *p* : *apa*, passim.

ly becomes *l* : *kalâṇa*, V, 1, al.

vy is always preserved: *apavyayatâ*, III, 5; *divyâni*, IV, 4, &c., except in *pûjêtayâ*, XII, 4.

vr becomes *v* : *pravajita*, XII, 2, &c.

śch becomes *chh* : *pachhâ* I, 12.

śy becomes *s* : *pasati*, I, 5; — or *siy* : *paṭivêsiyêhi*, XI, 3.

śr becomes *s* : *susûsâ*, III, 4, &c.; — or *sr* in *bahusruta*, XII, 7; *susrusâ*, XII, 22; XI, 2 (and three other times); *sramaṇa*, IV, 2 (four times *samaṇa*); *srâvâpakaṁ*, VI, 6; *sruṇâju* (?), XII, 7; *susrusatâṁ*, XII, 2.

śv becomes *sv* : *svêtô* in the legend attached to the elephant.

shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, V, 3; *dukara*, V, 1, al.

shṭr becomes *sṭ* : *râsṭika*, V, 5.

shṭh becomes *sṭ* : *adhisṭâna*, V, 4; *sêsṭê*, IV, 10; *nisṭâna*, IX, 6; *tisṭaṁtô*, IV, 9; *tisṭêya*, VI, 13.

sk becomes *kh* : *agikhaṁdhâni*, IV, 4.

st is preserved : *asti*, passim; &c.; — it becomes *sṭ* in *anusasṭi*, VIII, 4, al.

sth becomes *st* in *gharastâni*, XII, 1; — and *sṭ* in *sṭita*, VI, 4.

sm becomes *mh*, *e. g.* in the locatives in *mhi*.

sy becomes *s*, *e. g.* in the genitives in *asa*.

sr becomes *s* : *parisava*, X, 3, &c.; — it is preserved in *nisrita*, V, 8; *sahasra*, I, 9; XIII, 1.

sv is preserved : *svaga* VI, 12, al., &c., except in *sakaṁ*, IX, 5.

hm becomes *mh*; it is, at least, thus that I believe that we should read the group 𑀫𑁆𑀳, which, strictly speaking, could also be read *hm*.

(c). — Sandhi.

Sandhi rarely occurs except between the parts of a compound word, and, as an almost invariable rule, requires the elision of final consonants; it is nearly exclusively vocalic.

A final anusvâra is changed into *m* in *katavyam êva*, IX, 3; *êvam api*, II, 2. I further note the form *añamaṁñasa*, XII, 7.

A final *d* is retained in *tadôpayâ* VIII, 5; *tadaṁñathâ*, XII, 5.

a+*a* gives *â*, except in *dhâmadhisṭânâya*, V, 4; *dhamanugahô*, IX, 7. In *nâsti* (passim), the long vowel is retained in spite of the double consonant which follows.

a+*i* gives *ê* in *vijayêchhâ*, XIII, 11.[2]

a+*u* gives *ô* in *manusôpagâni* II, 5.

a+*ê* gives *ê* in *tênêsâ*, VIII, 3; *chêva*, IV, 7.

î+*a* gives *î* in *ithîjhakhamahâmâtâ*, XII, 9.

u+*u* gives *ô* in *pasôpagâni*, II, 6, a curious form which would appear to be borne out by the other versions.

2. — INFLEXION.

It must be understood that, except in special cases, I shall not expressly quote those modifications which are of a purely mechanical character, being merely the applications of the phonetic rules which have just been indicated.

(a). — Gender.

The distinction between the masculine and the neuter tends to disappear. This, as we shall shortly see, is evidently due to the influence of the Mâgadhî spelling.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

This tends to go over into the declension of bases in *a*: *parishad* becomes *parisâ*; *karman* becomes *kaṁma*, and is declined like a neuter in *a*; of *varchas*, we have the locative *vachamhi*, VI, 3; the present participle of *as*, makes its nominative singular *saṁtô*, VI, 7; VIII, 2.

The following are the traces which still exist:—

Bases in AN. — nom. s. *râjâ*; gen. s. *râñô*; instr. s. *râñâ*; nom. pl. *râjânô*.

Bases in ANT. — *Karaṁ*, XII, 4, nom. sing. of the participle present, beside *karô(ṁ)tô*, XII, 5, *tisṭaṁtô*, nom. pl. masc., IV, 9.

Bases in AR(ṚI). — Contrary to the other versions, Girnar presents, for these bases, no traces of the passage into the vocalic declension. Instrum. sing. *bhrâtâ*, IX, 6; *bhâtrâ*, XI, 3; *pitâ*, IX, 5; XI, 3. Locat. sing. *mâtari*, *pitari*, passim.

Bases in AS. — Acc. sing. *yasô*, X, 1, 2; *bhuya*, VIII, 5, ought to be *bhuyô*.

Bases in IN. — Here we have no trace of the vocalic declension. — Nom. sing. *piyadasi*, *priyadasi* (passim); the final vowel is always short. — Gen. sing. *pi(pri)yadasinô*; instr. *pi(pri)yadasinâ*.

(c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

Bases in A. — **Masculines.** — The terminations are the same as in Pâli. I only note peculiarities worthy of remark.

Nominative singular. — Besides the regular form in *ô*, there are several cases of the nominative in *ê*, as in Mâgadhî: *apaparisavê*, X, 3; *puvê*, IV, 5; *dêvânaṁpiyê*, XII, 1; *prâdêsikê*, III, 2; *rajûkê*, III, 2; *sakalê*, X, 3; *yê*, V, I. To these examples we should add the many more numerous cases in which the nominative neuter ends in *ê*, instead of, and beside, *aṁ*. It is the less permissible to suggest a mechanical change of *aṁ* to *ê*, because the termination *aṁ* is still retained in the majority of cases. We have, therefore, here an imitation of Mâgadhî; and, so far as regards Mâgadhî itself, the final reason for the use of the termination *ê* in the neuter, lies in the obliteration of the distinction between the neuter and the masculine, which has resulted in the common acceptation, for both genders, of the uniform use of the masculine termination. It is clearly in this way that, VIII, 4, we have *hiraṁnapaṭividhânô* (for °*dhânaṁ*).

Accusative singular. — I have quoted above the form in *ê* in *athê*, VI, 4, 5, and *yutê*, III, 6, for the accusative. Twice, *sarvê kâle*, VI, 3, 8, corresponds to *savaṁ kâlaṁ* of the other versions. It must, nevertheless, be stated that

[2] Dr. Bühler's interpretation would do away with this combination.

savê kâlê, can very well be explained as a locative, and that *yutê* could, without difficulty, be understood as a Pâli accusative plural. It is true that we miss parallel examples to authenticate this termination here. However the matter may be, if we must really admit it, I can hardly imagine for the ending *ê* of the accusative, any origin other than false analogy with neuter nominatives in *ê*.

Dative singular. — It is always in *âya*. There is one solitary instance of the form *êtâyê*, III, 3.

Ablative singular. — In *â*: *hitatpâ*, VI, 11; *kapâ*, IV, 9.

Locative singular. — In *amhi* or in *ê*. The two terminations occur with about equal frequency.

Neuters. — The terminations are the usual ones.

Nominative singular. — As examples of the nominative in *ê*, I quote: *añê*, IX, 5; *bahuvidhê*, IV, 7; *charaṇê*, IV, 7, 10; *dânê*, VII, 3; VIII, 3; *dasaṇê*, VIII, 3; *maṁgalê*, IX, 4 (*maṁgalaṁ*, IX. 1, 2, 3, 4); *kaṁmê*, IV, 10; *mahâlakê* (*vijitaṁ*), XIV, 3; *mahaphalê*, IX, 4; *katavyamatê* (*lôkahitaṁ*), VI, 9; *mûlê*, VI, 10; *paṭividhânê*, VIII, 4; *sêstê kaṁmê*, IV, 10; *vipûlê*, VII, 3; *yê*, V, 2; *târisê*, *yârisê*, *vaḍhitê*, IV, 5.

Nominative plural. — We have a termination in *â*, instead of *âni*, in *dasaṇâ*, IV, 3; *prâṇa* (read °*ṇâ*), I, 10.

Feminines. —

Instrumental singular. — In *âya*, as *mâdhûritâya*, XIV, 4.

Locative singular. — In *âyaṁ*, as *parisâyaṁ*, VI, 7. It is difficult to decide whether *saṁtîraṇâya*, VI, 9, is, or is not, an error of the engraver.

Nominative plural. — In *âyô*, in *mahiḍâyô*, IX, 3.

Bases in I. — Of **Masculines** we find —

Genitive plural. — *Ñâtînaṁ*, IV, 6, al.

Locative plural. — *Ñâtîsu*, IV, 1.

Feminines. — We have no example of the plural. For the singular, the accusative in *iṁ*, and the instrumental in *iyâ*, call for no remark.

Nominative singular. — In *i*. I note, however, *apachiti*, IX, 11; *hîni*, IV, 4; *rati*, VIII, 5.

Dative singular. — *Anusasṭiya*, III, 3, ought perhaps to read °*yê*.

Ablative singular. — *Taṁbapaṁṇî*, II, 2.

Bases in U. — **Masculines.** —

Nominative singular. — *Sâdhu*, IX, 5.

Genitive plural. — *Gurûnaṁ*, IX, 4.

Ablative plural. — *Bahûhi*, IV, 4.

Feminines. —

Nominative singular. — *Sâdhu*, IX, 4, 11.

Neuters. —

Nominative singular. — *Bahu*, XIV, 3, al.; *sâdhu*, IX, 8, al.

Nominative plural. — *Bahûni*, I, 8, al.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c. — I give, according to the alphabetical order of the bases, the forms found at Girnar.

Anya. — Nom. sing. neuter: *añê*, IV, 7; IX, 5 *aña*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Gen. sing.: *añamaṁñasa*, XII, 7. — Loc. sing.: *aṁñê*, VIII, 5, beside *añamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *aṁñê*, V, 5.

Ima. — Nom. sing. masc., *ayaṁ*; fem. *iyaṁ*; neuter, *idaṁ*. *Ayaṁ* is, however, used for the feminine: I, 10; V, 9; VI, 13; XIV, 1, and for the neuter with *phalaṁ*, XII, 9. — Gen. masc.: *imasa*, IV, 11. — Dat. fem.: *imâya*, III, 3. — Instr. masc.: *iminâ*, IX, 8, 9. — Loc.: *imamhi*, IV, 10.

Êkatya. — Nom. plur. masc.: *êkachâ*, I, 6.

Êta. — Nom. sing. masc.: *êsa*, X, 3; used for the neuter, or rather with a masculine which, by origin, is neuter, such as *kaṁmê*, &c., IV, 7, 10; VI, 10; fem., *êsâ*, VIII, 3, 5; neuter, *êtaṁ*, X, 4 (perhaps under the form *êtâ*, IX, 5); the parallel use of *ta* would lead one to think that *êta*, X, 4; XI, 3 = *êtad*, and is not an incomplete writing of *êtaṁ*. — Dat. sing.: *êtâya*, once (III, 3) *êtâyê*. — Loc.: *êtamhi*, IX, 2. — Nom. pl.: *êtê*, which, being associated with *ti prâṇâ*, indicates again a confusion of genders.

Ka. — Nom. sing, masc.: *kôchi*, XII, 5, neuter: *kiṁchi*, passim.

Ta. — Nom. sing. masc.: *sa,* XII, 5, and usually *sô*; fem.: *sâ,* XIII, 10; neuter: *taṁ,* XIII, 2, more often *ta,* IV, 10, al., whether for *taṁ,* or more probably for *tad,* preserved in composition, VIII, 5 and XII, 5; *sê* is employed adverbially as equivalent to *tad,* I, 10, as frequently appears in the versions in a Mâgadhî spelling. — It is unnecessary to draw special attention to *taṁ, tasa, tâya, têna, tamhi, tê, têsaṁ, têhi.*

Na. — XII, 1, we find *nê* used as an accusative, and applied to neuter substantives.

Ya. — Nom. sing. masc.: *yô,* once (V, I) *yê*; neuter: *yaṁ,* VIII, 3, but much more frequently *ya,* for *yad,* IV, 10; VI, 5, 6, 11; X, 3; XII, 3. — Nom. plur.: *yê, yâ,* XIII, 6; *yâni.*

Sarva. — Nom.-acc. sing. neuter., *sarvaṁ* (*savaṁ*). — Loc. sing. (?): *sarvê,* VI, 8; *savê,* VI, 3. — Nom. plur.: *savê,* VII, 1.

Personal pronouns. — The following forms occur of the pronoun of the first person: *ahaṁ, mama, mê* for the genitive and once (VI, 9), for the instrumental, *mayâ.*

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

Dvê, nom., I, 11; II, 4. — *Tî,* nom. neuter (*prâṇâ*), I, 10, 12. — *Chatpârô,* nom. masc., XIII, 8. — *Paṁchasu,* loc., III, 2.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

The simple bases are, in general, the same as in Sanskṛit, after making allowance for phonetic modifications, as when we have side by side, *bhavati* and *hôti, prâpuṇôti* for *prâpnôti.* There are, however, changes, as: *chhaṇati,* XII, 5, in place of *chhaṇôti; karaṁ,* XII, 4, participle present, beside *karôṁtô,* XII, 6; we should note the extension and alteration of the base of the present in *prajûhitavyaṁ,* I, 3. The consonantal conjugation is only preserved in *asti;* in *upahanâti,* XII, 6, it passes into the 9th class. For the root *kram* we have the two bases: *parâkramâmi,* VI, 11, and *parâkâmatê,* X, 3. In the passive, the formative affix *ya* is combined according to the usual phonetic laws, in *ârabharê,* I, 11; *ârabhisaṁrê,* I, 12; *ârabhisu,* I, 9.

In the causals, whether in *aya* or in *paya* the formative *aya* is contracted to *ê* whenever it would take the form *ayi*: *alôchêtpâ,* XIV, 6; *hâpêsati,* V, 3; *paṭivêdêtavya,* VI, 8; *pûjêta(v)ya,* XII, 4. One exception: *likhâpayitaṁ,* XIV, 3. In one case, *ôvâditavya,* IX, 8, it is even reduced to *i.* *Likhâpayisaṁ,* beside the usual *lêkhâpita,* presents an analogous weakening in the base.

(b). — Terminations.

Present. — The terminations of the middle voice, which in one case are, for this tense, used to form a passive, *ârabharê,* I, 11, are generally used with a neuter, or even with an active sense: *anuvatarê,* XIII, 9 (the reading *anuvataṁtê* of Dr. Bühler appears to be at least very doubtful); *maṁñatê,* X, 1; XII, 8; *parâkâmatê,* X, 3 (by the side of *parâkramâmi,* VI, 11); *karôtê,* IX, 1, 2, 3 (by the side of *karoti,* V, 1). — In *sukhâpayâmi,* VI, 12, associated, on the one hand, with *gachhêyaṁ,* and, on the other hand, with *ârâdhayaṁtu,* it is difficult to avoid recognising the subjunctive use.

Imperative. — The 3rd pers. plur.: *ârâdhayaṁtu,* VI, 12; *niyâtu,* III, 3; *yujaṁtu,* IV, 11, require no remarks. The middle termination, with an active sense, is preserved in the 3rd sing.: *anuvidhîyatâṁ,* X, 2; *susrusatâṁ,* X, 2. It will be noted that both exceptionally retain the long vowel *âṁ* and not *aṁ.* The 2nd pers. plur. borrows, as in Prakṛit and in Pâli the termination *tha* of the present, *paṭivêdêtha,* VI, 5.

Potential. — 1st pers. sing.: *gachhêyaṁ,* VI, 11; plur. *dîpayêma,* XII, 6. — 3rd pers. sing. in *ê* in *bhavê,* XII, 13; in *êya,* in *tisṭêya,* VI, 13; in *êtha, i. e.* with the termination of the middle, in *paṭipajêtha,* XIV, 4; plural: in *êyu,* in *vasêyu,* VII, 1; in *êraṁ,* termination of the middle: in *anuvat(ê)raṁ,* VI, 14; *susuśêraṁ,* XII, 7. Dr. Bühler reads *sruṇêruṁ, i. e. sruṇêraṁ,* XII, 7, the form which to me seems to give *sruṇâju.* The correct reading would be *sruṇêju* for *sruṇêyu.* But, at Girnar, we have no certain example of the spelling *j* for *y.* — The verb *as* makes the 3rd sing. in *asa,* X, 3, and the plural *asu* (*âsu*), XII, 7. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this form; some look for it in the Vedic subjunctive *asat,* and others in the extension by analogy of *syât, syuḥ* into *asyât, asyus* (Kuhn, *Beitr. zur Pâli Gramm.,* p. 104).

Past. — 3rd pers. plur. aorist: *ahuṁsu*, VIII, 2; *árabhisu* (= *árabbhisu*, passive sense), I, 9. The form *ñayásu*, *i. e.* *n(ı)yayásu*, VIII, 1, may be compared with the 3rd pers. sing. in *ási*, of the dialect of the Gâthâs (cf. *Mahávastu*, I, 548). The 3rd sing. *ayáya*, would seem to be a sort of imperfect, influenced, perhaps, by the analogy of the perfect *yáyê*.

A solitary example of the perfect, in *áha*, passim.

Future. — The only example of the 1st pers. sing. is in *aṁ*, for *ámi*, as in Prâkṛit: *likhápayisaṁ*, XIV, 3. The 3rd plur. has twice a middle form: *anuvatisarê*, V, 2; *árabhisaṁrê* (passive), I, 12; in this last case, the *ṁ* is a material error, unless it has been introduced after the analogy of the termination *aṁti*.

Absolutive. — In *tpá* (= *tvá*): *alôchêtpá*. XIV, 6; *árabhitpá*, 1, 3. Once in *ya*, in *saṁchháya* = *saṁkshayya*, XIV, 5.

Infinitive. — *Árádhêtu(ṁ)*, IX, 9. — It is very doubtful whether *khamitavê*, XIII, 6, is an infinitive. *Dápakaṁ* and *srávápakaṁ* (VI, 6), which appear to perform the office of infinitives, are in reality adjectives, like *páchaka*, *bôdhaka*, with this particular shade of meaning, 'which is to be given,' 'which is to be taught.'

Participles. — The middle form of the participle present is preserved in *bhuṁjamánasa*, VI, 3.

B. — KAPUR DI GIRI.

The readings of Kapur di Giri have of late made marked progress.[3] A few items of uncertainty, no doubt, still remain, a state of affairs which is sufficiently explained by the condition of the rock, but it is only in points of detail that certainty is really impossible, and we may believe that, so far as decipherment is concerned, we have not so much to expect from the future. I cannot, therefore, do better than take for the basis of my grammatical analysis the last publication of Dr. Bühler in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIII., pp. 128 and ff.

I. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

The alphabet of Kapur di Giri does not distinguish between long and short vowels. We cannot, therefore, here discuss changes of quantity.

Changes of Quality. — *a* for *u* in *garunaṁ*, IX, 19; *pana*, ibid., by the side of *guru* and *puna*. — *i* for *ê*, in *likhapayami*, XIV, 13; *bhagi aṁñi*, VIII, 17; *vijinamani*, XIII, 3; *aṁtikini*, XIII, 9; *ghaṭiti*, XIV, 13; *duvi*, I, 1. — *u* for *a* in *uchavucha*, IX, 18; *ôshuḍhani*, II, 5; *muta*, XIII, 8; *ê* for *a* in *êtra*, VI, 15; *êtraka*, IX, 20. We cannot say that *ê* has been substituted for *a* in cases like *saṁkhayê*, XIV, 14 and the datives in *ayê*; all we can do is to infer the graphic equivalence of *aya* and *ayê*. — *ê* for *i* in *êdiśaṁ* XI, 23; al. — In *bhuyê* (for *bhuyô*) we should not, I think, look for an actual change in this dialect of *ô* into *ê*, but should simply consider it as an accidental Mâgadhism of the spelling. — *u* for *ô* in *likhapitu*, I, 1. The vowel *ṛi* has no real existence in this dialect, which, however, does not prevent its being represented in several ways by the orthography. It takes sometimes the form *ra*, in *grahatha*, XIII, 4; XII, 1, sometimes the form *ri*, in *vistritêna*, XIV, 13, and sometimes *ṛu*, in *śruṇêyu*, XII, 7; *mrugô*, I, 3. It is changed to *a* in *dukaṭaṁ*, V, 11; *vapaṭa*, XII, 9; *viyapaṭa*, V, 13; *usaṭêna*, X, 22; so also in *vajri*, in which the influence of the etymological form has introduced an *r* in the following syllable; — to *i* in *diḍha*, VII, 5; *êdiśa*, IX, 18, al.; *kiṭa*, VI, 14; the influence of the *r* has here cerebralised the dental, which shews that the orthography *kiṭra*, II, 4; VII, 12; VII, 5, is purely a learned and affected one; — to *u* in *vuḍhêshu* V, 12; *viyapuṭa* V, 13; *paripuchha*, VIII, 17; *muṭê*, XIII, 1; *dharmavuṭaṁ*, XIII, 10. — In *rukha*, XII, 5, *vṛi* would be changed into *ru*, but Dr. Bühler's reading, *vuta*, gives an entirely different word.

Additions and Suppressions. — Additions: initial *i* in *istri*°, XII, 9.

Suppressions: *a* in *pi* (passim); *i* in *ti* (passim); *ê* in *va* = *êva* X, 22, al.; *vô* and

[3] *Note by Translator.* — The section regarding Kapur di Giri having been entirely re-written by the author for the purpose of this translation, it is hardly necessary to point out that the following, in no way, agrees with the corresponding pages of the original work.

yô = *êvaṁ* (cf. below); in *sha* = *êshâṁ*, VI, 16, if Dr. Bühler's analogy is well founded.

Contractions. — *ava* into *ô* in *ôrôdhana*, VI, 14; &c.; into *a* in *yamatrô*, XIII, 6, if we must take it as equivalent to *yâvamâtra; alu* into *ô* in *khô* (passim) and *u* in *ku*, IV, 9; *iya* into *ê* in *êtakayê*, X, 21; *ayô* into *i* in *tidaśa*, V, 11, if this is the correct reading, which I strongly doubt; — *vâ* into *u* in the participle absolute, and in *chatura*, XIII, 9.

As for examples of **Hiatus** like *dêvanapriasa, priadarśisa* I, 1; XIII. 1; *êkatiê*, I, 2; *ia* (*hia*) V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, the resemblance between *a* (*ê*) and *ya* (*yê*) *ha*, is so close, that it is perhaps still permissible to doubt whether the reading is certainly correct.

Nasalized Vowels. — I believe that, considering the condition of the rock, it is just as impossible as it is at Girnar, or more so, to attach here any definite significance to instances in which the *anusvâra* is omitted, especially as the last revisions have considerably reduced the number.

I shall have occasion, lower down, to draw attention to the equivalence of *aṁ* and *o* final, the explanation of which still appears to me to be doubtful, although certain instances seem really to indicate an actual phonetic phenomenon. A presumption favourable to this explanation might be drawn from the spelling *alikasudarô* for °*saṁ*°, XIII, 9.

As for the nominatives neuter in *e* for *aṁ*, the concurrence of a number of masculine nominatives in *e*, only allows us to recognise in them instances of Mâgadhisms, and not a phonetic fact peculiar to the dialect of Kapur di Giri. So also in the cases of *chaturê*, XIII, 9, for *chaturô*, and *rajani* for *rajanô*, equivalent to *rajinô*, ibid., if, as I have considerable doubt, the reading is really correct. As for *ayi* = *ayaṁ*, VI, 16, the correct reading is very probably *ayo*.

(b). — Consonants.

Simple Consonants. — In addition to the characters of the alphabet of Girnar, Kapur di Giri possesses, so far as regards consonants, two peculiar signs, one for the cerebral and the other for the palatal sibilant. I shall only note those instances in which their use does not correspond with that of Sanskṛit.

Changes. — *kh* into *k* in *ku* = *khu* (*khalu*), IV, 9.

g into *k* in *maka*, XIII, 9.

gh into *h* in *lahuka*, XIII, 11.

j into *y* in *prayuhôtavê*, I, 1; *raya* (by the side of *raja*), I, 1; al.; *kambôya*, V, 12; — into *cha* in *vrachaṁti*, XIII, 10; *vrachêyaṁ*, VI, 16.

t is cerebralised into *ṭ* under the influence of an *r*-sound, whether vocalic or consonantal. The spelling, however, fluctuates. Not only does the classical appear side by side with the Prâkṛit orthography, but we also find intermediate stages in which the *r* is retained in writing, and often in an arbitrary fashion. Examples are, — *prati* becomes *paṭi*; but *prativêśiyêna*, IX, 19; *saṁpraṭipati*, IV, 8; *praṭipajêya*, XIV, 14; *praṭivêdêtavô*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdaka, paṭrivêdêtu*, VI, 14; *paṭrivêdêtavô*, VI, 15; *kṛita* is written *kiṭa*, VI, 14; *kaṭa* in *sukaṭa*, V, 11; *kiṭra*, II, 4; V, 11, 12; VII, 5; *vyâpṛita* is written *va*(*viya*)*paṭa*, passim; *vyapuṭa*, V, 13, and also *viyapaṭra*, ibid. I may also quote *vistriṭêna*, XIV, 13; *muṭô*, XIII, 6, and *muṭê* (?) XIII, 1. — *t* appears weakened to *d* in *hidasukhayê*, V, 12, by the side of *hita*°, ibid.

bh into *h* in *ahô* (= *athavâ*), IV, 8.

d into *y* in *iyaṁ* for *idaṁ*, nom. sing. neut.

dh into *d* in *hida*, I, 1 = *idha* (?).

p into *v* in *avatrapêyu*, XIII, 8.

b into *p* in *paḍhaṁ*, VII, 15.

bh into *h* in the base *hôti*, by the side of *bhôti, bhavati*.

l into *r* in *arabhati* and its derivatives and in *rochetu*, XIII, 11.

v into *y* in *yô* for *êvaṁ*, if Dr. Bühler's analysis is correct (in IV, 9).

ś into *y* in *badaya*, III, 5; IV, 10; — into *s* in *anusôchanaṁ*, XIII, 2; *samachariya*, XIII, 8.

sh into *ś* in *manuśa*, II, 4, 5 (by the side of *manusha*, XIII, 6); — into *s* in *arabhiyisu*, I, 2; *yêsu*, XIII, 4; *abhisita*, IV, 10; al.

s into *ś* in *anuśaśanaṁ*, IV, 10; *anuśaśiśaṁti*, ibid.; into *sh* in *paṁchashu*, III, 6 (cf. *shashu* below); — into *h* in *hachê* (= *sachêd*), IX, 20.

Suppressions and Additions. — Loss of an initial *y* in *ava* = *yâvat*, passim; — of a medial *h* in *ia*, V, 13; VI, 16; IX, 20; XI, 24, if the reading is certain.

Addition of a prosthetic *h* in *hia*, IX, 20; *hida*, XIII, 12; *hêdiśa*, VIII, 17; of a *v* in *vachati*, XIII, 8, in *vuta* II, 5, if this reading (= *upta*) should really be preferred to the reading *rukha*.

Compound Consonants. — *kt* becomes *t*: *abhisita*, V, 11; &c.

ky becomes *k* in *śakô* = *śakyaṁ*, XIII, 7.

kr remains unchanged: *parakramati*, X, 22; &c.

ksh becomes *kh*: *saṁkhayê*, XIV, 14; *rukha* (?), II, 5; *khudrakêna*, X, 22; — and *chh*: *môchhayê*, V, 13; *istridhiyachha*, XII, 9; *chhamitaviyê*, XIII, 7.

khy becomes *kh*: *mukhamute*, XIII, 8.

gr remains unchanged: *agrabhuti*, XIII, 4; &c.

jñ becomes *ñ*, except in the base *aṇapêti*, in which it becomes *ṇ*.

jy becomes *j*: *jôtikaṁdhani*, IV, 8.

ñj yields *ñ* in *vañanatô*, III, 7.

In *shashu*, I do not think that the *sh* can be considered as representing the group *ṭs*. We have here an instance of formation of the locative after the analogy of substantives.

ṇḍy becomes *ṁḍ* in *paṁḍa*, XIII, 9.

ṇy becomes *ṁñ*, except in *anaṇiyaṁ*, VI, 16, in which it is written *ṇiya*.

tt becomes cerebralised into *ṭ*, under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavuṭam*, XIII, 10; *nivaṭiya*, IX, 19.

tth is written both *th* and *ṭh* in *uthana*, VI, 15.

tm becomes *t* in *ata*° XII, passim.

ty becomes regularly *ch*. The Sanskṛit spelling is, however, preserved in *êkatiê* (or *êkatiyê*), I, 2; and it is changed into *ti* in *paritijitu*, X, 22, and also, perhaps, in the participle absolutive in *ti*, if it is to be analysed as equivalent to *tya* (by false analogy).

tr remains unchanged, except in *tidaśa* (or *tô*°) equivalent to *trayôdaśa*.

tv becomes *t*. I can hardly believe in the absolutely solitary example of a double *tt* in *tadattayê* X, 21, as read by Dr. Bühler. I should prefer to suggest the reading *tadatrayê*, were I not much more disposed to think that it is simply *tadatayê* which we should read. Cf. *satiyaputra*, II, 4.

ts becomes *s*: *chikisa*, II, 4; *usaṭêna*, X, 22.

ddh is cerebralised into *ḍh* under the influence of an *r*-sound: *vuḍhi*, IV, 10; *vuḍhanaṁ*, VIII, 17.

dy becomes *j*, except in *uyana*, where it becomes *y*, VI, 14.

dr remains unchanged in *khudrakêna*, X, 22.

dv, becomes *d* in *diyaḍha*°, XIII, 1, and is resolved into *duv* in *duvi*, I, 3; II, 4; it is reduced to *b* in *badaya*°, IV, 10.

dhr remains unchanged: *dhruva*, I, 3; &c.

nt, instead of the spelling *ṁt*, appears, according to Dr. Bühler, to be written *tn* in *atikratnaṁ*, VIII, 17, and *karôtnê*, IX, 18. This is a detail which deserves verification.

ndhr is written *ṁdhr* in *aṁdhra*, XIII, 10.

ny becomes *ṁñ*: *aṁña*, IV, 9; &c.

pt becomes *t*: *natarô*, IV, 9, &c.

pn is resolved into *pun*: *prapunati*, XIII, 6.

pr usually remains unchanged. Excluding doubtful cases, I, however, note *pajupadanê*, IX, 18; *papôtra* XIII, 11. We have already seen how extremely fluctuating is the spelling of *prati*: sometimes *prati* (*prativêśiyêna*, XI, 24), but also *paṭi* (passim), *praṭi* (*samaṁpraṭipati*, IX, 19), and *paṭri* (*paṭrivêdaka*, *paṭrivêdêtu*, VI, 14).

bdh becomes *dh*: *ladheshu*, XIII, 8.

br remains unchanged: *bramaṇa*, passim.

bhy becomes *bh*: *arabhiśaṁti*, I, 3.

bhr remains unchanged: *bhratuna*, IX, 19; al.

my becomes *m* or *ṁm*: *abhiramani*, VIII, 17. The double *m* admitted by Dr. Bühler in *samma*, IX, 19; XI, 23; XIII, 5, appears to me to be improbable. I prefer to read *samaṁ*, and to suggest that either *samaṁ* is for *saṁma*, or that *samyak* has taken the form *samaṁ* by analogy.

mr becomes *ṁb* in *taṁbapaṁni*, II, 4.

rg becomes *g*: *sagaṁ*, VI, 16; or is written *gr* in *vagrêna*, X, 22.

rch becomes *ch*, with the *r* transposed to the preceding syllable, in *vrachasi* (= *varchasi*) VI, 14, if my analysis of the word is justified, and we should not understand **vratyasi*.

rṇ becomes *ṁn* in *taṁbapaṁni*, XIII, 9.

rt becomes *ṭ* (*anuvâṭiśaṁti*, V, 11): sometimes written *rṭ* (*kirṭi*, written *kiṭri*, X, 21),

or with transposition of the *r* to the preceding syllable (*kraṭava*, I, 1); sometimes, also, *t*: *katavô*, XI, 24.

rth usually gives us *ṭh* (*aṭha*, passim), but also *th* (*athaṁ*, IX, 20; *anathêshu* V, 12), both one and the other being sometimes written with *r*, *ṭhr* (VI, 14; IX, 18) and *thr* (IV, 10).

rthy is written *ṭhriya* in *niraṭhriyaṁ*, IX, 18.

rdh becomes *ḍh*: *vaḍhiśati*, IV, 9; &c.

rbh gives us *bh* with transposition of the *r* in *garbhagarasi* (written *grabhagarasi*) VI, 14.

rm remains unchanged, but with a transposition of *r* in writing: *krama* = *karma*; *dhrama* = *dharma*. The spelling *dhraṁma*, IV, 8; X, 21, marks the real character of this method of writing.

ry becomes *riy*: *anaṁtariyêna*, VI, 14; *samachariyaṁ*, XIII, 8.

rv usually remains unchanged, with transposition of the *r* either in the same syllable as in *savra*, or to the syllable preceding, *pruva*, V, 11; *srava* (?) VI, 11. But the spelling *v* is not rare: *savatra*, 11, 5; V, 13 (several times); VI, 14, 15, 16; VII, 1; XIII, 10 (several times); *savaṁ*, X, 22.

rś remains unchanged with transposition of the *r*: °*draśi*.

rsh is written *sh* in *vasha*, passim. It remains unchanged in *prashaṁḍa*, scil. *parshaṁḍa*, V, 12; VII, 2; XII, 1, 2.

rshy gives us *sh* in *kashaṁti*, V, 11.

lp becomes *p*: *kapa*, V, 11; &c.

ly becomes *l* in *kalaṇa*, V, 11.

vy becomes either *va* (*vasanaṁ*, XIII, 5; *kaṭava*, VI, 15; *vatavô*, XI, 24; &c.), or *viya* (*viyapaṭra*, V, 13; *pujêtaviya*, XII, 3), often in the same words; or it becomes *y* in *mrugaya*, VIII, 17,

śch becomes *ch* (and not *chh*) in *pacha*, I, 3; XIII, 2.

śy become *śiy* in *prativêśiyêna*, XI, 24.

śr usually remains unchanged (*suśrusha*, passim); it is written *sr* in *srêsta*, I, 2; *srêṭha*, IV, 10.

shk becomes *k*: *dukaraṁ*, V, 11; *dukaṭaṁ*, ibid.

shkr becomes *kr*: base *nikramati*, passim.

shṭ becomes *st* in *dipista*, IV, 10, &c.; — and *ṭh* in *aṭha* = *ashṭau*, XIII, 1.

shṭr is written *st* in *rastikanaṁ*, V, 12.

shṭh is written *ṭh* in *śrêṭha*, IV, 10; *th* in *tithê*, IX, 20, *adhithanê*, V, 13; and *st* in *srêsta*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

shy becomes *ś* in all futures: *aṇapêśaṁti*, III. 7; &c.

sk becomes *k* (and not *kh*) in *jôtikaṁdhani*, IV, 8.

st remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have correctly given its true value, or with the group *st*, as in *saṁstuta*, IX, 19.

str remains unchanged: *striyaka*, IX, 18; *istri*° XII, 9: cf. also *vistriṭêna*, XIV, 13.

sth becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grahatha*, XIII, 4; and also *ṭh*, *grahaṭhani*, XII, 1.

sm becomes *s* in all locatives in *asi*; but these forms do not properly belong to the language of Kapur di Giri.

sy usually becomes *s*, as in the genitive in *asa*. But we find written *siya* as equivalent to *syât*, IX, 20; al.

sr remains unchanged: *sahasrâni*, I, 2; &c.

sv is assimilated into *s* in *sagaṁ*, VI, 16; *samikêna*, IX, 19; and written *sp* in *spasunaṁ* (V, 13), if the reading is really certain, and it is not simply a badly written *sv*.

hm becomes *m*: *bramaṇa*, passim.

hy becomes *h* in *mahaṁ* = *mahyaṁ*, V, 11.

(c). — Sandhi.

A final *anusvâra* is changed to *m* in *êvamêva*, XIII, 9; *paratrikam êva*, XIII, 11.

In compound words, I have noted:—

a elided before *i*: *bramaṇibhêshu*, V, 12.

a combined with *u* into *ô*: *manuśôpakaṁ*, II, 5.

a elided before *u*: *pajupadanê*, IX, 18.

a elided after *i*: *istridhiyachha*, XII, 9.

u combined with *u* into *ô*: *paśôpakaṁ*, II, 5.

2. — INFLEXION.

(a). — Gender.

Here, as at Girnar, the nominative singular neuter of bases in *a* often ends in *ê*, e. g. IV, 8: *yadiśaṁ* . . . . *na bhutapurva tadiśê*, &c. Another example of the confusion of gender appears in the plurals *yutani*, III, 7, and *kaliṁgani*, XIII, 2 (if indeed it is thus that we

should read). One is tempted to attribute to the same cause the not unfrequent use of the desinence *ô* for *aṁ*, *dharmacharaṇô*, IV, 9; *prativêdêtavô*, VI, 14, 15; *kaṭavô*, IX, 18, 19; XI, 24; *vatavô*, IX, 19; XI, 24; *śakô*, XIII, 7; *pranatrayô*, I, 3, which I take as equvalent to *prâṇatrayaṁ*; but the accusatives *imô*, IV, 9; *anudivasô*, I, 2; *śatabhagô*, XIII, 7, and, above all, the nominative *karaṁtaṁ* (for *karaṁtô*) XI, 24; XII, 4, 6; (perhaps, also, *saṁtaṁ* = *saṁtô*, VI, 14); *vô* = *êvaṁ* (Bühler, in II, 5), appear to shew that in these cases there is only a mechanical equivalence between the sounds *ô* and *aṁ*. There is still, however, *sô*, often used (I, 2; IV, 7; &c.) as a particle, equivalent to *tad*, and which cannot be explained as a mechanical substitute for *taṁ*. It only remains for us to see in it an arbitrary restitution from the Mâgadhî *sê*, based on false analogy.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Of this only a few traces survive.

Bases in AN. — Nom. sing. *raja* (*raya*), passim; gen. *rañô*; instr. *raṁña*, XIV, 13; — nom. plur. *rajanô*, XIII, 9. I do not believe in the reading *rajani.*

Bases in AR (*ṚI*). — Except the nom. plur. *natarô*, IV, 9; VI, 16, the other forms have adopted the vocalic declension, the bases in *ar* having gone over to the declension in *u*: *pituna*, *bhratuna*, IX, 19; *bhratunaṁ*, *spasunaṁ*, V, 13; *matapitushu*, passim.

Bases in AS. — Acc. sing. *yaśô*, X, 21. The loc. *varchasi*, VI, 14, can indifferently belong to the base *varcha* or the base *varchas*. *Bhuyê*, VIII, 17, is a Mâgadhism for *bhuyô*.

Bases in IN. — *Priyadarśin* has gone over to the declension in *i*: *priyadarśisa*, passim. I note, however, the instr. *priyadarśina*, IV, 10. We have also the nom. plur. *hastinô*, IV, 8.

(c). — Declension of Vocalic Bases.

Bases in A. — **Masculines.** — Here, again, I only note such peculiarities as deserve attention. The nom. sing. regularly terminates in *ô*, which appears to be weakened to *u* in *likhapitu*, I, 1; sometimes it takes the form in *ê*, the Mâgadhî termination (*samayê*, I, 2; *dêvanaṁpriyê*, *janê*, X, 21; *mukhamutê vijayê*, XIII, 8; *Turamayê*, XIII, 9), written *i* in *amtikini*, XIII, 9; *srêstamati*, I, 2. — Dat. sing. *aya* written more commonly *ayê* — loc. sing. usually in *ê*; but often also in *asi*, as in Mâgadhî: *mahanasasi*, I, 2; *gaṇanasi*, III, 7; *dharmayutasi*, V, 13; *ôrôdhanasi*, &c. VI, 14; &c. We find the locative in *ê* written as weakened to *i* in *bhagi aṁñi*, VIII, 17.

Neuters. — The nominative singular ends in *aṁ*, which is several times written *ô*, as I have noted above. I have also pointed out the frequent Mâgadhism of the nominative neuter in *e*, which is sometimes written *i*, as in *ghaṭiti*, XIV, 13.

Feminines. — The loc. sing. in *ayê*: *aṭhasaṁtiraṇayê*, VI, 15; *parishayê*, VI, 14.

Bases in I. — **Feminines.** — Dat. sing. in *iya*: *ayatiya*, X, 21; *nivuṭiya*, IX, 19. — Instr. sing. in *iya*: *anuśastiya*, IV, 8. — abl. sing. the same, *taṁbapaṁniya*, XIII, 9.

Bases in U. — **Masculines.** — Cf. bases in *AR.*

Feminines. — It is questionable whether *sadhu*, III, 6, 7; IV, 10, represents the feminine, or whether it is not rather the nominative neuter.

Neuters. — Nom. and acc. sing. in *u*: *bahu*, IX, 18, &c. — Nom. plur. in *uni*: *bahuni*, I, 2.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c.

Anya. — Nom. sing. neut.: *aṁñaṁ*, IV, 9; IX, 19. — Dat. sing.: *aṁnayê*, III, 6; IX, 18. — Loc. sing. *aṁñi*, VIII, 17. — Nom. plur. masc. *aṁñê*, V, 13; al.

Ima. — Nom. sing. fem. *ayaṁ*, I, 1; al. I have no hesitation in considering that *ayi*, VI, 16, should be read *ayô* = *ayaṁ*; neuter, *idaṁ*, IV, 10; *iyaṁ*, V, 13; XII, 2 (*iyô*); *imaṁ*, VI, 16; al. — Gen. sing. *imisa*, III, 6; IV, 10. — Dr. Bühler considers that, in VI, 16, we should read *êsha* = *êshâṁ*. I doubt this.

Ekatya. — Nom. sing. masc. *êkatiê*, I, 2.

Eta. — Nom. sing. masc. *êshê*, XIII, 8; neut. *êtaṁ*, IX, 19; X, 22; *êshê*, X, 22; perhaps *êta*, I, 3. — Gen. sing. *êtisa*, III, 6. — Dat. sing. *êtayê*, passim. — Gen. plur. *êtêsha*, which should probably be read *êtêshaṁ*, XIII, 5.

Ka. — *kichi*, the nom. neut. is of frequent occurrence. — IX, 20, Dr. Bühler reads *kêsha*, which he explains as the gen. plur. This passage should not, however, be considered as having received its definitive analysis.

Ta. — Nom. sing. masc., *sô*, V, 11; al. — Neuter: *taṁ*, passim. — *sô*, frequently employed as a particle, when it represents practically the same form: I have already intimated above how this has come about. — Of the other cases, it is sufficient to note *têsha* (*têshaṁ?*) XIII, 6.

Ya. — Nom. sing. masc. *yô*, passim; Fem.: *ya*, XIII, 7, 12. Neuter: *yaṁ*, passim; *yê* IX, 18. — Gen. plur. *yêsha* or *yêshaṁ*, XIII, 5. — Loc. plur. *yêsu*, XIII, 4.

Sarva. — Nom. sing. neut.: *sarva*, XIV, 13. — Acc. sing. masc. and neut. *sarvaṁ*, VI, 14; VII, 2. — Nom. plur. masc.: *sarvê*, VII, 1; al. — Loc. plur.: *sarvêshu*, V. 13.

Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Nom. sing. *ahaṁ*, passim. — Gen. sing. *mê*, V, 11; al.; *maha* (*mahaṁ*) V, 11. — instr. *maya*, VI, 15; al.

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

Duvi, nom. I, 3; II, 4.

Chaturê, nom. masc. XIII, 9.

Paṁchashu, loc. III, 6.

Shashu, loc. of *shaṭ*, XIII, 8.

Aṭha, — *ashṭau*, in composition, XIII, 1.

It seems that the form of the numeral adjective for twelve, was *badaya*, III, 5, and for thirteen, *tidaśa*, V, 11.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

Save for phonetic modifications, these have, in general, the usual forms. I only note the presents *upahaṁti*, XII, 6; *prapuṇati* for *prapuṇôti*, XIII, 6, and the participle *prayuhôtavê*, I, 1, with an irregular extension of the base of the present. *Âha* is transferred to the present under the form *ahati*, never *aha*.

In the passive, the formative affix *ya* follows the ordinary rules in combination: *haṁnaṁti*, I, 3; *arabhiśaṁti*, I, 3; *vuchati*, XIII, 8. In *arabhiyisu*, I, 2, it is expanded into *iya*. Cf. *anuvidhiyiśaṁti*, XIII, 10.

The causal formative affix, *aya* is usually contracted to *ê*. Nevertheless, we have, VI, 14, *ṇapayaṃi*, by the side of *aṇapêmi* in the following line.

(b). — Terminations.

According to Dr. Bühler, there survives one example of the middle termination in *karôntê*, IX, 18, but I am very sceptical regarding this reading. Even the passive, as we have just seen, always takes the terminations of the *parasmaipada*.

Potential. — *As* has its 3rd pers. sing. *siya*, X, 22, al., which serves in one passage as base of an anomalous plural *siyasu*, XII, 7, by the side of which appears also *asu*, XIII, 11. The 3rd pers. plur., *êyasu*, instead of the usual *êyu* (*śruṇeyu*, XII, 7; *avatrapêyu*, XIII, 7) also appears in *haṁñêyasu*, XIII, 8. The usual formation of the singular is in *êyaṁ*, *êya*; but the form in *ê* (Skr. *êt*) appears to have been retained in *tithê*, IX, 20, and *prabhavê*, XIII, 7 (which it does not appear to me to be possible to analyze as a locative).

Past. — 3rd. pers. sing. *nikrami*, VIII, 17. — The last revisions have revealed the middle form *dipista* (Pâli *dipittha*) IV, 10; V, 13; VI, 16; XIII, 11, with a passive meaning. The 3rd. plur. usually keeps the *sh*; *nikramishu*, VIII, 17; *manishu*, XIII, 11; *lôchêshu*, IV, 10. We have, however, also, *arabhiyisu*, I, 2. *Abhavasu*, VIII, 17, is an anomalous formation, due to false analogy.

Future. — It is written everywhere in *iśati* instead of *ishati*. We have, however, *kashati* = *kar*(*i*)*shyati*, V, 11. It is doubtful if *achhaṁti*, V, 11, ought to be classed as an irregular future of *as*.

Participle Absolutive. — Usually formed in *tu*, e. g. *śrutu*, XIII, 10, and the irregular *vijinitu*, XIII, 2: in *yê* in *saṁkhayê*, XIV, 14. It would appear that we have the termination *ti* in *alôchêti*, XIV, 14, and, if the reading will stand verification, in *tistiti*, IV, 10. I still prefer to explain it, after the analogy of *paritijitu* (X, 22) for *paricha*(*tya*)*jitu*, as a contraction of *tya*, rather than as representing the vedic *tvî*, which Dr. Bühler sees in it.

Infinitive. — I note the infinitive forms *dapakaṁ* and *śravakaṁ*, VI, 14.

Participles. — I find the following middle forms of the present participle: *aśamanasa*, VI, 14 and *vijinamani*, XIII, 3.

The Future Participle Passive usually has the termination *taviya*; but *tava* also occurs in *kaṭavamataṁ*, VI, 15.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 376.)

XVII. The **fifth upâṅgam, sûriyapannatti (sûryaprajñapti) bhagavatî,** in 20 pâhuḍas (prâbhṛita) of which 1 has eight, 2 three, and 10 twenty-two subdivisions called pâhuḍapâhuḍa. This strange name pâhuḍa is found beside here only in the puvva contained in the ditthivâa. By the use of this word a special connection between the diṭṭhivâa and this upâṅga is *eo ipso* rendered probable.[1] Cf. also the direct statement in the introduction to up. 7. In discussing aṅga 3 I have remarked (p. 269) that its mention of a sûiapannatti designated as aṅgabâhira had reference to this upâṅga, though it could not be regarded as certain that the present form of this upâṅga was thereby attested for that period. If it is doubtful whether the present form of this up. existed even at the date of the Nandî [402] in which the sûrapannatti also is enumerated among the anaṁgapaviṭṭha texts; but there are two other texts enumerated together with (or immediately after) the sûrap., treating in all probability of the same subject, which are at present discussed in books 1 and 9 (see note 1, pages 406, 407). Perhaps the double mention of the sûrap. in Âvaśy. Nijj. 2, 6 and 8 54, is to be referred still farther back, though it is still *in dubio* whether this mention refers to the present text or not. In the first of these passages, the author says of himself that, besides other texts, he desired to provide both the sû*ria*pannatti and the isibhâsiya with a nijjutti. If tradition is correct, Bhadrabâhusvâmin is to be regarded as the speaker; and Malayagiri in the commencement of his comm. on uv. 5 makes especial mention of a lost niryukti of Bhadr. on the fifth uvaṁga. In the second passage both of the texts just mentioned[2] are adduced[3] together with the kâliasuam (the 11 aṅgas according to the schol.) and the ditthivâa as the four anuyôgas, *i. e.* objects of study. In this passage the isibh. occupy the second place, the sû*ra*p. the third, the diṭṭhivâa the fourth. The sûrap. occupies here manifestly a very important position. The importance of the work is in fact very great, as is apparent from the thorough-going report I have made concerning it in Ind. Stud. X. 254 — 316. In it we find the most remarkable statements concerning the astronomy of the Jains arranged in a systematic form of presentation. [403] Apart from these most peculiar lucubrations, this account is of especial interest inasmuch as it displays remarkably close affiliations with the Vedic calendar-text called Jyôtisham, with the Nakshatrakalpa and the pariśishṭas of the Atharva-Vêda. The quinquennial yugam, sun and moon, and especially the 28 nakshatras, are placed in the foreground. The planets are known (Jupiter and Saturn with their periodic times), though they assert a very unimportant position and are not cited in the Greek order. There is no mention whatsoever of the zodiac. The 28 nakshatras begin with Abhijit, and the yugam consequently begins with the summer and not with the winter solstice. The *libido novandi* of the Jains, which has intentionally changed almost entirely everything which they enjoyed in common with the Buddhists or Brâhmans, is here very apparent. In reality, the Jains are but tolerably fitted out with intellectual gifts. In order to conceal and compensate for this lack of originality they seek to possess something that is their individual property, and to attain this end they do not hesitate to indulge in the wildest dreams of fancy. In the province of astronomy they have given full reins to their imagination. The polemical spirit, manifested especially in the sûrap. against other opinions (paḍivatti), proves that they are perfectly aware of the opposition between their own views and those generally accepted. The beginning of the nakshatras with Abhijit as the sign of the summer solstice, [404] which Malayagiri presumably refers back to Pâdaliptasûri[4] (l. l. 286), pre-supposes Aśvinî as the sign of the vernal equinox (l. c. pp. 304, 305). It is

[1] In up. 6 — see p. 414 — a division into vatthus is ascribed, as seems probable, to our text. The name vatthu at least recalls the pûrvas.

[2] isibhâsiyâiṁ is explained by the schol. here by uttarâdhyayanâdîni; on 2, 6 by dêvendrastavâdîni. See pages 259, 281, 429, 432, 442.

[3] An imitation of this passage is the one quoted from Śîlâṅka on p. 258.

[4] In the year Vîra 437 according to the thêrâvalî of the Kharatarag. see Klatt, p. 23.

based, therefore, upon the rectification of the old Kṛittikâ series, which had already taken place, and which upon occasion (see 20, 17) appears as the old traditional series. It is an open question whether Greek influence made itself felt in this rectification; at any rate we have to deal here with an indigenous stage of Indian astronomy antecedent to the authoritative and preponderating influence of the Hellenes. It is probable, therefore, that the period opened up to us by these astronomical conceptions, is the period embracing the first few centuries of our era.

G. Thibaut, in two treatises on the Sûryaprajñapti in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* 1880, pp. 107—127, 181—206, has collected some facts of especial interest in this connection, facts which make for the connection of the contents of the Sûryapr. with the corresponding statements in the Tcheou Pey, see Ed. Biot in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, pp. 592—639, the second part of which Biot holds to be not later than the second century A. D. Thibaut does not attempt any answer to the question whether or not there is here any historical connexion. If such a connection be proved, the Chinese must be regarded as the borrowers, through the medium of Buddhism, with which Jainism was frequently confused by the Chinese. The opposite opinion appears entirely removed from the domain of possibility by the actual facts of the case. [405] The text has been handed down to us contaminated by many corruptions. The numerous gâthâs contained in it often appear with entirely uninflected noun-forms (used in the nominative or accusative) in apabhraṁśa fashion. The nom. sing. of the first declension mostly ends in *o* and not in *e*. The numerals appear in a form that is excessively curtailed. If all these are *peccata ab origine*, they are besides secondary corruptions of the text which are easily traceable. Several gâthâs[5] stood originally at the end of several §§ in Book 1; the MSS. containing the express statement: attha . . gâthân bhâṇitavvâu, but the words of the gâthâs have disappeared. Even Malayagiri is unable to restore them, since they were no longer extant when he wrote: saṁprati kvâ 'pi pustakê na dṛiśyaṁtê, l. c. p. 266n.

The text begins with the legend (and in fact in the customary formula: têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ) that Iṁdabhûti, at the time of king Jiyasattu in Mihilâ, requested that he should be instructed (by Mahâv.) in . . . . . , and then follows in 15 gâthâs[6] a complete statement of the contents of the 20 or the 33 sub-divisions in books 1, 2, 10. The redaction is, therefore, the result of the activity of one individual. Books 10 and 15 close with the formula tti bêmi, which we met with in the case of aṅgas 1 — 3. Is it possible from this fact to conjecture [406] that originally they existed separately, before the author incorporated them in his work?[7] In I. 3 there is a reference in the text to the Jaṁbuddîvapannatti which here in turn cites our text. I here reproduce from my treatise cited above a short statement of the contents:

Book I. in 8 chapters, maṁḍalâi, the circles traversed annually by the sun,[8] viz.: —

1. vaḍḍhâvaḍḍhî muhuttâṇaṁ, increase and decrease of the number of hours for day and night.

2. addhamaṁḍalasaṁṭhiî, the position (of the two suns)[9] in the semicircle traversed by each daily.

3. kê tê chinnaṁ pariyaraï? how does one sun traverse the space traversed by the other?, and how great is this space?

4. amtaraṁ kiṁ charaṁti? in what intervening space do the two suns course?

5. ogâhaï kêvaiyam? how great a surface does each dip into (illuminate)?

6. kêvaïyaṁ vikampaï? how large a tract does each pass over every day?

7. maṁḍalâṇaṁ saṁthâṇê, the figures of the orbits described by them.

8. vikkhaṁbhô, compass and extension of the revolutions of the sun.

[5] I, 3 states their number to be 140!

[6] See l. c. pp. 261, 275, 285.

[7] See the next note and note 1, page 407.

[8] maṁdalappavêsô is enumerated in the Nandî as a separate text.

[9] See Colebrooke, Miscell. 2, 223—4 in reference to the two suns of the Jains, etc.

Book II. in three chapters, tirichchhâ kiṁ gachhaï, how does the sun go sideways ?, viz. : —

[407] 1. Eight different antagonistic opinions in reference to the rising and setting of the sun.

2. Of the passing of the sun from one circle to another, etc.

3. Of the speed of the sun's motion through each of its 184 circles.

Book III. obhâsaï kêvaïyam ? how much (space) is illuminated (by sun or moon) ?

Book IV. Of the sêyâ, śvêtatâ, the luminous body and field of illumination of the sun and moon.

Book V. Of the resistance which is met with by the light of the sun (20 different pratipattis).

Book VI. Of the nature of the sun's light, and of the continuance of the power of its beams.

Book VII. Who draws to himself (absorbs) the light of the sun ?

Book VIII. Of the rising of the sun, or of both the suns, in Jambudvîpa, and of the 4, 12, 42, 72 suns in the other dvîpa.

Book IX. Of the amount of shade in the different seasons.[10] See Ind. Stud. 10, 284

Book X. in 22 chap. (about ¼ of the whole). Of the connection of the moon with the nakshatras, viz. : —

1. âvaliya, the order of succession of the 28 nakshatras beginning with Abhijit.

2. muhuttaggê, the number of hours for the connection of each of the naksh. with the moon or with the sun.

[408] 3. bhâgâ, the parts of the day or night (or of the heavens) which belong to each of the nakshatras.

4. jôgasâ, more exact statements in reference to the time of day in which the nakshatras some into conjunction with the moon and the length of this conjunction.

5. kulâiṁ, the family connections of the naksh. with the months.

6. punnamâsî, the days of the full moon; how and with which nakshatra these end during each of the five years of a yuga.

7. sanivâê, the mutual harmonious concatenation of the days of the new and full moon.

8. saṁṭhiî, figures of the naksh.

9. târaggaṁ, number of stars of the naksh.

10. nêtâ, leader, *i. e.* which naksh. lead which month ?

11. chaṁdamaggam, relation of the nakshatras to the 15 day-circles of the moon.

12. dêvatâṇa ya ajjhayaṇê, the tutelary divinities of the nakshatras.

13. muhuttâṇaṁ nâmayâi, the names of the 30 muhûrtas.

14. divasarâî, the names of the 15 days and the 15 nights of the karmamâsa, calendar month.

15. tihî, tithayaḥ, ditto of the lunar month.

16. gottâ, the families of the naksh.

17. bhôyaṇâṇi, the foods which are good during each of the naksh. — That the naksh. begin here with Kṛittikâ (!), is due to the influence of the well-known material that is here treated of.

18. âichchachâra, course (of the naksh.) with the sun or with the moon during the yuga.

[409] 19. mâsâ, names of the months of the world and those above the world (lôkôttara, chiefly of climatic contents).

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[10] pôrisîmaṁḍalaṁ is cited in Nandî as a separate text.

20. pamcha samvachharâi, the five years, viz.: —

1. the nakshatra year with 12 periodic months of $327\frac{51}{67}$ *νυχθήμερα*.

2. the yuga year, lunar year of $354\frac{12}{62}$ *νυχθήμερα*.

3. the pamâṇa (pra°) year, of which there are five kinds. In addition to the two just mentioned, the ṛitu year (sâvana) of 360 *νυχθήμερα*, the solar year of 366 *νυχθήμερα*, and the lunar leap-year of $383\frac{44}{62}$ *νυχθήμερα*.

4. the lakshaṇa year, divided into the same five groups as above; there are, however, in addition certain requisites or characteristics.

5. the year of Saturn (30 years), during which Saturn completes his circuit though the 28 naksh.

21. jôisassa sayadârâim, the gates of the nakshatras (in what quarter of the heavens they bring good fortune).

22. nakkhattavijaê (vichayaḥ), transit of the sun and moon through the 28 naksh.

Book XI. Of the beginning of the five lunar years belonging to the yuga.

Book XII. Of the five kinds of year, which were discussed in 10, 20 on pamâṇasamvatsara; they receive a much fuller treatment here.

Book XIII. Of the waxing and waning of the moon.

Book XIV. When is moonlight the brightest?

Book XV. Of the rapidity of the five classes of constellations — sun, moon, planets, naksh. and târâ. — According to Leumann cf. also Jîv. 4, 31, 12.

[410] Book XVI. Of the properties of moonlight.

Book XVII. Of the fall (passing away) and uvavâya (resurrection) of the genii of the moon, sun, etc.

Book XVIII. Of the height of the constellations above, and their distance from, the earth — cf. Jîv. 4, 31, 8 (L.)

Book XIX. Of the number of the suns, etc., in Jambudvîpa, etc.; cf. Jîv. 4, 16. 17, 7. 20, 5 10. 15 21 (L.)

Book XX. Of the nature and substance of the five classes of constellations.

There is a commentary by Malayagiri.

XVIII. The **sixth upâṅgam, the Jambuddîvapannatti.**

We have seen (above p. 268) that in the third aṅga 4, 1 [11] a work of this name was cited, if not as upâṅga, at least as aṅgabâhira. In that aṅga we find the same minute division of time which we meet with here; hence the existence of this upâṅga is assured even if its present form is different from that then in vogue. In our text upon a definite occasion there is a special reference to up. 5 and up. 7, each of which in turn cites our upâṅga. It is, therefore, probable that these works are synchronistic, supposing that the citations in this instance are not, as usually the case, the work of the redactor.

The legendary introduction to this upâṅga is wholly identical with that which commences [411] upâṅgas 5 and 7, — upâṅgas which are connected by a very close tie. This introduction is inserted between upâṅgas 5 and 7 in a very remarkable manner. Our up. is, however, different from these, in that, like aṅgas 1 — 3, it concludes with the formula ti bêmi, which, it must however, be confessed, is found at the end at least of books 10, 15; see p. 405.

There are no sub-divisions in the text itself, whence the Vidhiprapâ calls it êgasarâ. The commentary, however, recognizes seven sections which it calls by the strange title of vakshaskâra.[12]

[11] In 3, 1, however, only the titles of upâṅgas 7. 5 (and the title of a part of up. 3) are mentioned. The title of our up. finds there no mention whatsoever.

[12] This recurs e. g. in Hêmahaṅsa's nyâyamamjûshâ.

The mythical geography of Jambuddîva, interfused with many legends, forms the contents of this upâṅga. The chief part — ⅝ of the whole — concerns the description of the seven vâsas (varsha) and of the six vâsaharas (varshadhara). The description of Bharaha vâsa which is placed in the fore-front comprises at least ⅝ of the entire account. The legends of king Bharata, from whom it takes its name, claim a good half of the entire section. The detailed account of Bharaha vâsa in the different gradations of the past and present (in all 4), and in the future (in all 8), is preceded by a minute description of the divisions of time and extent; of which we have already (in aṅga 3) met the first, from âvaliyâ to sîsapahêliyâ (or to usappiṇî) — see above, p. 268. One difference is, however, noticeable: — Here[13] the increase is by hundreds after the millennium, [412] after 100,000 years by 84's (chaürâsîtivâsasayasahassâiṁ sê êgê puvvaṁgê), and from this point on by 8,400,000 (chaürasîtipuvvaṁgasaya . . . sahassâiṁ sê êgê puvvê); in aṅga 3, however, we find no more exact statement in reference to the manner of the progression[14] (vâsakôḍî 'ti vâ, puvvaṁgâ ti vâ, puvvâ ti vâ).

As the result of the above we may observe one divergence as regards up. 5, where in book VI. (see Ind. Stud. 10, 282), the word puvva occurred in the signification of a million years, and the increase from that point on (without any special mention of the names in question) simply passing by paliôvama and sâgarôvama, up to ôsappiṇî, merely by 10's.

The enumeration of the 72 kalâs in a legend of Usabha is not mentioned in detail; its beginning and end alone being mentioned. The women of the foreign peoples known to us from the Bhagavatî — see p. 302 — are enumerated as servants of king Bharaha: — Tatê naṁ tassa Bharahassa raṇṇô bahûô khuyya[15]-Chilâti-vâmaṇi-vaḍabhîô Babbari-Vaüsiyâô Jôṇiyâ-Palhaviyâô, Isiṇîyâ-Thâruṇiyâ (Thârukiṇiâ, Chârûbhaṇiyâ) Lâsiya Laüsiya Damilî Sîhalî taha Âravî Puliṁdî ya Pakvaṇî Vahali Maruṁḍî [413](Mura°, Murô°) Savarîô Pârasîô ya appigatiyâô chaṁdaṇakalasahatthayayâô . .

According to the commentary, the first four vakshaskâras treat of the following subjects:— The first, of the Bharatakshêtrasvarûpaṁ; the second, of its special relations during the 14 temporal divisions, Bharatakshêtrasvarûpavarṇanaprastâvanâgatâvasarpiṇy-utsarpiṇîdvayarûpakâlachakravarṇanô nâma; the third, of the legends concerning king Bharata, BharatakshêtrapravṛittinimittâvirbhâvaBharatachakricharitrav. nâma; the fourth, of the remaining 6 vâsas, or 6 vâsaharas,[16] kshudraHimavadâdivarshadharairâvatâṁtavarshavarṇanô nâma. The fifth treats, in legendary form, of the birth and consecration of a tîrthakṛit, tîrthakṛijjanmâbhishêkadhikârav. The sixth, unfortunately, gives but a very short review of the divisions, extent, mountains, temples, lakes, rivers, etc., of Jaṁbudvîpa, Jaṁbudvîpagatapadârthasaṁgrahav[17] The seventh deals with astrological and chronological matters, jyôtishkâdhikârav., and especially with the number, etc., of the moons, suns and stars in Jaṁbudvîpa. Herein it is in very close agreement with the sûrapannatti and chaṁdapannatti, both of which are cited at the end. The answer to the questions under consideration found at the end is based chiefly upon the discussion: paṁchamasuê paḍhamê uddêsâê, by which [414] Bhagavatî 5, 1 is doubtless meant. It

[13] So also in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra, see Bhag. 1, 427. See *Ind. Stud.* 13, 168. *Ind. Streifen*, 3, 3. *Pañchadaṇḍachhattrapr.* p. 17 in reference to the customary use of the number 84.

[14] According to the scholiast, we must assume that the relations of modality in aṅga 3 are identical with those here:—pûrvâṇi pûrvâṁgâny êva chaturaśîtivarshalakshaguṇitâni; pûrvâni chaturaśîtilakshaguṇitâni truṭitâṁgâni bhavaṁti . . .

[15] kubjâh kubjikâ vakrajanghâḥ, Chilâtyah chilâtadêśotpannâh, vâmanikâ atyaṁtahrasvonnatahṛidayakoshthâ vâ, vadabhikâ madahakoshṭhâ vadha(vakrâdhaḥ?)kâyâ vâ; bakuśadêśajâh; îsinikâḥ thârukinikâḥ; Iâsakadêśajâḥ, lakuśadêśajâḥ; tatra chilâtyâdayô 'shṭâdaśa tattaddêśodbhavatvêna tattannâmikâ jnêyâḥ, kubjâdayas tu tisrô viśeshaṇabhûtâh; see Leumann in the glossary to the Aup.

[16] Then follows: 2. The mountain (vâsaharapavvâê) chulla Himavaṁtê, 3. in Hêmavâê vâsê, 4. mount maha-Himâvaṁtê, 5. in Harivâsê vâsê, 6. mount Nisaha, 7. in Mahâvidêhê vâsê, 8. mount Nêlavaṁtê, 9. in Rammâê vâsê, 10. mount Ruppî (Rukmin), 11. in Hiraṇṇavâê vâsê, 12. mount Siharî (Śikharin), 13 in Êrâvâê vâsê.

[17] 2½ leaves (75b to 77a) in a MS. of the text embracing 95 leaves, of which the fifth section embraces 66a to 75b. A gâhâ, which summarizes the contents, forms the introduction. This gâhâ is at the head of a saṁghayaṇî in 29 âryâ composed in very free Prâkṛit, by Haribhadrasûri. See above, pp. 371, 372.

closes in treating of the sun: ichch êsâ Jaṁbuddîvapannattî sûrapannattîvatthusamâsêṇaṁ samattâ bhavati. Then, in close conjunction with the above, it, in like manner, treats of the moon, and concludes: ichch êsâ Ja°ttî chaṁdapannattîvatthusamâsêṇaṁ s. bh. The expression vatthu, which occurs here twice, belongs to the puvva sections — see page 361. It does not occur in the existing texts of upâṅgas 5 and 7, which are divided into pâhuḍas, a term which, it must be confessed, is similar to the pûrvas. Next follows a discussion in reference to the five different kinds of year (see above p. 409), viz.: — 1. The nakkhatta year (and by this is meant the revolution of Jupiter through the 28 nakshatras;[18] in up. 5 (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 299), this is cited merely as a pakshâṁtaram. 2. The lunar yuga year. 3. The pamâṇa year with its five groups as in up. 5. 4. The lakkhaṇa year in five groups. The scholiast says that in the first of the five, the nakshatra year, the commencement is made with Kṛittikâ and not with Abhijit! The scholiast on up. 5 at least makes mention of Uttarâshâḍhâs — cf. *Ind. Stud.* 10, 301, note 7. 5. The year of Saturn or its revolution through the 28 nakshatras. Then follow the months, days, hours and the karaṇa, which last was omitted in up. 5. The fourth karaṇam is here called thîvilôaṇa, strîvilôchana, or thîlôaṇa (so also in the Gaṇiviyyâ v. 42) and not taitila. The names are as usual: — Bavaṁ bâlavê kôlavaṁ thîvilôaṇaṁ [415] garâi vaṇijaṁ viṭṭhî (these 7 are chara) saüṇî chaüppaya ṇâgaṁ kiṁtthugghaṁ (these 4 are thira). The beginning with Bava is the one which usually occurs elsewhere; but in the quinquennial yugam, contrary to other statements, everything has been changed. Of the two ayaṇas the summer solstice is in the first place, the rainy season is first among the seasons, Sâvaṇa (Śrâvaṇa) first among the months, the bahulap. among the pakkha, the day among the ahôratta, and Abhijit among the nakshatras. Then follows a special discussion of the nakshatras, — their position as regards the moon, their divinities, the number of their stars, their gotta, their form, etc., just as in the Nakshatrakalpa or in upâṅga 5; and partly in the form of gâhâ. The names of the nakshatras appear here in their secondary form as in up. 5, in aṅga 3 — see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 286, and above p. 268: — Savana (instead of Śrôṇâ), Dhaṛiṭṭhâ (instead of Śravishṭhâ), Bhaddavayâ (instead of Prôshṭhapadâ), Pussa (instead of Tishya). The conclusion is formed by all sorts of remarkable statements in reference to sun, moon, stars, the extent of their vimâṇa, etc.; Mars (iṁgâlaê viyâlaê lôhitaṁkê) and Saturn (saṇichharê) are regarded as belonging to the court of the moon; cf. Bhagavatî 1, 401. 2, 225. Jupiter was referred to above; but there is no mention of Mercury, Venus, and the zodiac.

The **commentary** is by Śântichandra, scholar of Sakalachandra, who lived at the time of the 58th patriarch of the Tapâgachha, Hîravijayasûri († Saṁvat 1652), recognized by śrî-Akabbarasuratrâṇa (Sultan). This commentary[19] is very verbose, but in the introduction it contains numerous matters of interest in reference to the relations of each of the [416] 12 upâṅgas to that one of the aṅgas which had a corresponding position among the series of twelve, and in reference to the commentaries thereupon — Śîlâṁkâchârya (on aṅgas 1. 2), Abhayadêva (on aṅgas 3 — 11 and up. 1), Malayagiri (on up. 2 — 7), Chaṁdrasûri (on up. 8 — 12), and finally — see above p. 224 — in reference to the period of advancement suitable for the study of each of the aṅgas. The full statement in reference to the mutual relation of the aṅgas and upâṅgas is: — tatrâ 'ṁgâni dvâdaśa, upâṁgâny api aṁgaikadêśaprapaṁcharûpâṇi prâyaḥ pratyaṁgam êkaikabhâvât tâvaṁty êva, tatrâ 'ṁgâny âchâraṁgâdîni pratîtâni, teshâm upâṁgâni kramêṇâ 'muni: âchârâṁgasyau "papâtikam 1, sûtrakṛidaṁgasya râjapraśnîyaṁ 2, sthânâṁgasya jîvâbhigamaḥ 3, samavâyâṁgasya prajnapanâ 4, bhagavatyâḥ sûryaprajnaptiḥ 5, jnâtâdharmakathâṁgasya jaṁbûdvîpaprajnaptiḥ 6, upâsakadaśâṁgasya chaṁdraprajnaptiḥ 7, aṁtakṛiddaśâṁgâdikânâṁ dṛishṭivâdaparyaṁtânâṁ paṁchânâm apy aṁgânâṁ nirayâvalikâśrutaskaṁdhagatakalpikâdipaṁchavargâḥ paṁchô 'pâṁgâni, tathâ hi: aṁtakṛiddaśâṁgasya kalpikâ 8, anuttarôpapâtika-

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[18] jaṁ vâ vahassaî mahaggahê duvâlasahiṁ saṁvachharîhiṁ savvanakkhattamaṁḍalaṁ saṁchârëi sê tam nakkhattasaṁvachharê.

[19] The date of its composition is Saṁvat 1651 (A. D. 1595); the work was, however, revised for Vijayasêna nine years later.

daśâṁgasya kalpâvataṁsikâ 9, praśnavyâkaraṇasya pushpitâ 10, vipâkaśrutasya pushpachûlikâ 11, drishṭivâdasya Vrishṇidaśâ 12, iti.

XIX. The seventh upâṁgam, chaṁdapannatti.

We have, before, frequently observed that a text of this name is twice cited in aṅga 3, and in conjunction with texts whose titles belong to upâṅgas 5, 6, or to a portion of up. 3; that the order of succession of the titles in aṅga 3 (7, 5, 6) does not agree with the present position of these texts, viz. the title of the chaṁdapannatti is there, and, in fact, in both the passages which concern this matter, placed before the others. The chaṁdapannatti is cited in the text of up. 6, as before remarked. [417] Taking these facts into consideration, it is in the highest degree remarkable that the existing text is almost completely identical with that of up. 5, differing from it, for example, in about the same way as the two schools of the white Yajus differ from each other. The introduction is, however, quite different. The beginning consists of 4 âryâ strophes, of which 1 and 2 sing the praises of Vîra etc.; v. 3 characterizes the work in the same words as are found in up. 4, introd. v. 3 and 5, *i. e.* as puvvasuyasâraṇîsaṁdaṁ — see p. 394 — and v. 4 traces back the jôisarâyapannatti to the questions of Gôtama Iṁdabhûti. Then follow upon these four strophes the same 15 verses in an interrogatory tone, which in up. 5, too, state the contents of the 20 separate divisions (pâhuḍa) and subdivisions pâhuḍa-pâhuḍa. From this we can draw the conclusion that there is complete identity of subject and method of treatment. The legendary introduction, which refers the whole to a conversation between Mahâvîra and Indrabhûti, follows upon these 15 verses, and displays a few minor differences. From this point on, the text is similar to, and in fact, almost identical with, that of up. 5, with the exception of a few linguistic (*e. g.* râi, night, for rayaṇî, rataṇî, rajaṇî) and stylistic differences. Our text is, here and there, somewhat briefer, which is compensated for by references to up. 3 and 6, which are lacking in up. 5. An exact comparison of the text of each will doubtless disclose many matters of difference between the two. Nevertheless, the inter-relation of the two is a fact, the remarkable character of which [418] is enhanced when we consider that Malayagiri composed a special commentary on this upâṅga also, which was essentially the same as that composed by him on up. 5, and that in neither of his commentaries does he say anything in reference to the mutual relation of both texts and commentaries. (The statement just made appears to be correct, though I have not made here an examination of Malayagiri's com. *ad amussim*).

Until new facts come to light that will solve this mystery, we must be content to accept the present situation. In the passage in up. 6 in which up. 5 and 7 are cited — see above, p. 414 — the text reads as if the first had reference solely to the sun, the second solely to the moon. Our texts of up. 5 and 7, however, treat both uniformly and in a completely similar manner.

XX. — XXIV. The eighth to the twelfth upâṁgas, nirayâvaliyâô, nirayâvalikâs.

Under this collective name are comprised five small texts of legendary contents (vaggas) in one "śrutaskandha." The first of these either has the special title of "śrutaskandha," or is called kappiyâô, kalpikâs. The titles of the others are kappavaḍaṁsiyâô, pupphiyâô, pupphachûliyâô or °chûlâô, Vaṇhidasâô. Each of the first four has 10, the fifth 12 ajjhayaṇas.[20] In the introduction to the first, all these five texts are characterized — see 372, 373 — as uvaṁgâṇaṁ paṁcha vaggâ. We have seen above that this epithet recurs in the interior of no other one of the texts held to be upâṅgas. [419] It must, therefore, be deemed a probable supposition, if we assert that this epithet at the time of the composition of these five texts was restricted to them alone in their totality since they belonged together from the very beginning. Their present position at the end of the 12 upâṅgas is to be explained by their legendary contents, which shows them to be perfectly adapted to serve as a pendant to the

[20] Âvi. and Svi.: aṁtagaḍadasâdipaṁchaṇhaṁ aṁgâṇaṁ nirayâvaliyâ-suakkhaṁdhô uvaṁgaṁ, tammi paṁcha vaggâ: kappiyâô kappavadaṁsiyâô pupphiyâô pupphachûliyâô vaṇhidasâô, chaüsu dasa ajjhayaṇâ, paṁchamê bârasa.

legendary texts of aṅgas 7-11;[21] and tradition has — see pp. 373, 416 — brought them into connection with these aṅga texts and especially with 8-12. They share with these not merely the common form of legendary introduction; they are referred back to Sudharman and Jambû; they have the names ukkhêva and nikhêva, usual in the customary introductory and concluding formulæ; they shew the division of each into ten ajjhayaṇas, and lastly they have the same form of the citation of a text, *i. e.* the first ajjh. only is quoted entire, and the catch-words suffice for those that follow. We may well call them an appendix bound to aṅgas 7-11 by a very close tie. Their interconnection is, furthermore, attested by external evidence: — Their names are placed together in the enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts in the Nandî, though the order of succession varies somewhat, the series there being 20, 22, 21, 23, 24, while between 20 and 22, as a separate text, the kappiyâô are inserted, which in the Vidhiprapâ, [420] as in 'Sântichandra on up. 6, see p. 416, appear merely as the name of the first of these 5 upâṅgas. In the scholiast on the Nandî, however, and in the Nandî itself they are regarded as an independent text existing by the side of the other five: narakâvâsâs tadgâminaś cha narâ yatra varṇyaṁtê; kalpikâḥ saudharmâdikalpavaktavyatâgocharâ graṁthapaddhatayaḥ; êvaṁ kalpâvataṁsikâ jnêyâḥ; yâs tu gṛihavâsamukulana(!)tyâgêna jîvâḥ saṁyamabhâvapushpitâ bhûshitâ bhûyas tattyâgatô duḥkhâvâptimukulêna mukulitâs tattyâgataḥ pushpitâḥ pratipâdyaṁtê tâḥ pushpitâḥ; tadviśeshapratipâdikâḥ pushpachûḍâḥ; Aṁdhaka-Vṛishṇidaśânâṁ siddhigamanâdilakshaṇânâṁ pratipâdakâ graṁthapaddhatayaḥ.

In the account of Râj. Lâla Mitra, l. c. (above, p. 227), there is no mention of the Vaṇhidasâô, nirayâvalî and kappiyâ are enumerated as two separate upâṅgas (8 and 9), and Kappavaḍiṁsayâ, Pupphiyâ, Pupphachûliyâ as Nos. 10-12. In Kashinath Kunte's report the order is nirayâvalikâ, Vanhidasâ, Kappavaḍiṁsiyâ, Pupphiyâ, Pupphachûliyâ.

It must, furthermore, be noticed that Abhayadêva on aṅga 3, 10 is of the opinion that several of the 10 ajjh. of the dîhadasâ cited there are especially closely connected with the narakâvaliśrutaskandha — see pp. 273, 423n. If this is the case, it supports the probability that the contents is of ancient date, which is indeed great on other grounds. The **relation of the five extant texts** is as follows: —

XX. up. 8, **uvaṁgâṇaṁ paḍhamê vaggê, the nirayâvaliyâô, or kappiyâô,** treats of the ultimate fortunes of the ten princes Kâla etc.,[22] sons [421] of the Aṅga king Sêṇiya of Champâ. These princes accompanied their half-brother Kûṇiya[23] in his campaign against his grandfather, Chêḍaga of Vêsâlî, the Vidêha king, who refused to deliver up the own brother of Kûṇiya who had fled to his court. Kûṇiya on this account had declared war against Chêḍaga, who, in order to meet the impending danger, summoned nine Mallati (Mallaki) and nine Lechhati (Lichchhavi) kings and all 48 Kâsî-Kôsalayâ gaṇarâyâṇô (cf. Bhagav. 7, 9, p. 301), and opposed 57,000 elephants, etc., to the 33,000 of the eleven princes (3,000 for each). The mothers[24] of the ten princes, Kâlî, etc. (see aṅga 8, above, p. 321), each ask in turn of Mahâvîra whether they are destined to behold their sons alive again. Mahâvîra in reply not only informs Iṁdabhûti into what hell each must descend after he has fallen in the battle — hence the title of the upâṁga — and his future fate, but also relates the antecedent history of king Kûṇiya himself, beginning at that point when his mother was three months pregnant. The expulsion of his father Sêṇiya from the throne at his hands is then related and his father's death in prison. We possess in its complete form the text of the first ajjh. alone, the second being finished off in six, the remaining eight in two lines.

The reader is referred to Jacobi's introduction to the kalpas. p. 2 for Sêṇiya Bhimbhisâra,[25] *i. e.*

[21] As regards aṅga 10 I have mentioned on page 329 my conjecture that from the inter relation of up. 8-12 and aṅgas 7-11 we have additional testimony for the view that aṅga 10 too originally possessed a legendary character. See, however, p. 334 n.[1]

[22] Kâlê, Sukâlê, Mahâkâlê, Kaṇhê, Sukaṇhê, Mahâkaṇhê, Vîrakaṇhê, Râmakaṇhê, Piusêṇakaṇhê, Mahâsêṇakaṇhê.

[23] Son of Chellanâ, wife of Paumâvâî.

[24] Stepmothers, chullamâuâ, of Kûṇia.

[25] See ajjh. 10 of the daśâśrutaskandha.

'Srêṇika Biṁbisâra, and his son Kûṇiya Baṁbhasâraputta,[26] *i. e.* Ajâtaśatru, [422]contemporaries of Buddha, and also in reference to the synchronistic conclusions which may be drawn in reference to Mahâvîra. It is placed beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Bauddhas and the Jainas possess herein a common heritage, and that genuine historical traditions form the foundation of the recital. Whether it is necessary to separate Mahâvîra from Buddha is another question — cf. Bhagav. 1, 441. The traditional connection of Mahâvîra with Nâtiputta, Buddha's opponent, can also be regarded as the result — cf. p. 240 — of an intentional variation caused by sectarian hatred. The Nirayâvalî has been edited by S. Warren, Antwerp, 1879, on which see H. Jacobi in *Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc.* 34, 178 ff. There is a commentary by Chandrasûri.

The enumeration of the women of non-Âryan peoples,[27] distinguished in the text merely by vahûhiṁ khuyyâhiṁ *jâva*, is quoted by Chandrasûri in the same form which we meet with in Bhag. 9, 33 (see p. 302), etc. The citation jahâ Chittô tti, points to up. (2), jahâ Pabhâvati to aṅga 5, 11.

XXI. up. 9. varga 2, **kappâvaḍaṁsiâu, kalpâvataṁsikâḥ,** treats of the ten sons[28] of prince Kâla, etc., all of whom were converted to asceticism, as were their grandmothers Kâlî etc., and who [423] reached their respective heavens.[29] The account consists almost entirely of mere catchwords or of references. Emphasis is often laid upon the study of the sâmâia-m-âdîâiṁ ekkârasa aṁgâiṁ.

XXII. up. 10. varga 3, **pupphiâu, pushpikâḥ** (or °tâḥ), treats, with reference to up. 2, of the ten gods or goddesses[30] who came from their heavenly worlds[31] to pay reverence to Mahâvîra, who thereupon tells to Gôyama their previous history. They were in a former birth all turned or converted to the study of the sâmâia-m-âdîâiṁ ekkârasa aṁgâiṁ, either by the arhant Pâsa or by the Ayya Suvvatâ or by the thêrâ bhagavaṁtô (see up. 3). These former births, as mâhaṇa, gâhâvati, satthavâhê etc., occurred in Sâvatthî, Vâṇârasî (!), Maṇivaïâ, Veṁdâṇaṇâ, Mihilâ, Hatthiṇapura, Kâkaṁdî. The enumeration of the Brâhmanical sciences here is similar to that in the Bhagavatî (above, p. 303); and their names are similarly explained by the scholiast.

XXIII. up. 11. varga 4, **pupphachûlâô, pushpachûḍâs**;[32] ten other histories of a similar nature. We possess the first alone, the Bhûtâ nâmaṁ dâriâ, former birth of the Siridêvî,[33] is brought by Pâsa to believe in the niggaṁthaṁ pâvayaṇaṁ. The other histories have entirely disappeared with the exception of the names, [424] which are found[34] in the gâhâ in the introduction; the goddesses (not gods) who are here mentioned are for the most part mere personifications of ethical qualities.

XXIV. up. 12. varga 5, **Vaṇhidasâô, Vṛishṇidaśâs,** in 12 ajjhayaṇas; 12 similar histories, of which we possess none but the first, the mere names by which the others were called having been

[26] See introduction to up. 2. More exact information in reference to his history is found in the scholiast on Âvaśy. 18, 144, cf. Bhag. 7, 9 (Leumann).

[27] kubjikâbhiḥ vakrajaṁghâbhiḥ, chilâtîbhir anâryadêśotpannâbhih, vâmanâbhir hrasvaśarirâbhih vadabhâbhir madahakoshṭhâbhiḥ, Varvarîbhir Varvaradêśasaṁbhavâbhiḥ, Vakuśikâbhih Yônakâbhih Paṇhavikâbhih Isinikâbhih Chârukinikâbhih Lâsikâbhiḥ Draviḍîbhih Siṁhalîbhih Âravibhiḥ Pakvaṇîbhih Vahalîbhih Muruṁḍîbhiḥ Śavarîbhiḥ Pârasîbhiḥ nânâdêśâbhir vahuvidhânâryaprâyadêśotpannâbhih; cf. p. 412.

[28] Paümê, Mahâpaümê, Bhaddê, Subhaddê, Mahâbhaddê, Paümabhaddê, Paümasêṇê, Paümagummê, Nalliṇigummê, Âṇaṁdê, Naṁdaṇê (but this makes 11 names! Is one to be referred to a son of Kûṇiya?)

[29] Seated in the Kalpâvatansaka Vimâna, Kashinath K.

[30] Chaṁdê jôïsiṁdê, Sûrê, Sukkê, mahâgahê (planet Venus), Bahuputtiâ, Punnabhaddê, Mâṇibhaddê, Dattê, Sivê, Balê, Aṇâḍhitâ; four of these names, see p. 273, among those of the dîhadasâu.

[31] Seated in the celestial chariot (Pushpaka), Kashinath.

[32] Contains an account of the female disciple of Mahâvîra Svâmi, named Pushpachhûlâ, and of her female attendant, Kashinath.

[33] See p. 273 n.

[34] siri, hiri, dhiti, kitṭhi, vuddhi, lajjâ, ilâ dêvî, surâ dêvî, sarassai dêvî, gaṁdhadêvî; — The Siridêvî comes to honor Mahâvîra . . jahâ Bahuputtiâ.

preserved.[35] The conversion of twelve princes of the race of Vṛishṇi is here treated of as having ensued through the influence of the arhan Ariṭṭhanêmi. The first history deals with Nisaḍha, son of Baladêva, nephew of king Kaṇha-Vâsudêva in Bâravatî.[36] In his former birth he was converted or turned to the study of the sâmâia-m-âdîâi ekkârasa aṁgâiṁ by the Siddhatthâ-nâmaṁ âyariyâ. A prophecy in reference to his future birth is added to the above recital. At the end the five texts are again called the "uvaṁgâṇi" or the 5 vargas of one śrutaskandha: nirayâvaliâsutakkhaṁdhô samattô, samattâṇi a uvaṁgâṇi, nirayâvaliâ-uvaṁgê ṇaṁ êgô suakkhaṁdhô paṁcha vaggâ paṁchasu divasêsu uddissaṁti.

This last statement in reference to the number of days which are necessary to teach or to recite them, is found [425] in exactly the same form in the corresponding aṅgas — see p. 280. The three sâmâyârîs, contain detailed statements in reference to each.

The historical value of these legends is, apart from the traditions contained in up. 8, without doubt very slight indeed. The largest portion of their contents is as purely fictitious as was the case in aṅga 6 fg. (see p. 338). Nevertheless, since they contain information (*e. g.* in respect to the activity of Pâsa, which preceded that of Mahâvîra), we may claim for them a value as regards our estimation of the relations under which we have to consider the life and works of Mahâvîra.

We have seen above that the uniformity of the contents, and the homogeneous method of treating it in all the five texts, make for the conclusion that they originally formed but one text. Tradition calls them merely the five parts of one śrutaskandha. Their enumeration as five separate texts was caused by the desire to have the number of the uvaṁgas correspond to that of the aṅgas. The fact is that the special limitation of the number of the aṅgas to eleven, which is found in uv. 8-12, must be regarded as a strange contradiction of the desire to assimilate the number of the uvaṁgas to that of the aṅgas. The title vagga belongs also to aṅgas 6 and 8, as an appendix or supplement to the latter of which two, these five texts may have come into existence. The history of the first vagga here (uv. 8-12) is, to a certain extent, an elucidatory supplement to the last of the vaggas there, *i. e.* in aṅga 8.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 11. — Francis and his Uncle.

There was an old woman who had an only son, called Francis.[1] They were in rather poor circumstances, and lived on what the old woman earned during the day. Francis had a maternal uncle, who was very rich and possessed much land and several bullocks and cows.

One day, when the boy was old enough, his maternal uncle called on his sister, and asked her to send the lad to take his cattle to graze, promising to give him something as pay. His sister told him that the boy was mischievous, and said he had better ask him himself to agree to the proposal. His uncle, therefore, called the boy, and said to him: — "Francis, will you come and take my cattle to graze every day? I will give you something in return."

"Yes, I will come," said Francis. "Will you give me a cow as pay, uncle?"

His uncle promised to give him a cow, and Francis went daily and took his uncle's cattle to graze. Every day Francis asked for his cow, but his uncle put him off, saying:—

"I will give you one to-morrow."

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[35] Nisadhê, Mahânisaḍhê, Anigahê, Vêdê, Pagatî, Juttî, Dasarahé, Daḍharahê, Mahâdhaṇû, Sattadhaṇû, Dasadhaṇû, Sayadhaṇû.

[36] At the head of 10 Dasâra: Samuddavijaya etc., 5 Mahâvîra: Baladêva etc., 16,000 kings: Uggasêṇa etc., 3½ kôṭi of kumâra: Payyunna etc., 60,000 duddaṁta (?): Sambaya etc., 21,000 vîra: Vîrasêna etc., 16,000 dêvî: Ruppiṇî, etc., and many thousand gaṇiâ: Aṇaṁgasêṇâ etc. The same court is found according to Leumann in aṅga 6, p. 526, 1231, and aṅga 8, 1.

[1] The original is Farâṅsia, a familiar local form of Francis.

After several days, the uncle, finding Francis importunate, one day said to him: — "There are a lot of cows here, you can choose one for yourself."

Upon this Francis chose a cow for himself, and every day fed her with half of his own rations, which made her grow plump and fat. Now his uncle observed that, while his own cattle remained as before, Francis' cow was growing fat and beat them all in beauty. He soon became jealous, and considered how he might deprive the lad of his cow.

So one evening he came and said to him: — "Well, Francis, my boy, I'll give you a holiday to-morrow, and I will look after the cattle myself."

But Francis said: — "No, uncle, I don't care for a holiday. I will be at my usual work."

His uncle, however, pressed him much, saying: — "Francis, you are yet a child, and you require some rest. So listen to me and take a holiday."

So Francis was at last persuaded to take a holiday, but he asked his uncle to take care of his cow, which, of course, his uncle promised to do.

In the morning the uncle took his cattle for grazing, as also Francis' cow. While his cattle were grazing he drove the cow up a high mountain and from there threw her into the river below, and the cow died at once, and the uncle was satisfied, and taking his own cattle he came home in the evening.

The following day, as soon as Francis arose, he went as usual to his daily work, but to his astonishment found his cow missing. He ran to his uncle and asked him where his cow was. His uncle said: — "Look in the stalls; she must be somewhere among the other cattle."

Francis went to the stalls and searched among all the cattle, but in vain, and therefore suspected foul play. Instead of taking his uncle's cattle to graze, he left them in the stalls, and went all over the forests in quest of his own cow. He searched and searched, and, at last, found the carcass of his cow in the river. Poor Francis sat down by the poor cow and cried for hours and hours, but he made sure that the death of the cow was due to nothing else than his uncle's envy.

Seeing that crying would not bring his cow back to life, he made up his mind to skin the cow, so that the skin might some day be of use to him. So he at once set to work, and, dragging the carcass to the bank of the river, skinned it and dried it in the sun for several days.

When the skin was thoroughly dried, he asked his mother one day to bake him three or four hand-cakes, but she said: — "There is scarcely flour enough to make one cake; and how am I to bake three or four for you?"

Francis, however, bothered her so often that his mother went and begged some rice-flour, and baked four cakes, and gave them to him. Francis tied up the cakes in a kerchief, and, taking the cow's skin, went away. He walked on and on, uncertain where to go, or what to do, for a whole day, and when it was dusk he found himself in a large forest, and here he meant to pass the night; but being afraid that some wild beast might see and devour him, he climbed up a high tree, not forgetting to take the skin also with him.

At dead of night it happened that some robbers, who had plundered a rich house, came and sat under that very tree, and, having thrown down their booty, began to divide it, and to quarrel between themselves,

Said one: — "I deserve the greatest share because I shewed you the house."

"No, no," said a second; "I entered the house first, while you remained outside, and so the biggest share falls to my lot."

And so they went on quarrelling, till our hero got so frightened that he let fall the cow's hide from the tree, which made such a noise, and in its turn so frightened the robbers, that they left everything and took to their heels, thinking some evil spirits had seen them and were coming on them.

Our hero, when he saw the robbers had run away, came down, took all the treasure the robbers had left, and went home in high spirits. When he reached his hut, he told his mother to go to her brother's house, and ask for the loan of his *pharâ ani dâṇḍâ* (basket and spade). His mother told him to go himself; but Francis pleaded, saying: — "Go, go, mother, and ask for uncle's basket and spade.

His mother at last went to her brother's home, and asked for the loan of his basket and spade. Her brother said to her: — "Sister, why do you want the basket and spade? What are you going to do with them?"

She replied: — "Francis wants them. The boy is so mischievous. I don't know what he wants to do with them."

So his mother took the basket and the spade from her brother and brought them to Francis. Francis took them and measured all the treasure he had got, which made several baskets full. But on returning the basket and the spade, he let two rupees stick to the basket for his uncle to see, and when he saw the two rupees in the basket, he asked his sister how they came there. She told him that Francis had brought a heap of treasure, which he measured it with the basket. When the uncle heard this he immediately came to Francis and asked him how he got all the treasure, upon which Francis said: — "Oh uncle, what shall I tell you? Shall I say one, or shall I say two?"

His uncle then said: — "Go on, my boy, tell me where you got the treasure from."

Francis then replied: — "Why, uncle, you remember you killed my cow? I am so thankful to you for it. I skinned the cow, dried the hide, and cried it for sale: —

"*Jhiâ châmbraṁ, diâ dhan; jhiâ châmbraṁ diâ dhan.*
Take hides, give treasure; take hides, give treasure."

"There is such a demand for these hides, that for the hide of one cow I got all this treasure. O uncle, if I had half the number of cattle that you have, I should get a heap of treasure as large as your house."

His uncle was so fired with the desire of amassing treasure, that he went and slaughtered all his cattle, believing every word that his nephew had told him. In due time the cattle were skinned, and the hides having been thoroughly dried, he went from village to village and from country to country, crying out: —

"*Jhiâ châmbraṁ, diâ dhan; jhiâ châmbraṁ diâ dhan.*
Take hides, give treasure; take hides, give treasure."

But who ever heard of exchanging hides for treasure? The poor man wandered day and night for several weeks, and made himself the laughing-stock of every one. Quite fatigued and disheartened, he returned home. His wife asked him what success he had met with, but he only said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; mind your own business."

He was so enraged at the trick, that he determined to ruin Francis, and with this determination one night set fire to the boy's hut. His poor mother ran about like one mad, calling the people to help in putting out the fire. Francis, on the contrary, brought more sticks and other combustibles, and put them on the flames, which helped to burn down the hut quickly and surely.

When the hut was entirely burnt down, Francis collected all the ashes in two bags. He then told his mother again to bake him a few cakes, which his mother did with some reluctance, saying: — "I can't understand, Francis, where you want to go, or what you are trying to do?"

But he bundled the cakes into a kerchief, and, having borrowed a bullock from one of his neighbours, put the two bags of ashes on it, and drove it away. This time, too, he was uncertain

what to do or where to go for a whole day, and at dusk he was again in a forest where he met a great merchant also driving a bullock with two bags on it. They asked each other who they were and where they were going and what they had. The merchant replied first: — "I am a merchant, and the bags you see on the bullock are full of gold mohars, which I have earned in my trade."

Francis turned this opportunity to his advantage, and said: — "Exactly like myself. I have amassed a large fortune in the shape of gold *mohars* in the bags which you see on my bullock, and I am now returning home after several months' business."

The merchant believed every word he said, and so they agreed to put up together for the night, and arranged between them to watch their property by turns. The merchant had to watch till midnight, and then go to sleep, after which it was Francis' turn to watch. Meanwhile they removed the bags from the bullocks to give them rest. Having partaken of their meals, Francis went to sleep while the merchant kept watch. About midnight the merchant awoke Francis and told him it was time for him to keep watch.

"Certainly," said Francis; "we must, however, put our bags on our respective bullocks, for, should any robbers come, what can I do alone? While if we have them ready on the bullocks, I can awake you and we can then escape with all haste."

The merchant thought the proposal reasonable, and so each put his bags on his bullock, and then the merchant fell fast asleep, being quite tired with the journey and the night-watch.

In a little while Francis changed the bags, and drove home in all haste, and when he got home again he asked his mother to go to her brother's house and borrow his *pharâ ani ḍâṇḍâ.* His mother at first refused to go, telling him to go himself; but at last she went, and said to her brother: — "Brother, brother, lend me your basket and spade."

"Why do you want the basket and spade?" asked her brother.

"The boy wants them," replied she. "I don't know what he is trying to do."

So Francis' uncle then gave her the basket and the spade, which she took home and gave to her son. Francis then measured all the gold *mohars*, which made several baskets full, and in returning the basket and the spade Francis purposely left two *mohars* in the basket. On seeing them his uncle came in all haste and asked Francis where he got the mohars from. Francis thought this a good opportunity for taking his revenge, and calmly said: — "Why, uncle, didn't you set fire to my hut? I gathered the ashes and sold them for several baskets full of gold *mohars*. Oh, if I only had a house like yours, what a lot of *mohars* it would fetch! You have only to say: —

"*Jhiâ bhûrî, diâ môrî; jhiâ bhûrî, diâ môrî.*

Take ashes, give *mohars*; take ashes, give *mohars*."

"Hundreds and thousands of people will flock to you bringing their *mohars* and taking your ashes."

His uncle was again duped, and went and set fire to his large house. His wife was, of course, alarmed at this action, but her husband said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; you mind your own business."

The whole house was reduced to ashes, which he collected and put into several bags. As he had killed all his cattle, he was obliged to borrow bullocks from others for the conveyance of the ashes. Having put the bags on the bullocks, he drove them from village to village and from town to town, crying at the top of his voice: —

"*Jhiâ bhûrî, diâ môrî; jhiâ bhûrî, diâ môrî.*

Take ashes, give *mohars*; take ashes, give *mohars*."

Thus he cried and cried his ashes for days and weeks together, with the result, that he tired himself out and was hooted by all as a fool; for what folly is greater than to ask for *mohars* in

exchange for ashes? At last he went home quite sick and tired. His wife again asked him what success he had had, but he only said: — "Oh, you don't understand these affairs; you mind your own business."

He now thought of how to punish Francis for his mischief, and hit upon the following plan. He called him one day, bound his hands and feet, and tied him in a sack with the object of throwing him in the river. As he was going with the sack with Francis in it, he felt a pain in his stomach. Round about him were a lot of cow-herds, so putting the burden down, he went to a long distance to relieve his pain. In the meantime Francis pretended to be crying, and kept saying: — "Oh, I do not wish to be married! I am yet young, and the girl is so big! What a shame, my uncle wants me married by compulsion."

One of the cow-herds, who heard what Francis said, asked him to explain what it all meant. So he said: — "Look here, I am so young, and because I do not wish to be married, as the girl is too big for me, my uncle is taking me by force."

Upon this the cow-herd said: — "If that be the case let me take your place."

"Agreed," said our hero; and he was immediately let out of the sack, and was replaced by the cow-herd. Francis, once out of the bag, took the cattle belonging to the cow-herd, and drove them home in safety.

His uncle came after a time, and taking up the sack, marched straight to the mountain, and threw the bag headlong from a precipice into the river, highly elated at the thought that he had at last got rid of Francis. That day passed and on the following morning he saw Francis driving a large herd of cows and buffaloes. He was at his wits' ends to understand how Francis escaped, and how he got such a lot of cattle. He, therefore, said to him: — "Hallo, Francis, where did you get all the cattle from?"

Francis replied: — "Why, from the river into which you threw me. There are hundreds of thousands of them there. The only misfortune is that, being young, I could not manage more; so I contented myself with these. Oh, if I were as big and strong as you are, what a lot more I could have got."

The poor uncle for the third time believed what Francis told him, and so he asked him to bind his hands and feet and to throw him in the river. Francis, too glad of the opportunity offered him to get rid of his uncle, at once set to work. Having bound him well and put him in a sack, he carried him away. On the way, Francis now and then dropped his load on the ground, upon which his uncle would say: — "Oh, Francis, what are you trying to do? You will kill me at this rate."

But Francis would reply: — "No, no, uncle; you see I am so small, and you are so heavy! How can I help it?"

Thus Francis carried his uncle up the mountain and threw him into the river, where he immediately died. When Francis returned home, his aunt came and inquired of him what his uncle was doing. Francis replied: — "Uncle is selecting good cattle, and will not come home for a long time."

For a whole week his aunt came daily and asked Francis why her husband had not returned yet, and Francis always gave her the same reply; but at last he said to her: — "*Tûmchâ naurâ athaṁ êvâchâ nâhin. Tûmî vâlê ani pôt kârâ, ani bâṅgriâ biṅgriâ phôrâ.* Your husband will never come now. Remove your *vâlê* and *pôt*, and break your bangles."[2]

Francis now had abundance of money, with which he purchased a large house, and plenty of landed property, and lived with his old mother happily and in undisturbed enjoyment of his wealth.

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[2] *Vâlê* are anklets and *pôt* is a necklet of gold which is given by the husband to the wife on their wedding day. The breaking of bangles is pre-eminently the sign of widowhood, as also are the removal of the *vâlê* and *pôt*, which are called the *shimgâr* of a married woman.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

OFFERINGS TO GODLINGS IN BENGAL.

At Rânîganj and Bardwân in Bengal I found small rude images of horses and elephants, used as offerings to Sattû Pîr by Musalmâns and to Bhoirob (Bhairava) and Manśâ Dêvî by Hindus.

Images of horses are offered in a similar way to Pîrs at Siâlkôṭ in the Pañjâb in token of vows fulfilled. It would be interesting to note how far the custom is spread in India among the more civilized peoples. Among the savage Chêrôs of the Mirzâpur District such images of horses are common.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE VEDANTA-SIDDHANTAMUKTAVALI OF PRAKASANANDA, with English translation and notes, by ARTHUR VENIS. Benares, 1890. Pp. vi, ii, 186, vi. (Reprint from the *Pandit*.)

According to the editor, **Prakâśânanda**, the author of this work "is wedged in between Nṛisiṁha-Âśrama and Appaya-Dîkshita," the former of whom converted the latter "from Śaiva heresy to the true Śâṁkara Vêdânta," and the latter "had reached a good old age in 1620 A. D." More precise information regarding this author is not available. Consequently his work has probably to be assigned to the last quarter of the 16th century. Prakâśânanda's **Siddhântamuktâvalî** belongs to a class of works which serve as appendages to the second Adhyâya of Śaṁkara's great *Bhâshya*. The object of these works "consists in searching through all the so-called proofs of duality (*dvaita*) current in the schools (more particularly in that of the Nyâya), in order to expose them as just so many cases of "petitio principii (*âtmâśraya*)." The conclusion at which the author arrives at the end of his inquiry is expressed in the following words of the *Smṛiti*:—

ब्रह्मात्मैकत्वविज्ञानं शाब्दं दैशिकपूर्वकम् ।
बुद्धिपूर्वकृतं पापं कृत्स्नं दहति वह्निवत् ॥

"The knowledge of self and Brahman as identical, gained through the Vêda and attendance on a Guru, consumes like fire every evil deed (though) done intentionally."

Professor Venis has done invaluable service to the student of the Vêdânta Philosophy by adding an English paraphrase of the whole work, in which the perplexing terms of the Śâstra are rendered by corresponding ones chosen from European philosophy. The technicalities of the Tarkaśâstra make it a somewhat repulsive subject to those who have followed the close reasoning of the European school. But editions, like the present one, of Hindu philosophical works, published by scholars like Mr. Venis, who can sympathise with the spirit of Hindu metaphysics, go a great deal towards removing such repulsiveness. In the index, which is appended to this edition, is given a clear explanation of some of the most difficult terms of Hindu Logic.

Under the superintendence of Professor Venis is published the **Vizianagram Sanskṛit Series**, the first number of which is edited by Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Gaṅgâdhara Śâstrî Mânavallî and gives a fair indication of the scholar-like way in which the others will be done. It contains the Sanskṛit text of the *Siddhântalêśa*, a work on the Vêdânta Philosophy written by **Appaya-Dîkshita**. The editor discusses, in the preface, at considerable length, the date of the author, and arrives at the conclusion that he was **born about 1550 A. D.** He further adds that Appaya-Dîkshita was, according to European scholars, the chief Paṇḍit at the court of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇraraja whose other name was Veṅkatapati and who was the son of Narasiṁha *alias* Ṇarasadêva. It is clear from the following verse which is found at the end of the *Kuvalayânanda*, another work of the same author, that he was a contemporary of king Veṅkaṭapati:—

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

From inscriptions and other trustworthy sources we learn that Kṛishṇarâja, the son of Narasa or Nṛisiṁha, was not called Venkaṭapati, and that he reigned from about Śaka 1430 to 1451 (= A.D. 1508 to 1529).[1] If the date that is established in the preface of the book under review for the birth of Appaya-Dîkshita is correct, the sovereign of whose court he was the chief Paṇḍit, must have been Veṅkaṭa I. of Karṇâṭa, whose grants range from Śaka 1508 to 1535 (= A.D. 1586 to 1613).[2] The editor, being a stranger to Drâviḍian names of places, makes Tiruvalakuḍu of Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu ('the sacred banyan forest'), where some of the descendants of Appaya-Dîkshita are still supposed to live. Further, he attempts to Sanskṛitize such names as Tañjâvûr, Kumbhaghôṇam and Mâyavaram from their Anglo-Indian forms. Strange irony of fact that these forms should gain permanence even in Sanskṛit works in preference to the vernacular names!

V. V.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 362.

[2] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 155.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D.

[*Reprinted with alterations and additions from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LX, Part I, No.* 2, 1891.]

THE Bower manuscript was exhibited to the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the two meetings in November, 1890 and April, 1891. I call it the "Bower MS." in order that Lieutenant Bower, to whose enterprise the learned world owes the preservation of the manuscript, may receive the honour due to him. Some account of the locality and circumstances of its finding will be found in the Society's *Proceedings* for November, 1890; and a preliminary account of the manuscript and its contents was published by me in the *Proceedings* for April, 1891. Since then I have spent a long summer vacation in carefully examining the whole manuscript, and, with the exception of a few leaves, I have read and transcribed the whole. I have now, moreover, the pleasure of announcing that the Governments of India and Bengal, with their usual liberality in such matters, have decided to publish a complete edition of the manuscript which I am now preparing.

This paper had been written (in Darjîling, in May), when I received (in July), through the kindness of Professor Bühler in Vienna, an advance copy of his notice[1] of the specimen pages of the Bower MS., which were published in the November *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was particularly gratifying to me to find that, reading the manuscript, he in Vienna and I in Calcutta, at about the same point of time, we independently arrived at essentially the same conclusions, both with regard to the age and the contents of the manuscript. Such a coincidence most distinctly makes for the truth of our conclusions.

The substance of the paper which I now publish on the age of the Bower MS., and which I promised in the April *Proceedings*, was originally intended by me to form a part of the introduction to my edition of the manuscript. But seeing the interest which the manuscript has already excited in Europe, I publish it now in anticipation, and hope similarly to publish portions of the manuscript, with translations, from time to time.[2]

I may state here briefly the results of my detailed examination of the manuscript. It consists of not less than five distinct portions.

The first portion consists of 31 leaves. It contains the medical work of which I have published the commencement in the April *Proceedings*, and two pages of which are figured in the upper parts of the two plates accompanying the November and April *Proceedings*. I shall designate it by the letter A.

The second portion, to be called B, which immediately follows the first portion, consists of five leaves, and forms a sort of collection of proverbial sayings. A specimen of it is figured in the lower part (No. II) of the plate in the April *Proceedings*.

The third portion, C, consisting of four leaves, contains the story of how a charm against snake-bite was given by Buddha to Ânanda while he was staying in Jêtavana, the garden of Anâthapiṇḍa. A specimen of this portion is figured in the lower part of the plate in the November *Proceedings*.

The fourth portion, D, consists of six leaves. It is preserved in a rather unsatisfactory condition, and appears to contain a similar collection of proverbial sayings as the second portion, B.

The fifth portion, E, which also consists of five leaves, contains another medical treatise. It appears to be — so far as I can judge at present — the commencement of a larger work.

[1] It is now published in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V, p. 103.

[2] The first instalment is published in No. III. of the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1891. It is the fifth portion (E) of the MS.

Besides these five connected portions, there appear to be a few detached leaves, quite unconnected with one another and with those larger portions.

Of the fourth and fifth portions no specimens have been published, but the fifth is written in the same style as the first portion. The fourth portion is written in an exceedingly slovenly and hurried hand, much resembling that of the third portion, but the writing is far more slovenly. It may possibly represent the handwriting of a fourth scribe; though, on the whole, I am disposed to believe that there are really only three distinct styles of writing represented in the entire manuscript. The first is that of the first and fifth portions (A and E); they are so nearly alike, that I believe them to be of the same scribe. The second is that of the second portion (B), which is a fine, ornamental writing. It must be ascribed to a distinct scribe. The third is that of the third and fourth portions (C and D), which seem to me to differ more in the manner than in the character of writing, and may not improbably be due to one scribe, though a different person from the scribes of A, E and B.

I come now to the question of the age of the MS. Here the first points to be settled are the locality and class, to which the characters of the MS. belong. Mr. Fleet has clearly shown, in his Volume III. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* on the Gupta Inscriptions,[3] that, irrespective of varieties, there existed, at the time of the Gupta period, two very distinct classes of the ancient Nâgarî alphabet, the North-Indian and the South-Indian (see Fleet, pp. 3, 4). The test letter for these two great classes is the character for *m*, which in the Southern alphabets retains its old form 𑀫 resembling the figure 8, while in the Northern alphabets that old form has been displaced by a square cursive form म. Tried by this test, it is at once seen that the alphabet of our MS. belongs to the Northern class. Throughout the MS. the square form म is used exclusively. It is particularly distinct in the portions C and D; in A, B and E the left-hand curved line is drawn somewhat straighter.

The Northern class of alphabets, however, is again divided into two great sections, which, though their areas overlap to a certain extent, may be broadly, and for practical purposes sufficiently, distinguished as the Eastern and Western sections. The test letter in this case is the cerebral sibilant *sha*. In the North-Eastern alphabet its form is श, while in the North-Western alphabet its form is ष.[4] Examples of the former alphabet we have in the posthumous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, of about 400 A. D. (Fleet, pp. 1, 6), the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta, of 460 A. D. (Fleet, p. 65), and others in Mr. Fleet's volume.[5] The same alphabet is shown to perfection in the Nepalese inscriptions, Bhagwanlâl Indrajî's Nos. 1 to 10 and No. 12, published *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 163; also in the Nepalese inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2, in Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, pp. 72, 74. To this section also belongs a new copperplate of Dharmâditya (Samudra Gupta?), lately found in the Farîdpur district in Eastern Bengal. On the other hand, the other-Nepalese inscriptions, *ante*, Vol. IX., Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, and in Mr. Bendall's *Journey*, Nos. 3 to 6, exhibit the North-Western alphabet. The latter alphabet is also to be seen in all the Nepalese MSS., described in Mr. Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.*, including the two oldest, Nos. 1049 and 1702.

Examples of the North-Western alphabet in Mr. Fleet's volume are the Bilsaḍ pillar inscription of Kumâra Gupta I., of 415 A. D., the Indôr plate of Skanda Gupta, of 465 A. D., and others.[6] Also the Tôramâṇa inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 238, the

[3] All subsequent references to "Fleet" refer to this work.

[4] At the same time the Indian N.-E. alphabet has the form श for the dental *sa*, the two forms of *sha* and *sa* being but slightly distinct from one another. The Indian N.-W. alphabet has स for *sa*, which is also used by the Nepalese variety of the N.-E. alphabet.

[5] The following Nos. in Mr. Fleet's volume belong to the N.-E. class: Nos. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 32, 64, 65, 66, 68, 75; occasionally the Western form is used in conjuncts, such as *ksha*, *shta*.

[6] The following Nos. belong to this class: Nos. 4, 10, 13, 16, 19, 20—31, 33—37, 42, 43, 46—52, 57—59, 63, 67, 70—72, 74, 76, 80. See also the classificatory lists at the end of this paper.

Kumâra Gupta II. seal in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng*, Vol. LVIII., p. 88, and the Nepalese inscriptions above mentioned.

In both the North-Eastern and North-Western sections there are divisions into varieties, some of which Mr. Fleet has noticed. However, for my present purpose, there is no need to enter into any consideration of these. But the distinction of the two great sections is very marked, and can never be missed when once pointed out.

There is one point, worthy of notice, with regard to these two great Northern divisions. It is this, that in India proper the North-Eastern alphabet gradually came to be entirely displaced by the North-Western alphabet, in comparatively very early times. This displacement must have taken place about the beginning of the sixth century A. D. For about 525 A. D. we already find an inscription in Jaunpur (of Îśvara Varman, Fleet, p. 228) which shows an exclusive North-Western character; and there is not a single inscription known (so far as I am aware) after 500 A. D., which shows the distinctive marks of the old North-Eastern alphabet. Outside of India proper, that is in Nêpâl, the North-Eastern alphabet maintained its ground for about three centuries longer; for the inscription, No. 4, *ante*, Vol. IX., dated in 854 A. D., still shows the use of that alphabet. This survival is accounted for by the fact that the North-Western alphabet apparently made its way into Nêpâl about a century and a half later than into Eastern India proper. For the earliest known inscription in that alphabet is No. 11, *ante*, Vol. IX, which must be dated 655 A. D. For the purposes of manuscript writing, as distinguished from documentary inscription, the North-Western alphabet probably made its way into Nêpâl very much earlier, as shown by Mr. Bendall's old MS. No. 1049, if (as I think it may well be) it is dated in 252 of the Gupta era, that is, in 571 A. D.

Now **the Bower MS. is distinctly written throughout in the North-Western alphabet.** This is an important point and must be kept in view throughout the following enquiry. The age of our MS. must be judged solely by the facts as disclosed by the circumstances of the North-Western alphabet. No conclusion that can be drawn from circumstances connected with the South-Indian or the North-Eastern alphabets may be applied to the determination of the age of our MS. For it stands to reason, that no scribe, who was habituated to write in the North-Western alphabet, would in any writing of his habitually introduce any peculiarity of the South-Indian or North-Eastern alphabets, with which he was not familiar.

Having premised this much, I proceed to the consideration of the points that appear to me to afford the means of determining approximately the date of the Bower MS.

Among the existing varieties of the North-Western alphabet, there is one which has most nearly retained its ancient character. This is the so-called Śâradâ alphabet, which is still current in Kaśmîr and the adjacent Sub-Himalayan provinces, such as the Chambâ and Kâṅgṛâ valleys. The most striking point of difference between the Śâradâ alphabet and its more ancient parent, the original North-Western alphabet, is the sign for the letter *ya*. The Śâradâ alphabet uses the modern cursive form ય, while the original North-Western alphabet employed the more ancient tridental form 𑀬. This is the test letter by which any inscription or manuscript written in the Śâradâ characters may be at once distinguished from any inscription or manuscript written in the more ancient North-Western alphabet. The latter I shall, for the sake of convenience, briefly distinguish as the Gupta alphabet. The oldest MS. in the Śâradâ characters of the existence of which we know, is the so-called Horiuzi MS., of which Professor Bühler has published an account and illustrative plates, in Volume I. Part III. of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.[7] According to him, "it is certain that this MS. cannot date later than the first half of the sixth century A. D." (*ibid.*, p. 64). It employs throughout the modern cursive form of *ya*. On the other hand, the Bower MS., though showing in the writing of parts A and E, in many

[7] "Śâradâ" is the name of a small group of alphabets, the varieties of which differ a little according to locality (Kaśmîr, Chambâ, etc.,) or period or material of writing, etc.; but the essential unity of the group is well known, and it is usual to call it Śâradâ.

respects, a very decided resemblance to the Sâradâ characters, employs in the portions B, C, D exclusively, in A, E almost exclusively, the older tridental form of the letter *ya*. It follows, therefore, that the **Bower MS. is not written in the Sâradâ alphabet, but in the more ancient Gupta alphabet.** The general similarity of its letters to the Sâradâ probably shows that the locality of its writing was somewhere in the extreme North-West of India, but **its use of the ancient tridental form of ya shows that its date must be antecedent to the elaboration of the Sâradâ form of the North-Western alphabet.** When this event took place, I shall now attempt to show.

The old form (though not quite the oldest, which was ,) of the letter *ya* was or . It was made by two separate movements of the hand, one for drawing the left-hand perpendicular, the other for drawing the remaining portion of the letter. The next step was an attempt to draw the letter with one movement of the hand. This led to the contrivance of the form by which the end of the left-hand crook or loop was brought forward to the point of junction of the perpendicular and horizontal portions of the letter. It was now possible to draw the letter with one stroke of the pen, beginning with the top of the left-hand perpendicular, downwards; then round the loop, from left to right, to the bottom of the perpendicular; then finishing with the right-hand crook or angle. This change was clearly due to the convenience of cursive writing. But the tendency of cursive writing to quickness and economy of effort very soon led to a further change, which produced the form , by severing the point of junction. This form, which was the final result of the process, is still essentially the modern cursive form. The intermediate form , as I shall presently show, only existed for a comparatively very short time, and is essentially a mere transitional form.

It is a well-accepted fact that cursive forms first make their appearance in manuscript writing, and may be, and generally are, in use in MS. writing some time before they are introduced in the inscribing of documents on stone, copper or other material. Such documents are of a conservative nature; they have a tendency to preserve old forms, after these have long disappeared from ordinary MS. writing. The common or exclusive use, in an ordinary MS., of a distinctly archaic form is, therefore, a safe means of determining its age.

The old form of the letter *ya* was once current in all the alphabets of India. In all of them it gradually became displaced by some cursive form. But this displacement did not take place in all of them at the same point of time. In the South-Indian alphabet it survived, at least in inscriptions, down to the twelfth century A. D.[8] The North-Eastern alphabet, as I have already remarked, was, in India proper, as early as the beginning of the sixth century, superseded by the North-Western alphabet; but in Nêpâl it survived about three centuries longer, and there, with it, the old form of *ya* survived, at least in inscriptions, down to the middle of the ninth century A. D. It should be noted, however, that the old form of *ya*, in the shape in which it survived in Nêpâl, is somewhat different from the old form in its original shape, as it was once current in the North-Indian alphabets. Its original shape is that of a sort of trident, of which the left-hand prong makes a curve or even a loop, thus or . In the Nepalese shape, the curve or loop, is replaced by a ringlet which is poised on the top of the left-hand prong, thus .[9] The difference is marked, and the two shapes can be easily distinguished from each other.

The North-Western alphabet was the first to discard the use of the old form of *ya*. From it, as I shall presently show, the old form disappeared, even in inscriptions, as early as the end of the sixth century A. D.; and from cursive writing in that alphabet, according to the well-known rule, above stated, it must have disappeared much earlier. There is an obvious conclu-

[8] In the old Kanarese, where it much resembles the later Nepalese form with the ringlet attached to the left prong. See, *e. g.*, the Eastern Chalukya inscription of 1134 A. D., *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 50, or the Kâkatiya inscription of 1162 A. D., *ante*, Vol. XI., p. 9. It has now passed into the various modern cursive forms of the South-Indian alphabets.

[9] See, *e.g.*, the inscription No. 8, *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 171.

sion, which is suggested by these facts; it is, that **the invention, so to speak, of the cursive form of ya took place in the North-West of India, somewhere within the area in which the North-Western alphabet was current.**

The first document known to us, from which the use of the old form has entirely disappeared is the long Bôdhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman of 588 A. D. (Fleet, p. 274). It uses exclusively the transitional form, with one or two exceptions, in which the modern form itself is used.[10] In another short Bôdhgayâ inscription of Mahânâman, of about the same date (Fleet, p. 278), the modern form is used exclusively. **In fact, after 600 A. D., there is no inscription known, which shows any trace of the survival of the old form.** In all of them the cursive form of *ya* is fully established in exclusive use; thus in the Madhâ (Lakkha Mandal) inscription of about 600 A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 10),[11] the Madhuban inscription of Harsha, of 631 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 67), the Aphsaḍ and Shâhpur inscriptions of Âdityasêna, of about 672 A. D (Fleet, pp. 200, 208), the Dêô Baraṇârk inscription of Jîvita Gupta, of about 725 A. D. (Fleet, p. 213), the Sârnâth inscription of Prakatâditya of somewhere in the seventh century (Fleet, p. 284). To these may be added the evidence of those Nepalese inscriptions, which are not written in the North-Eastern or proper Nepalese alphabet, but in the North-Western characters; thus the Patan inscription of 687 A. D. (see Mr. Bendall's *Journey in Nepal*, p. 77), the Jaisî (Kaṭmandu) inscription of 750 A. D. (*ibid.* p. 79), the inscription of Śiva Dêva, of 748 A. D., another of 750 A. D., and the inscription of Jayadêva, of 758 A. D. (see *ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 176-78). In all these inscriptions the modern cursive form is used exclusively.

Another piece of evidence, in the same direction, is the Tibetan tradition respecting the introduction of the Northern Indian alphabet into Tibet (see *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LVII, pp. 41 ff.). It is said that these characters were introduced into Tibet by the sage Sambhôta, who brought them from Magadha, where he had resided from A. D. 630-650. These characters are known in Tibet as the "Wartu" characters of Magadha; their forms, as traditionally preserved in Tibet, may be seen in Plate I of the *Journal* (*ibidem*); and it will be seen that among these the letter *ya* has the cursive form. This shows that at the time of Sambhôta's visit to Magadha, in the second quarter of the seventh century A. D., the cursive form of *ya* was in current use in North-India.[12]

I am not aware of the existence of a single dated inscription in North-India, written in the North-Western alphabet, which indubitably proves any use, still less the exclusive, or almost exclusive, use of the old form of ya, after 600 A. D. It follows from this evidence that, since the old form of *ya* had entirely disappeared from inscriptions, from the end of the sixth century (say from about 580 A. D.), it must have disappeared from the cursive writing of ordinary manuscripts long before. Accordingly a manuscript, like the Bower MS., in which the old form is still used almost exclusively, must be placed long before the end of the sixth century, and much nearer the beginning of it.

This conclusion is fully supported by the evidence of all the ancient dated (or practically dated) MSS. that are, as yet, known to exist. The oldest is the Horiuzi MS. The date of its writing has been shown by Professor Bühler to be somewhere in the middle of the sixth century, that is, between 520 and 577 A.D. (see *Anec. Oxon.*, p. 63 ff.). It exhibits throughout the exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya*, **thus showing that this cursive form was fully**

[10] The transitional form is here used in a somewhat modified and more ornate shape.

[11] The transitional form occurs twice in this inscription, in *yêna*, ll. 6 and 11, curiously enough, with the vowel *ê*, on which see page 35.

[12] The "Wartu" characters exhibit in all test points the characteristics of the North-Western alphabet. This shows, what I have already observed (*ante*, p. 31), that the North-Eastern alphabet, which was once current in Magadha, was there in very early times displaced by the North-Western alphabet. It is said, however, that Sambhôta only "partly" adopted the "Wartu" characters for his Tibetan alphabet (*Journal, ibid.* p. 41). This explains the fact that the "Wartu" or cursive form of *ya* does not appear in that alphabet. For the letter *ya* that sage appears to have drawn on the North-Eastern alphabet, which he must have known from Nêpâl, where (as I have shown) it maintained its ground about three centuries longer than in Magadha.

established for MS. writing in the middle of the sixth century A. D. The next oldest MSS are two, described as Nos. 1049 and 1702 by Mr. Bendall in his *Catalogue of Buddhist MSS. in the Cambridge Library*, p. xxxix. One of them is dated Saṁvat 252, which Mr. Bendall takes to be in terms of the Harsha era and to be equal to 857 A. D. For my part, I can see no valid objection, on palæographic grounds, to understanding the date in terms of the Gupta era, and as equal to 571 A. D. I do not notice any such material difference between the writing of the Horiuzi MS. and the two Cambridge MSS., as to account for a supposed interval of three centuries. Anyhow, both Cambridge MSS. exhibit the exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya*.

The conclusion appears to me inevitable, that **any MS. which shows, as the Bower MS. does, the exclusive use of the old form, or which shows an uniform absence of the use of the cursive form, cannot be possibly placed later than 550 A. D., and in all probability is very much older.** The only question is, whether there are any indications in the Bower MS. that render it possible to fix its date somewhat more definitely.

Here the following facts are to be observed. The first appearance of the modern cursive form of *ya* in any inscription is met with in the Bijayagaḍh inscription of Vishṇu Vardhana, of 371 A. D. (Fleet, p. 252), in *śrêyô*, line 4 (if the plate can be trusted); and it is to be noted that it is used in junction with the vowel *ô*. The old form, however, is more usual, as in *nâmadhêyêna*, l. 3, and *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 4, in both cases with the vowel *ê*. The first appearance of the transitional cursive form is met with about thirty years later (see below), but there can be no doubt that, though in the existing inscriptions, the first appearance of the modern form happens to be earlier, that form, as compared with the transitional form of the letter, is of later development.[13] Probably there was no great interval between the development of the two forms. In any case, the invention (so to speak) of the transitional form and, with it, the first beginnings of the modern form of *ya* may, thus far, be placed at about 350 A. D.

The actual first appearance of the transitional form is found in the Tusâm inscription (Fleet, p. 269). It occurs in the word *yôgâchâryya*, l. 3, again with the vowel *ô*, and side by side with the old form in *upayôjyam*.[14] This is a very clear instance; but, unfortunately, the inscription is not dated, though on palæographic grounds it may be referred to about 400 A. D. The first occurrence of the transitional form in a dated inscription is in the Indôr copper-plate of Skanda Gupta, of 465 A. D. (Fleet, p. 68), in the words *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 4, and *upayôjyam*, l. 7, in both cases with the vowels *ê* and *ô*. Side by side, the old form occurs in *yôgam*, l. 9, *yô*, l. 11, *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 8. Other instances occur in the Kârîtâlâî inscription of Jayanâtha, of 493 A. D. (Fleet, p. 117), in *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 7, and *chhrêyô*, l. 15, here also with the vowels *ê* and *ô*; and side by side with the old form in *yê*, l. 10, *lôpayêt*, l. 12, *prâyêṇa*, l. 16, *yô*, l. 20. Another instance occurs in the Khôh inscription of Jayanâtha, of 496 A. D. (Fleet, p. 121), in the word *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 8, again with the vowel *ê*, and side by side with the older form in *pratyâyôpanayaṁ*, l. 11, and *prâyêṇa*, l, 17. A very clear instance occurs in the Jaunpur inscription of Îśvaravarman, of about 525 A. D. (Fleet, p. 228), in *anvavâyê*, l. 2, again with the vowel *ê*. So again in the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman of about 530 A. D. (Fleet, p. 149), in *yô*, l. 4, again with the vowel *ô*, and side by side with the old form in *pâdayôr*, l. 5. Similarly in the Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman as Vishṇuvardhana, of 533 A. D. (Fleet, p. 150), in *yêna*, l. 8, again with the vowel *ê*, and side by side with the old form in *bhûrayô*, l. 8,[15] *yêna*, l. 8, 13, *yo*, l. 17, 18. Likewise in the Khôh inscription of 'Sarvanâtha, of 533 A. D. (Fleet, p. 135), in *nyâyêna*, l. 13, l. *yê*, 16, and *pra-*

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13 A similar case, with regard to the development of the letter *m*, is noted by Mr. Fleet in his volume on the Gupta inscriptions, p. 3, footnote.

14 This instance was also noticed by Mr. Fleet (p. 270, footnote 4). It is the identical form that occurs in the Bower MS.

15 This is a very good instance for comparison, because in *bhûrayô yêna* the two forms stand in immediate juxtaposition.

tyâyôtpannaka, l. 9, again with the vowels *ê* and *ô*, and side by side with the old form in *lôpayêt*, l. 18, *grâmayôr*, l. 27, *yô*, l. 25, *yê*, l. 27, etc. These are all the instances of the occurrence of the transitional form that I have been able to discover among the 35 inscriptions in the North-Western (Gupta) alphabet, published by Mr. Fleet.

Contemporary with them are the following instances of the use of the modern cursive form. In the Majhgawâm inscription of Hastin, of 510 A.D. (Fleet, p. 106), it occurs in the words *chhrêyô*, l. 14, *yô*, l. 16, *pânîyêshu*, l. 17, *yê*, l. 18, again with the vowels, *ê* and *ô*, and side by side with the old form in the words *anvayôpabhôgyas*, l. 10, *yô*, l. 11, *ahayô*, l. 18.[16] The transitional form also occurs in the word *abhivṛiddhayê*, l. 7.

Now as to the conclusions that follow from the above statistics, note, in the first place, the extreme rarity of the transitional and modern cursive forms, as well as the peculiar circumstances under which alone they occur. And here mark the following four points:—

(1) **They occur only in a small proportion of inscriptions.** Of course, the only inscriptions with which we are here concerned are those that use more or less exclusively the old form. Those that already use the transitional or modern cursive forms exclusively are outside the question; so are, of course, all those that are not written in some variety or other of the North-Western alphabet. Now there are 35 inscriptions of the former description in Mr. Fleet's Volume III. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.* To these may be added a few others, such as the Tôramâṇa inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I, p. 238, and the Kumâra Gupta seal in the *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LVIII. p. 88. Among these there are only ten inscriptions, a little more than *one-fourth,* that exhibit the occasional use of the transitional and modern cursive forms at all. The rest use exclusively the old form.

(2) **The transitional and modern cursive forms occur, in that one-fourth of inscriptions, exclusively in connection with the vowels ê or ô.**[17] With all other vowels, *i. e.*, in every other case, the old form is used.

(3) **Even in connection with the vowels ê and ô, the transitional and modern cursive forms are not obligatory, but optional.** In fact, even with those vowels, the old form is used more commonly than the transitional and modern cursive forms. On the whole the former is used twice as often as the latter.

(4) **Of the two cursive forms, the transitional and the modern, the former is used much more frequently than the latter** (viz., transitional : modern = 13 : 4).

In the second place, note that the period during which the sporadic use of the transitional and modern cursive forms occurs, is a comparatively well defined one. Its termini, so far as the evidence of the available inscriptions goes, are from 371 A. D. to 533 A. D., or in round numbers from 370 to 540 A. D., *i. e.*, 170 years. Or, if we omit the very early case of the Bijayagaḍh inscription, of 371 A. D, as perhaps of a doubtful character, **the transition period extends from about 400 to 540 A. D., that is, 140 years.** Antecedent to this period, we find the old form of *ya* in undisputed possession of the field, and subsequent to it, the cursive form of *ya* is in equally undisputed possession.[18]

Now it appears to me that from these facts there is but one conclusion, to which one is irresistibly driven. It is this, that there is here disclosed to us evidence of the actual point in time, when the invention, so to speak, of the cursive form of *ya* was made, or, to speak more precisely, the application of it to the non-conjunct *ya*. For to suit the case of the conjunct or under-written *ya*, the cursive form had been long before invented and exclusively employed. But to the non-conjunct *ya*, it only began to be applied about 400 A. D. At first it was only

16 In these cases the peculiarity of the form is also noted by Mr. Fleet, p. 106.

17 Probably it would also be used with the vowels *ai* and *au* ; though no instance happens to occur in the existing inscriptions.

18 The single exception is the Asîrgaḍh seal, of about 565 A. D. ; and here there are probably peculiar reasons to account for it.

applied tentatively and hesitatingly in those cases in which the non-conjunct *ya* carried the vowels *ê* or *ô* (or *ai* or *au*). But the convenience of the cursive form gradually carried everything before it, and displaced the old form entirely about 540 A. D. In all probability **this process commenced, in the case of manuscript writing, earlier than in that of documentary inscription, perhaps already about 350 A. D., and terminated proportionately earlier, perhaps about 500 A. D.** On the other hand, in documentary inscription the process began later and ended later. Here the use of the old form may have lingered on to about 600 A. D.; but from that date, as already shown from the evidence of existing dated inscriptions, the use of the cursive form of *ya* enjoyed an undisputed possession of the field.

Accordingly, for practical purposes, the rule may be laid down, **that any inscription in the North-Western Indian Alphabet which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of ya must date from before 600 A. D.**

With regard to manuscripts the same rule must hold good, with this modification, that the termini must be put back by about 50 (or it may be 100) years; that is, **a MS. showing the exclusive use of the cursive from of ya must date from after 550 or 500 A. D., while a MS. showing the more or less exclusive use of the old form of ya must date from before 550 or 500 A. D., and may date back as far as 350 A. D.**

That this rule, as deduced from the above collected facts, is correct is proved by the Horiuzi MS. This MS. uses the cursive form of *ya* exclusively, and, as shown by Professor Bühler, it certainly dates from some time between 520 and 577 A. D.

This rule further proves that the elaboration of the so-called Śáradá alphabet may be placed about 500 A. D. For it possesses the cursive form of *ya*. Hence it follows that **any manuscript and á fortiori any inscription, written in the Śáradá characters must certainly be later than 500 A. D.**; though as the Śáradá characters, with slight modifications, are used up to the present day in Kaśmîr and the adjacent regions, a mere consideration of the form of the cursive *ya* is insufficient to fix with any approximation the date of such a manuscript or inscription in any particular year after that epoch.

Now let us see the bearing of the results of the above enquiry on the question of the age of the Bower MS. It is to be noticed that,

(1) **The old form of ya is used almost exclusively throughout the MS.** Indeed, in the second, third and fourth portions it is used exclusively, and it is only in the first and fifth portions, that the cursive (transitional or modern) form occasionally occurs.

(2) **This cursive (transitional or modern) form is never used, except when carrying the vowels ê or ai or ô or au.**

(3) **Even with those vowels, the use of the cursive (transitional or modern) form is optional**; though on the whole, it is more usual than that of the old form.

(4) **Of the two forms of the cursive ya, the transitional and the modern, the former is used almost exclusively**; the modern cursive form occurring only in a few isolated cases.

The following examples are all taken from the two published plates: and I have only to remark, that the pages, figured on the two plates, are very fair specimens of the whole manuscript.

The transitional cursive form is to be seen on Plate I, No. I,[19] in *yôga* l. 1, *yôga* l. 2 twice *yôgânaṁ* l. 3, *trayôdaśam* l. 5, *kalpayêt* l. 9,; again on Plate III, upper page, in *jîvanîyô* l. 2, *payô* l. 4, *jîvanîyaiś=cha* l. 4, *lêpayêt* l. 4, *vimiśrayêt* l. 6, *prayôjayêt* l. 6, *avagâhayêt* l. 6, *yô...* l. 6, *lêhayêt* l. 8, *prayôjayêt* l. 11. Note that it is always used with the vowels *ê* or *ai* or *ô*.

[19] Plate I is in the April *Proceedings* 1891, and Plate III in the November *Proceedings*, 1890.

There is only one instance of the modern cursive form; it occurs in the akshara *yêt* of *prayôjayêt* in Plate III, upper page, in line 11. Here we have the transitional and the modern cursive forms side by side in one word, the former form being used in the akshara *yô*, the latter in the akshara *yêt*. A similar instructive example of the use, side by side, of the old and the transitional forms, we have *ibidem* in *prayôjayêt*, in line 6, where the old form is seen in the akshara *yêt*, while the transitional form occurs in the akshara *yô*.

Of the old form there are the following instances. On Plate I, No I, we have it in *chûrṇṇayêt* l. 10, and on Plate III, upper page, in *upakalpayêt* l. 2, * * *yêt* l. 3, *prayôjayêt* l. 6, *lêhayêt* l. 8, *pâyayêt* l. 9. Note here again, that all these instances are with the vowel *ê*. Of the old form with the vowel *ô* there is no instance in the figured pages; but I have noticed a few cases in other parts of the manuscript. Of course, I exclude here, as being beside the precise point in question, all instances of the use of the old form in combination with any other vowel, only remarking, that it is used uniformly with all other vowels.

To sum up, the examination of the two specimen pages shows: *ad* Nos. 1 and 2, that the old form is used exclusively, except with the vowels *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au*[20]; *ad* No. 3, that out of 23 instances, in which the letter *y* is combined with the vowels *ê* or *ai* or *ô*, the cursive (transitional and modern) form is used in 17, while the old form is used in 6; that is, the former is used about three times as often as the latter; *ad* No. 4, that out of 17 instances of the use of the transitional and modern cursive forms, the former is used 16 times, while the latter occurs only once; *i. e.*, that the transitional form is used almost exclusively.

Now comparing the case of the Bower MS. with that of the Gupta inscriptions, the result is this, that the two cases, while fully agreeing in the main points, differ only in one particular, namely, that the cursive (transitional or modern) form is used in the manuscript rather more frequently than the old form (*viz.*, cursive: old = 3: 1), while in the inscriptions the old form is used rather more frequently than the cursive form (*viz*, cursive : old = 1 : 2). This, however, is nothing more than may be expected, if we consider that on the one side we have a case of ordinary manuscript writing, on the other one of documentary inscription, and remember that (as Professor Bühler says, in *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 68) "everywhere in India the epigraphic alphabets are in many details retrograde and lag behind the literary ones."

One thing, however, is clearly brought out by the evidence above set out, that the writing of the Bower MS. must be placed within that period, which, as we have seen, is marked out by that evidence as the period of transition from the use of the old rigid form of *ya* to the use of the (still existing) cursive form; that is, for manuscript writing, **within the period from about 350 to 500 A. D.**

It is true that in the second, third and fourth portions of the Bower MS., the old form is used exclusively. There is no trace whatsoever of either the transitional or the modern cursive forms. Judging by this circumstance only, we should have to place the MS. still earlier, somewhere before the fifth century A. D. But this would certainly seem to be wrong with regard to the second portion. For the fact, that this portion was written after the first, seems to be clearly proved by the circumstance that it commences on the reverse of a leaf, on the obverse of which we have the ending of the first portion. Properly considered, however, that circumstance only tends to confirm the conclusion that the main portion (A, B, E) of the Bower MS. was written during the transitional period. For it is only natural to suppose that during that period, some scribes had already more or less adopted the new fashion of cursive writing, while others, more conversative, adhered to the older fashion. On the whole, therefore, considering that the portions A and E of the MS. appear to manifest a decided tendency to a free use of the transitional form, it will probably be safer **to place the date of the main portion of the MS. nearer to the end than the beginning of the transition period,** that

[20] Of *au* there is no instance in the figured pages, but I have met with a few in other pages of the manuscript.

is to say, in the middle of the fifth century (say, about 450 A. D.). The portions C and D, however, may be referred to an earlier part of that period (say 400 A. D.).

This result will probably be startling to most of my readers. There exists — and I admit, hitherto not without reason — a general disposition to discredit any claim to great age on the part of any Indian manuscript. I used to incline to the same opinion, and the present result was an unexpected one to myself. But I do not see how the force of the evidence can be gainsaid.

Let us see what the objections are. In the first place it is said, that the material of the MS. — birch bark — is of a nature too weak and flimsy to permit us to believe that it could endure for such a length of time. This argument has been already well answered by Mr. Bendall in his *Catalogue of Buddhists Sanskrit MSS.*, p. XVII. ff., and by Professor Bühler in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, part III, p. 63ff. No *à priori* rule will apply; all depends on the circumstances under which a MS. may have been preserved; and the argument, from the nature of the material, will not stand for one moment against positive arguments from epigraphic history. According to Lieut. Bower's account, the MS. "had been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections just outside a subterranean city near Kuchar." These erections are described as being generally about 50 or 60 feet high, in shape like a huge cottage loaf; built solid of sun-dried bricks with layers of beams now crumbling away." I suppose it cannot be doubted that these erections are Buddhist *stûpas*. Such *stûpas* often contain a chamber enclosing relics and other objects; these chambers are generally near the level of the ground or "at the foot" (as it is said) of the erection, and they are often dug into by persons who search for hidden treasures. In this way the MS. was probably dug out, perhaps not long before it was made over to Lieut. Bower. In such a practically air-tight chamber there is no reason why a birch bark MS. should not endure for any length of time.

Another objection is that the characters used in a MS. are no guide to its age. It is said that "characters of the Gupta type have been used in very late times, and indeed are in use to the present day all along the region from which the Bower MS. comes." The characters which are here meant are those used in the Kaśmîr, Chambâ and Kâṅgṛâ valleys. They are those which are commonly known by the name "'Sâradâ characters." These, as already remarked, are a variety of the North-Western alphabet, and are that variety which has, more than any other, preserved the shapes of its ancient parent, the North-Western Gupta alphabet. Now it is not quite correct to say, that the 'Sâradâ alphabet has not changed; it is quite possible to distinguish the modern form of the 'Sâradâ from its more ancient form. But what is really important is this, that **the 'Sâradâ alphabet, so far as we have any dated evidence, never possessed, at any period of its existence, the old (Gupta) form of the consonant ya. It always possessed exclusively the modern cursive form of that letter.** I maintain, that there exists not a single dated MS. or inscription, written in any variety of the 'Sâradâ alphabet, which does not show the exclusive use of the cursive form. This being so, it follows that any conclusions, drawn from facts connected with the 'Sâradâ alphabet, have no application to a MS. which shows the almost exclusive use of the old (Gupta) form of *ya*, and which, therefore, is not written in the 'Sâradâ characters. Now, what conclusions can be drawn from the facts connected with the 'Sâradâ alphabet? Its exclusive use of the cursive *ya* shows that its elaboration is to be dated on this side of 500 A. D. But as it has but little changed the shape of its letters since the date of its inception, it follows, that any undated MS. or inscription written in the 'Sâradâ alphabet must be placed after 500 A. D., but may be placed almost at any time after that epoch. That is really all that can be intended by the principle that the 'Sâradâ characters are no guide as to age. More the principle will not bear, and it clearly is not applicable to a MS. which is not written in the 'Sâradâ characters, but in a form of alphabet more archaic and very possibly the parent of the 'Sâradâ. With the proviso, now explained, I fully agree with Professor Kielhorn's remark, made with reference to a Chambâ Grant (*ante*, Vol. XVII., p. 7) that "it would be impossible to determine the age, even approximately, from its characters,"

these characters being, as Professor Kielhorn explains, the well-known 'Sâradâ. Judging from these characters, all that one could say would be that the grant may date from any time after 500 A. D., which, of course, would be a futile proposition.

The main argument for the age of the Bower MS. is the preservation in it of the old form of *ya*. No objection can be raised on the ground that the old form was preserved much longer in the South-Indian and the North-Eastern Indian (Nepalese) alphabets. As these alphabets differ from the North-Western Indian, which is used in our MS., any conclusions, drawn from the circumstances of those alphabets, have no applicability to our MS. It stands to reason that no scribe, used to his own North-Western Indian alphabet, would, in writing a MS., think of introducing the old form of a letter, which did not exist any more in his own alphabet, from another alphabet, unfamiliar to him, in which it did still exist.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing most of the above remarks I have, as already stated, read and transcribed nearly the whole of the manuscript. **I have carefully noted every occurrence of the akshara yê, yô, yai, and yau.**

In the portions B, C, D, I have found the cursive form (either transitional or modern) used not once. The aksharas *yai* and *yau* never occur; the akshara *yê* occurs 19 times (B 4, C 13, D 2), always with the old form of *ya*. The akshara *yô* occurs 9 times (B 7, D 2), again always with the old form.

In the portions A and E, the case stands thus: there are altogether 333 cases of the occurrence of those aksharas, *viz.*, 202 of *yê*, 125 of *yô*, 4 of *yai* and 2 of *yau*. In every case of *yai* and *yau* the transitional form [cursive ya] is used. With *yê* and *yô* the transitional form is used 227 times, and the modern form [modern ya], 16 times. The transitional form occurs 117 times with *yê*, 110 times with *yô*, 4 times with *yai*, and twice with *yau*. The modern form occurs 12 times with *yê*, and 4 times with *yô*. Altogether the cursive form occurs 249 times. The old form occurs 73 times with *yê* and 11 times with *yô*. The following table exhibits this : —

Aksharas :					Totals.
Old	*ye* 73	*yo* 11	*yai* 0	*yau* 0	84
Transitional	,, 117	,, 110	,, 4	,, 2	233 } 249
Modern	,, 12	,, 4	,, 0	,, 0	16 }
Total ...	*ye* 202	*yo* 125	*yai* 4	*yau* 2	333

Now with regard to point No. 3 (see p. 35), there being 249 cursive forms to 84 old ones among a total of 333 cases, the proportion of cursive to old forms is as 3 to 1. With regard to the point No. 4, there being 233 transitional to 16 modern forms among a total of 249 cases, the proportion of transitional to modern forms is as (about) 15 to 1. In both cases, it will be seen, **the evidence of the entire manuscript most accurately bears out the evidence of the specimen pages** (see p. 37) and thus confirms my conclusions based on the latter. I may add with regard to the points Nos. 1 and 2, that in the portions A and E, the cursive (transitional or modern) form never occurs in any other akshara but those four: *yê*, *yô*, *yai*, *yau*. With the aksharas *ya*, *yâ*, *yi*, *yî*, *yu*, *yû*, in every case, without any exception, the old form [old ya], is used. The occurrence of these six aksharas, especially of *ya* and *yâ* is very frequent, and this fact all the more accentuates the striking circumstance that the cursive form is only employed with the vowels *ê*, *ô*, *ai*, and *au*. There must have been some reason for this peculiarity, — perhaps one of mere convenience of writing, though I cannot suggest any satisfactory one. I should note, that the vowels *ê*, *ô*, *ai*, and *au* are drawn, both with the old and the cursive forms, in every possible variety: entirely side-marked, marked half on side and half on top, and entirely top-

marked. The cause of the peculiarity, therefore, cannot well have had any connection with the form of the vowels.

I would suggest that similar statistical enquiries should be made with reference to some other leading letters; e. g., *m*, *sh*, the sub-scribed *y*, the super-scribed *r*; also with regard to the numeral symbols. I have little doubt but that from such statistics may result some further useful land-marks for the determination of dates of writing. I hope to pursue the enquiry myself, so far as leisure from official duties will permit me.

ADDENDUM.

Since the publication of the foregoing paper in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I have drawn up a sketch map of the distribution, and classifactory lists, of the inscriptions on which my conclusions are based. As they may be found useful, I add them here.

I classify (following herein Mr. Fleet) the early Indian alphabets into the South-Indian and the North-Indian, distinguished by their forms of the letter *m*. Inscriptions which show the form 8 are South-Indian; those which have ম are North-Indian.

The North-Indian alphabet I divide into the North-Eastern and North-Western varieties distinguished by their forms of the letter *sh* (cerebral sibilant). Inscriptions which show the form (bi-partite square) U are North-Western, while those which have the form (looped square) ষ are North-Eastern.

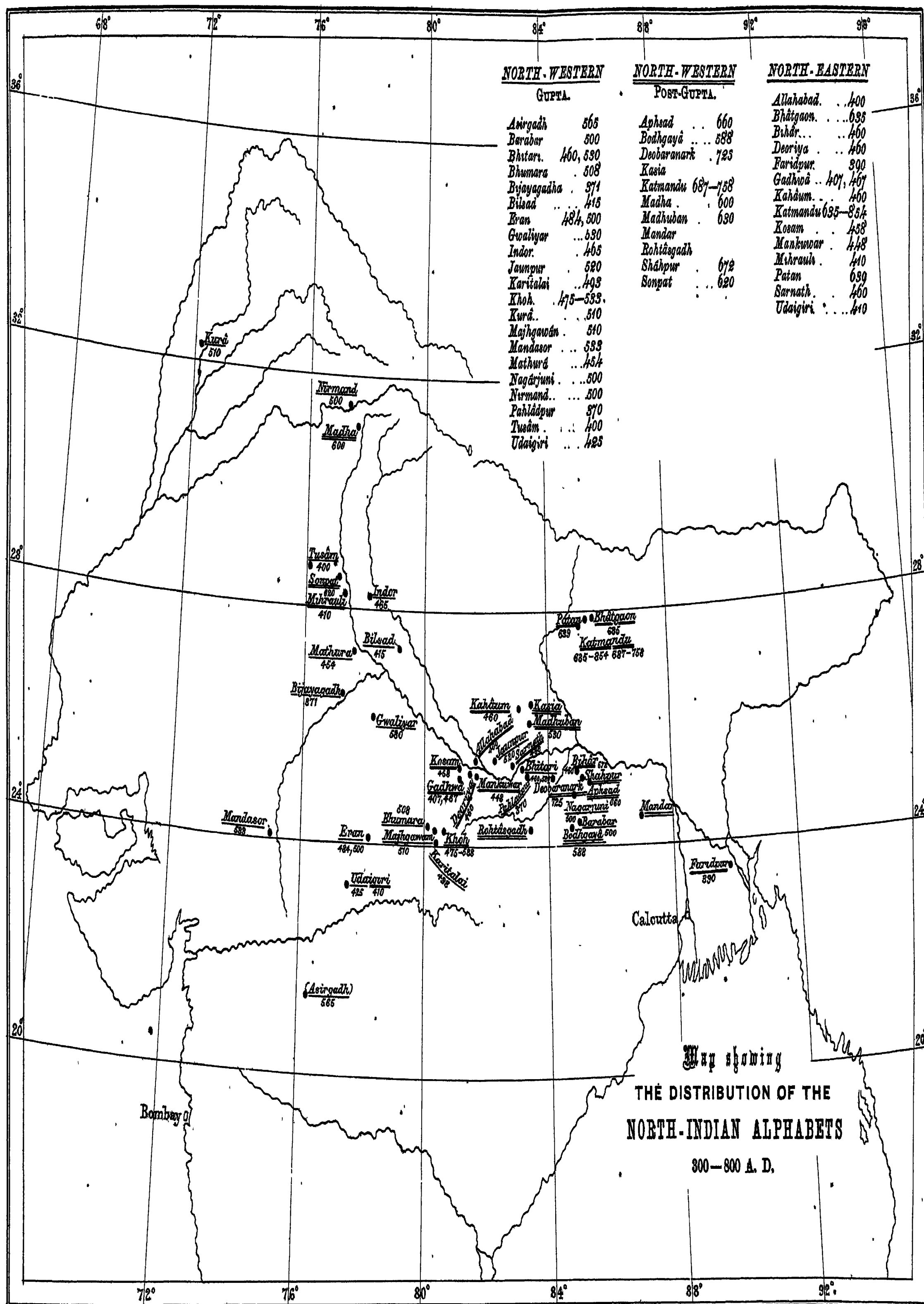
In the North-Western alphabet I distinguish the earlier Gupta and the later Post-Gupta varieties, which are distinguished by their forms of the letter *y*. Inscriptions which show the form य are written in the Gupta, those which have ञ are written in the Post-Gupta alphabet.

In India proper the North-Western alphabet displaced the North-Eastern about the end of the fifth century. The year 500 A.D. may be taken as a convenient epoch of this occurrence.

Not long afterwards the Post-Gupta began to displace the Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet in India proper. The year 600 A.D. may be taken as a convenient epoch of the final displacement of the Gupta variety. Any inscription showing the old Gupta form of *y* may be placed before that date.

In the following lists the inscriptions are arranged in chronological order. Where the exact date is not known, an average date has been assigned, *i. e.*, some year within the reign of the king named in the inscription. For these reigns I have used my synchronistic table, published in the *Journal, As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. LVIII. The average dates may be easily recognised by their having no equivalents in the column of Indian dates. In a few cases, viz., Nos. 5 16, 19, 20, 21 in List I, No. 11 in List II., and Nos. 11, 12 in List III., there is nothing, at present, available to fix their dates, except the test-letters themselves. These inscriptions, therefore, do not help to support my argument, and I have only included them in the lists for the sake of completeness, and moreover distinguished them by italic type. At the same time, seeing that the lists without them amply sustain my argument, they add some weight to the latter *post factum*.

With regard to Nos. 10, 11, 12 in List III. (marked by asterisks) I should explain, that in No. 10 (Kôsam inscription) no instance of the letter *sh* occurs. So far, therefore, the test fails. But it should be noted, that in the North-Eastern alphabet, the dental and the cerebral sibilants are formed very nearly alike, with a looped square; see, *e. g.*, No 13 (Kahâuṁ inscription). This looped or ringleted form of the dental *s* occurs frequently in the Kôsam inscription. Accordingly, I have classified it with the North-Eastern list. For the same reason, I have included in that list the two Nos. 11 and 12; for though these inscriptions exhibit one or two cases of the cerebral *sh*, these are, in the first place, not very distinct, and in the second place, they all occur in ligatures. The latter are not trustworthy tests, for the North-Eastern form of



 Litho., S. I. O., Calcutta.

sh is not always used in them. Thus in the thoroughly North-Eastern inscription of Kahâuṁ (No. 13), we have the North-Western form of *sh* in the ligature *ksh* of *kshitipa* (line 3), while the North-Eastern form is used in the ligatures *rsh* and *shṭh* of *varshê* and *jyêshṭha* respectively (line 4). I may add, that in the new Farîdpur inscription, in which both the dental and cerebral sibilants are of very frequent occurrence, they can only be distinguished with great difficulty.

Similar remarks apply to No. 4 of List I. No instance of the letter *sh* is preserved in it, but the characteristic form of the dental *s* helps to assign it to the North-Western variety.

In the first List I have indicated, by means of a cross (†), those inscriptions which shew instances of the transitional or modern cursive forms of *ya*; these are Nos. 3, 5, 10, 14, 15, 23, 28, 33, 34, 35.

LIST I. — *Inscriptions in the Gupta variety of the North-Western Alphabet.*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Saṁv.	A.D.
1	Fleet's No. 58	Bijayagaḍh	Yaudhêyas	...	*370*
2	" No. 57	Pahlâdpur	Śiśupâla	...	*370*
3	" No. 59	†Bijayagaḍh	Vishṇu Vardhana	428	371
4	" No. 4	Mathurâ	Chandra Gupta II (395-414)	...	*400*
5	" No. 67	†*Tusâm*	....	...	*400*
6	" No. 10	Bilsaḍ	Kumâra Gupta I	96	415
7	" No. 61	Udayagiri	(Kumâra Gupta I)	106	425
8	" No. 63	Mathurâ	(Skanda Gupta)	135	454
9	" No. 13	Bhitarî	Skanda Gupta (455-468)	...	*460*
10	" No. 16	†Indôr	Skanda Gupta	146	465
11	" No. 21	Khôh	Hastin	156	475
12	" No. 22	do.	do.	163	482
13	" No. 19	Êran	Budhagupta	165	484
14	" No. 26	†Kârâtalâî	Jayanâtha	174	493
15	" No. 27	†Khôh	do.	177	496
16	" No. 80	*Nirmaṇḍ*	Samudra Sêna	...	*500*
17	" No. 36	Êran	Tôramâna (494-510)[21]	...	*500*
18	" No. 24	Bhumarâ	Śarvanâtha	189	508
19	" No. 48	*Barâbar*	*Ananta Varman*	...	*510*
20	" No. 49	*Nagârjunî*	*do.*	...	*510*
21	" No. 50	*do.*	*do.*	...	*510*
22	" No. 20	Êran	Gôparâja	191	510
23	" No. 23	†Majhgawâm	Hastin	191	510
24	Epigr. Ind. I, p. 238	Kurâ	Tôramâṇa	...	*510*
25	Fleet's No. 28	Khôh	Śarvanâtha	193	512
26	" No. 30	do.	do.	197	516
27	" No. 29	do.	do.	...	*516*
28	" No. 51	†Jaunpur	Îśvara Varman (520-540)	...	*525*
29	" No. 25	Khôh	Saṁkshôbha	209	528
30	" No. 37	Gwâliyâr	Mihirakula (515-540)	...	*530*
31	Journ. A.S.B., LVIII., 88.	Bhitarî (seal)	Kumâra Gupta II.	...	*530*
32	Fleet's No. 33	Mandasôr	Yaśôdharman	...	*530*
33	" No. 34	† do.	do.	...	*530*
34	" No. 31	†Khôh	Śarvanâtha	214	533
35	" No. 35	† Mandasôr	Yaśôdharman	589	533
36	" No. 70	Mathurâ	....	230	549
37	" No. 47	Asîrgaḍh (seal)	Śarva Varman (565-570)	...	*565*

[21] See *Journal, A. S. Beng.*, Vol. LVIII. p. 98.

None of the above inscriptions goes beyond the year 600 A. D.; hardly beyond the middle of the sixth century. The year 600 may, therefore, be taken as the extreme final limit of the use of the Gupta alphabet.

LIST II. — *Inscriptions in the Post-Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet.*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Saṁv.	A.D.
1	Fleet's No. 71	Bôdhgayâ	Mahânâman	269	588
2	" No. 72	do.	do.	...	*588*
3	" No. 76	do.	....	...	*590*
4	Epigr. Ind., I, p. 10	Madhâ	....	...	*600*
5	Fleet's No. 52	Sônpaṭ (seal)	Harsha Vardhana (606-648)	...	*610*
6	Epigr. Ind., I, p. 67	Madhuban	do.	25	631
7	Bhagwanlâl's No. 11	Katmandu	Jishṇu Gupta	...	*655*
8	Fleet's No. 42	Aphsaḍ...	Âdityasêna (640-675)	...	*660*
9	" No. 43	Shâhpur	do.	66	672
10	Bendall's No. 3	Patan	(Udayadêva)	82	687
11	Fleet's No. 79	*Sârnâth*	*Prakaṭâditya*	...	*690*
12	" No. 46	Dêôbaraṇârk	Jîvita Gupta II.......................	...	*725*
13	Bhagwanlâl's No. 13	Katmandu	Śivadêva II.	143	748
14	" No. 14	do.	(Jayadêva II.)	145	750
15	Bendall's No. 4	do.	....	151	756
16	Bhagwanlâl's No. 15......	do.	Jayadêva II.	153	758
...	Add......................	Horiuzi MS.	....	...	*530*
...	Add......................	Cambridge MS., No. 1049.	....	252	571

None of the above inscriptions goes back much beyond the year 600 A. D.; the earliest is of 588 A. D. The year 550, may, therefore, be taken as the extreme initial limit of the Post-Gupta alphabet. The latest inscription of the Gupta variety is of about 565 A.D. This shows that in the middle of the sixth century the Gupta and Post-Gupta alphabets were used simultaneously, the Post-Gupta coming into fashion, the Gupta going out of fashion. The process of displacement of the Gupta alphabet was going on through the sixth century. Although, therefore, an inscription, showing the Gupta variety, may not be placed after 600 A. D., one showing the Post-Gupta variety need not necessarily be placed after that date, but it may not be placed before 550 A. D.

To these remarks there is a double proviso. Firstly, they only apply to inscriptions; for manuscript writing the two limits should be placed probably about 100 years earlier. This is shown by the Horiuzi MS. which is written in a Post-Gupta variety and dates from about 530 A. D. Secondly, they only apply to India proper, not to Nêpâl.

With regard to India proper, the following list shows that the North-Eastern alphabet ceases to occur towards the end of the fifth century; the latest inscription is of 467 A. D. (No. 15). At the same time, List I. shows the occurrence of the North-Western alphabet within the North-Eastern area in the early part of the sixth century; the earliest is the Jaunpur inscription of about 525 A. D. (No. 28).[22] The year 500 A. D., therefore, may be taken as the epoch of the displacement of the North-Eastern alphabet in India proper. It was the Gupta variety of the North-Western alphabet that displaced it. Soon afterwards, however, about the middle of the sixth century (cf. No. 28 of List I. with Nos. 1, 2, 3 of List II.) the Gupta variety itself was displaced by the Post-Gupta variety. This shows that there never was a Post-Gupta variety

[22] The Bhitarî inscription of about 460 A. D. (No. 9, List I.) would be a still earlier instance, but it is too badly preserved to be safely used.

of the North-Eastern alphabet; and as a matter of fact, no inscription has ever been discovered in India proper exhibiting both the North-Eastern form of *sh* श and the Post-Gupta form of *y* य.

LIST III. — *Inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet (only Gupta variety).*

Serial No.	Publication.	Name of Inscription.	Name of King, etc.	Saṁv.	A.D.
1	......	Farîdpur	Dharmâditya	...	*390*
2	Fleet's No. 1	Allahabad	Chandra Gupta II (395-414)	...	400
3	„ No. 7	Gaḍhwâ	do.	88	407
4	„ No. 6	Udayagiri	do.	...	*410*
5	„ No. 32	Mihraulî	do.	...	*410*
6	„ No. 9	Gaḍhwâ	Kumâra Gupta I (414-454)	98	417
7	„ No. 8	Gaḍhwâ	do.	...	*417*
8	„ No 64	Gaḍhwâ	do.	...	*420*
9	„ No. 11	Mankuwâr	do.	129	448
10	„ No. 65	*Kôsam	Bhîma Varman	139	458
11	„ No. 68	**Dêôriyâ*	......	...	*460*
12	„ No. 75	**Sârnâth*	......	...	*460*
13	„ No. 15	Kahâuṁ	Skanda Gupta (455—468)	141	460
14	„ No. 12	Bihâr	do.	...	*460*
15	„ No. 66	Gaḍhwâ	do.	148	467
16	Bendall's No. 1	Bhâtgâon................	Śivadêva I	316	635
17	Bhagwanlâl's No. 5	Katmandu	do.	...	*635*
18	Bendall's No. 2	Patan	Aṁsuvarman	34	639
19	Bhagwanlâl's No. 6 ...	Katmandu	do.	34	639
20	„ No. 7 ...	do.	do.	39	644
21	„ No. 8 ...	do.	do.	44	649
22	„ No. 9 ...	do.	Jishṇu Gupta	48	653
23	„ No. 10 ...	do.	do.	...	*653*
24	„ No. 1 ...	do.	Mânadêva.............	386	705
25	„ No. 12 ...	do.	Śivadêva II	119	725
26	„ No. 2 ...	do.	Mânadêva	413	732
27	„ No. 3 ...	do.	Vasantasêna	435	754
28	„ No. 4 ...	do.	......	535	854

With regard to Nêpâl, List III. shows that the North-Eastern alphabet survived down to the middle of the ninth century; the latest inscription is dated 854 A. D. At the same time it also shows that the North-Western alphabet in the Post-Gupta variety was introduced in the middle of the seventh century. Its first appearance is in the Jishṇu Gupta inscription of about 655 A. D. (No. 7 in List II.). This is an instructive instance. Of Jishṇu Gupta we have three inscriptions, *viz.*, Bhagwanlâl's Nos. 9, 10 and 11. Of these Nos. 9 and 10 (see Nos. 22, 23 in List III.) are exclusively in the North-Eastern characters; moreover, No. 9 is dated in 653 A. D. This fixes very approximately the date of No. 11. But this No. 11, exhibits the curious fact of a mixture of North-Western Post-Gupta and North-Eastern forms. In line 2 (*kshôbhayitvâ*) and l. 16 (*parshadi*) we have the North-Western form of *sh*; moreover, throughout the inscription we find the Post-Gupta form of *y*. But in line 9 (*jishṇu*) there is used the North-Eastern form of *sh*. It seems to me, that we have here an indication of the exact time when the North-Western Post-Gupta alphabet was first introduced into Nêpâl. It must have been during the reign of Jishṇu Gupta, in the middle of the seventh century. This alphabet did not, however, at once entirely supersede the older North-Eastern variety. The latter continued to exist by the side of the newer N.-W. Post-Gupta variety, for about two centuries

longer, being used by the Lichchhavî family in their inscriptions, while the Ṭhâkurî family adopted the newer variety.

The sketch-map of the distribution of the two Northern varieties throws some further light on the subject. It will be observed that, with two exceptions, all the inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet lie from Kôsam or Allahabad east-ward. Those in the North-Western variety lie to the West and South-West of the North-Eastern area. This is the case up to about the year 500 A. D. After this date (as will be seen by the dates noted with the place-names) the North-Western inscriptions spread over the whole of the North-Eastern area. The only exception is the Pahlâdpur inscription, with its very early date of about 370 A. D. (No. 2 in List I.).

Another noteworthy point is, that the North-Eastern inscriptions are nearly all crowded together, just south of Nêpâl, and in (what I may call) the home-provinces of the Gupta empire. Add to this, that, in India proper at least, they are confined entirely to the period of the height of the Gupta rule, *i. e.*, to the reigns of Chandra Gupta II, Kumara Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta. The earliest is the Allahabad inscription under Chandra Gupta II, about 400 A. D., the latest is the Gaḍhwâ inscription, under Skanda Gupta, in 467 A. D. (see List III). Their period is just about a hundred years, from the end of the 4th to the end of the 5th century. The Pahlâdpur inscription certainly falls before that period; for it shows the very ancient Indo-scythic angular form of *m*. The exact epoch when this angular form of *m* was superseded by the square form म is not yet known; and it is very desirable that this point should be statistically worked out. But the Bijayagaḍh inscriptions of the year 371 A. D. shows the same angular *m*, and the gold coins of Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta already show the first beginnings of the use of the square form of *m*. The Pahlâdpur inscription may, therefore, safely be placed about 370 A. D. or earlier, that is, in the reign of Chandra Gupta I. It seems clear from this fact, that the North-Eastern alphabet has some peculiar connection with the imperial Gupta family. If we remember that this alphabet was also current in Nêpâl and that the Guptas entertained intimate relations with the ruling Lichchhavî family of Nêpâl, it becomes probable that the North-Eastern alphabet was introduced into India proper under the Lichchhavî influence. Chandra Gupta I married a Lichchhavî princess and founded the Gupta empire. Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II gave it its widest extension, and they left their landmarks in the Farîdpur inscription in the east, and the Mihraulî and Udaigiri inscriptions in the West and South-West (Nos. 1, 4, 5, in list III). As the Lichchhavîs themselves originally came from North-Eastern India (Paṭaliputra = Patna), their alphabet possibly may, after all, claim an indigenous Indian origin.

I see that Professor Bühler suggests, that the dates of Dr. Bhagwanlâl's Nos. 1—3 are not to be interpreted (as done by Mr. Fleet and myself) as Gupta, but as Vikrama dates (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V. p. 219). If this suggestion should prove correct, some of the details in the foregoing observations will require re-adjustment; but the main points of my argument are not affected by this question. Nor, so far as I can see, does it affect Prof. Bühler's own view regarding the origin of the Gupta era. That view does seem to me probably true. We must await Prof. Bühler's promised full statement of his objections to Mr. Fleet's interpretion of the dates. In the meantime the probabilities seem to me greatly in favour of the latter. It seems difficult to understand how the Mâlava era — for that is really the Vikrama era — should have got into Nêpâl at so early a period.

With regard to the **Farîdpur inscription,** referred to several times in the foregoing remarks, I may give the following **preliminary information.** It was found, not long ago, in the Farîdpur district of Eastern Bengal. It is written in the early Gupta characters of the North-Eastern class. It shows throughout the old form य of *y*, the transitional य and modern य forms never occur. It furthers shows throughout the North-Eastern form श of *sh*, which is very difficult to distinguish from the dental *s*. The inscription refers itself to the reign of

a king **Dharmâditya,** but is not dated. It records the gift of a piece of land to a Brâhman Sômasvâmin of the Lauhitya *gôtra* and the Vâjasinêya *śâkhâ,* by a person called Vasudêva Svâmin, apparently for the erection of a *dharmaśâlâ.* The inscription commences as follows: —

Svasty = asyâm = prithivyâm = apratirathê = Nriga-Naghusha - Yayâty - Ambarisha - samadhrita - Mahârâjâdhirâja - Śrî - Dharmmâditya - bhaṭṭâraka - râjyê tad - anumôdan - âlabdh - âspadê (nadhyâna ?) Kâśikâyâṁ mahâpratihâr - ôparika - Nâgadêvasy = âddhyâsana-kâlê.

This commencement strikingly resembles that in the well-known Gupta inscriptions. The term *apratiratha,* moreover, is one peculiar to **Samudra Gupta** (see Fleet, p. 14, footnote 4); and there are other indications, pointing to him as being referred to here as the **Dharmâditya.** All the great Gupta rulers, Chandragupta II., Kumara Gupta I., Skanda Gupta, have honorific titles formed with *âditya* (Vikramâditya, Mahêndrâditya, Kramâditya, respectively). In all probability, Samudra Gupta, who was the first great ruler of the family, also had such a title; and I would suggest, that Dharmâditya was his title. Soldered on to the plate is a seal, showing in the upper portion the standing figure of Lakshmî, entwined by lotus stalks and flowers, and on each side a very small elephant besprinkling her with water. The scene shews a very close resemblance to one represented on a tympanum in the Ananta cave, and figured in Fergusson and Burgess's *Cave Temples of India,* plate I, fig. 1. Similar, though not quite so closely resembling, is the representation on the back of the uppermost beam of the southern gateway of the Sanchi *stûpa,* figured in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship,* plate VIII; also that on the Raypur copper-plate seal, figured in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* plate XXVII. In the lower compartment, almost effaced, there seems to be the legend *Śrî-Mahârâjâdhirâja-Dharmmâdityasya.* This, no doubt, is not the usual seal of the Guptas; but there is nothing to show, when the more usual Garuḍa seal was adopted. However, the question of the ascription of the plate may better be reserved till I shall be in a position to publish the whole inscription. Unfortunately the plate has suffered in some places so much from corrosion and inexperienced cleaning that I have not yet succeeded in fully reading it.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 12. — *The Fortune-teller's Daughter.*

Once upon a time there was a woman whose vocation was to tell the fortunes of people. She was one day invited by the *pâṭêl* of her village to tell the fortune of his new-born child. The *pâṭêl* had also invited **the prince of that village**[1] to witness the ceremony.

Late in the evening the fortune-teller went to the *pâṭêl's* house, but as she was entering the house she was stopped by the prince, who told her to see him on her way home. She promised to do so and entered the house, the prince remaining outside as a sentry to prevent any stranger entering the house during the fortune-telling. The fortune-teller, having performed many ceremonies and read out of many books, told the *pâṭêl* what would be the fate of his child.

After she had finished her business and received her dues, and was going away, she was again stopped by the prince who asked her what was in the fortune of the *pâṭel's* child.

The fortune-teller replied: — "What the child's fortune is I have told the *pâṭêl*; why do you want to know?"

But the prince alternately begged and threatened, and said he would not let her go till she had told him the child's fortune. So at last she told him what it was. The **prince** next

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1 [This is interesting as shewing what ideas the words "king, prince, queen, princess," &c., convey to the minds of the "folk." The prose rendering of "king" should no doubt be "local magnate." — Ed.]

asked her to tell him his own fate. She was at first reluctant to do so, but after much pressure, she said :—

"Your fate, O prince, is this. To whatever age you may attain; whenever you may die, — now or a hundred years hence, — it is written in your luck, that your head will be pounded by a strange queen! This, O prince, is in store for you!"

When the prince heard this, he thought to himself: — "Surely not! I will not wait to be killed by a strange queen, or have my head pounded."

Thus thinking, he drew his sword and cut off his own head, which flew off and fell into a *jangal* close by!

Now it happened that the king of a neighbouring country passed that way on the following morning, and seeing the head of the prince, took it up, carefully wrapped it in a handkerchief, and, carrying it home, put it in a drawer. Every day, before he left the house and as soon as he came home, the king used to open the drawer and look at it. The key of this drawer he kept in his own pocket, while the rest of the keys were in the custody of the queen, who was never told a word about the head. The fact of giving her all the keys but one aroused the curiosity of the queen. So one day she slyly took the key from the king's pocket, and when he was gone, she opened the drawer, and there saw the head. The face being beardless, it looked like that of a woman. She suspected, therefore, that the head must be that of a concubine of the king; and thought that the concubine having died, and the king being very much attached to her, he must have brought home her head and kept it *in memoriam*, that he might at least have the satisfaction of looking at her head! This naturally aroused a spirit of jealousy in her breast; so she took the head, and putting it in a mortar, pounded it into fine powder with a rice-pounder. Thus was fulfilled what was told by the fortune-teller to the prince!

When the fortune-teller got home it was later than she expected, for she had had to tell the fortunes of two persons. Her daughter asked her why she was so late, and she replied she was late because she had had to find out and tell the fortunes of two persons, the *pâṭêl's* child and the prince. The girl then asked her mother to tell her her own fate, and after much entreaty and pressure, the old woman said: — "In your fortune, daughter, it is written that you will marry a Mâṅg,[2] by whom you will have a son, and later on you will marry your own son. So it is written in your fortune!"

"Surely not," thought the daughter to herself. "I marry a Mâṅg! That will never do. I would rather go to a desert and lead a solitary life than remain here and eventually marry a Mâṅg!"

So saying, she left the house then and there, and went into a desert, where she lived on what leaves and fruit she could get. She lived in this state for some time, when one day she saw a person coming towards her on horse-back. The cavalier asked her who she was, and what she was doing there. She told him that she was a person living in retirement. He, too, said he was also living in retirement, and asked her if she would accompany him and live with him. Not knowing who the speaker was, and thinking he was a great personage, the fortune-teller's daughter willingly agreed to go with him. Now this man's house was several days' journey from there, and on the way she ate and drank with him.[3] When they reached his house, the fortune-teller's daughter found in it the flesh of dead cattle and date-palm brooms, which are the sure signs of a Mâṅg. She cursed herself for agreeing to accompany the man; but she was reminded of what her mother had told her, and which had proved true, despite her living in retirement! She left the Mâṅg's house immediately, and again took to the desert, but this time to another one. She, however, became pregnant, and in due time brought forth a son. She took the child, tore a piece of her own *sâṛî*, and, wrapping

[2] A Mâṅg is a low caste person; he is considered even lower than a Mâhâr. [3] Euphemism for sexual intercourse.

the child up in it, **threw it in a bush**, and went to a strange country, where she **took employment in the king's house as a washer-woman. The child was picked up by the king of another country**, who had happened to pass through the forest, and taken home and well cared for. As the king had no children of his own, **he adopted this child** as a son, and it was everywhere known as the prince of that country. One day **this prince** (for so we must call him), when he had grown up, happened, in company of a friend, to **pass through the country where his mother was**, and saw her at the tank washing clothes. **He was so enamoured of her beauty** that he asked her whence she came. She told him that she was a servant to the king of that country. He then went home and said to his foster-father: —

"Father, there is a young woman at the palace of a certain king, and unless you get me married to her, I will never rest satisfied, and starve myself to death."

The king, who loved him exceedingly, did not like to refuse his request, and at once wrote to the other king and made arrangements for the marriage. Both parties made preparations on a grand scale to celebrate the occasion with befitting pomp, and in due time, on an appointed day, **the son was married to his mother unawares.** The wedding over, the bride was taken to the bridegroom's house. In the evening when they retired to bed, the bride chanced to see a rag hanging on the bedstead. On close examination she found it to be the very same rag, which she had torn from her *sâṛî*, and in which she had wrapped her child before throwing it in the bush. **She at once concluded that she had married her own son! But, there being no help for it, she lived with him happily as his wife!** She was, however, convinced of the truth of what her mother had told her; and **had learnt that no one can ever escape from the fate that is written on the forehead.**[4]

MISCELLANEA.

MISCELLANEOUS DATES FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND MSS.

1.— Mr. Fleet's examinations of Hindu dates have led to the conclusion[1] that "even in Southern India, or at least in some parts of it, the *amânta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights was not coupled with the Saka years until a comparatively late period," in fact, not before A. D. 804. Compared with this, it may be interesting to learn from some dates in M. A. Barth's *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, that, in **Cambodia, the amânta scheme was used in connection with the Saka era at least as early as A D. 626.**

On p. 41 of M. Barth's volume is a date of a stone inscription from Vat Chakret, the chief items of which are[2]—

Piṇḍîbhûtê śak-âbdê vasu-jaladhi-śarair= **vvâsarê Mâdhav-âdau** . . . . . . kumudavana-patau Tâvurê **Kṛittikâyâm**!; *i.e.*, in the Saka year 548, on the first day of Vaiśâkha, the moon being in (the sign) Taurus (and) in (the *nakshatra*) **Kṛittikâ.**

This date does not furnish sufficient particulars for exact identification, but the fact that the moon is stated to have been in the *nakshatra* Kṛittikâ (No 3) proves all the same that the first of Vaiśâkha spoken of was the first of the bright half, and the month therefore the *amânta* Vaiśâkha. For had it been the first of the dark half, or, in other words, the first of the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha, which follows immediately upon the full-moon day of Chaitra, the moon would have been in Chitrâ (No. 14) or Svâti (No. 15). And the possible equivalents of Vaiśâkha-śudi 1, *i. e.*, the first of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha, actually are :—

for Saka 548 current, the 13th April, A. D. 625, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h.

4 [This story is interesting for three reasons. It introduces us to a novel and very quaint version of our old friend Blue Beard. It gives us an insight into a queer state of morality, in which it is a more dreadful thing for a woman to marry into a caste beneath her than to marry her own son. It is to be observed that the heroine calmly endures the latter evil, but cannot bear the former. And the moral of the tale apparently is that it is no sin to follow your fate, whatever it may be. This is a tale among Christians, be it observed. — ED.]

1 See *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 79, note 2; and *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141 and 142.

2 I quote the words, as corrected by the Editor.

18 m., and the moon was in **Krittikâ** up to about 23h. after mean sunrise; and —

for Saka 548 expired, the 3rd April, A D. 626, when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 45 m., and the moon entered **Krittikâ** about 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

In a short inscription from Vat Prey Vier, on p. 74 of the same volume, we find an even more interesting date, of which it will be sufficient to quote the words —

Yâtê kâlê Śakânâṁ nava-tanu-vishayair = **Mmâdhavê shôḍaś-âhê Jîvas=châpê=ja-sûryyô** . . . . maitram=indur; *i. e.*, when the Saka year 589 had expired, on the sixteenth day of Vaiśâkha, Jupiter being in (the sign) **Châpa (or Dhanuḥ)**, the sun in **Mêsha**, and the moon in (the *nakshatra*) **Anurâdhâ**.

Here again the Vaiśâkha of the date was clearly the *amânta* Vaiśâkha, and the 16th day, spoken of, was Vaiśâkha-badi 1, and the true equivalent of the date undoubtedly is the **15th April, A.D. 667**, as may be seen from the following *data*. The new-moon which introduced the bright half of Vaiśâkha of Saka 589 expired was 9 h. after mean sunrise of the 30th March, A.D. 667. Counted from that day, the 16th day was the 15th April, A.D. 667, when the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha) ended 4 h. 28 m., and when the moon was in **Anurâdhâ** up to about 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. On the same 15th April the sun was in the sign **Mêsha**, which it had entered on the 20th March; and Jupiter, as required, was in **Dhanuḥ**, having entered that sign, by the Sûryasiddhânta rule without *bîja*, on the 20th January, A.D. 667, and remaining in it till the 16th January, A.D. 668.

The statement that Jupiter was in (the 9th sign) Dhanuḥ in this case is really equivalent to saying that the current Jovian year was Krôdhana, the (12 + 12 + 9 =) 33rd year, counted from Vijaya as the first; and the special interest of this date lies in this that, **while the scheme of its lunar month is the amânta, so-called southern scheme, the system followed in regard to the Jovian year is the northern mean-sign system.**

On p. 68 of M. Barth's volume the 10th day of Vaiśâkha of the same Śaka year 589 is mentioned with, amongst others, the remark that the moon had reached the middle of the sign **Siṁha**. This date would correspond to the **9th April, A. D. 667**, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended about 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise, and when, at sunrise, the moon was in the eleventh degree of **Siṁha**.

2. — On p. 54 of the late Dr. Burnell's *Elements of South-Indian Palæography* we find the remark that **the Javanese Saka era** begins in A. D. 74; and this remark has *ante*, Vol. X. p. 214, note 7, been quoted by another distinguished scholar, apparently in support of the statement that "in ancient times the initial dates from which the different Indian eras were counted were subject to fluctuations of several years." Whatever may be the practice of quite modern times, it is certain **that down to nearly the end of the 14th century A. D. the Saka reckoning in Java did not differ from the customary Indian reckoning.** This may be seen from the following Javanese Saka dates, which all work out properly with the ordinary epoch A. D. 77-78.

Professor Kern has published[3] a Sanskrit inscription from Java of the Śaka year 654, the date of which he reads thus: —

Śâkêndrê=tigatê śrut-îndriya-rasair = aṅgî-(ṅkî)kritê vatsarê

vâr = êndau dhavala-trayôdaśi-tithau **Bhadrôttarê Kârttikê**; *i. e.*, in the Śaka year 654, expired, on **Monday**, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of **Kârttika**, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) **Uttarabhadrapadâ**. — The corresponding day, for Saka 654 expired, and with the ordinary epoch of the Śaka era, is **Monday, the 6th October, A. D. 732**, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 17 m., and the moon was in **Uttarabhadrapadâ** up to about 15 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise.

And in a paper[4] of Professor Kern's "over eene Oudjavaansche Oorkonde van Śaka 782" there are two other Javanese dates, one of which is —

Śakavarshatita 782, Kârttikamâsa, tithi trayôdaśi śuklapaksha, . . **Vri-vâra**, . . . **Asvini nakshatra**, . . . **Vyatipâtayôga**, ... **Taithilakaraṇa**; *i. e*, Śaka 782, Brihaspati-vâra or **Thursday**, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of Kârttika, the *nakshatra* **Asvinî**, the *yôga* **Vyatipâta**, and the *karaṇa* **Taitila**; and the other —

Sakavarshatita 1295, Asujimâsa, tithi trayodaś krishṇapaksha, . . . **Su-vara** . . .; *i. e.*, Śaka 1295, Sukra-vâra or **Friday**, the 13th lunar day of the dark half of Âśvina.

[3] From the copy which I owe to the kindness of Professor Kern I see that the inscription was originally edited by him in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indë*, 4e volgr. Dl. X.

[4] In *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, Letterkunde, 2 R., 10 D., Amsterdam 1881, pp. 94 and 102.

Here the proper equivalents, with the ordinary epoch of the Śaka era, are: — for the first date, and Śaka 782 expired, **Thursday, the 31st October, A. D. 860,** when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Taitila ended 10 h. 29 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Asvinî** up to 11 h. 10 m., and the *yôga* **Vyatipâta** up to 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise; and for the second date, and the *amânta* Âśvina of Śaka 1295 expired, **Friday, the 14th October, A. D. 1373,** when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — *Ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162, and Vol. XIX. pp. 129 and 426, Mr. Fleet has treated of some Śaka **dates which, instead of quoting a lunar month, give us the sign of the zodiac in** which the sun happened to be on the day intended by the date. An early Vikrama date, which is very similar to Mr. Fleet's Śaka date in Vol. XIX. p. 129, occurs in line 32 of the Shêkhavatî (or Harsha) stone inscription of the reign of the Châhamâna Vigraharâja, first published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV. pp. 370-384. According to the rubbings and impressions supplied to me by Mr. Fleet and Dr Burgess, the date, which is given incorrectly in the published version, runs really thus: —

Jâtê=vdâ(bdâ)nâṁ sahasrê triguna-nava-yutê **Siṁha-râsau gatê=rkkê**

śuklâ y=âsît=tṛi[tî*][yâ] **Subha-Kara-sahitâ Sôma-vârêṇa** tasyâm I;

i. e., when 1027 years were completed, and when the sun was in the sign **Siṁha,** on the third bright lunar day which was attended by (the *nakshatra*) **Kara (or Hasta)** and (the *yôga*) **Subha, on a Monday.**—In northern V. 1027 expired the sun entered the sign **Siṁha** 9 h. 49·8 m. after mean sunrise of the 26th July, A. D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada. The third of the following bright half of the same Bhâdrapada was **Monday, the 8th August, A. D. 970,** when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Hasta** up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yôga* **Subha** up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

Dates of this kind are common enough in Bengâlî MSS.[5] And some of these dates again are peculiar **in specifying the degree in which** the sun happened to be on the day of the date. Thus, according to the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. VI. p. 238, a MS. of the *Saṁskâra-paddhati-rahasya*, which is written in Bengâlî characters, is dated —

Śâkê vâṇ-âchala-tithi-mitê **bhâskarê Karkaṭa-sthê**

viṁsaty-aṁsê Vidhusuta-dinê śukla-pakshê cha shashṭhyâm I;

i. e., in Saka 1575, when the sun was in the sign **Karkaṭa, in the 20th degree, on Wednesday,** the sixth lunar day of the bright half. — In Śaka 1575 expired the **Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti** took place 16 h. 5·2 m. after mean sunrise of the 30th June, A. D. 1653; and the sun entered the 20th degree of the sign some time on **Wednesday, the 20th July, A. D. 1653.** This Wednesday was the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa, for the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, about 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

These are clearly luni-solar dates. But in some Bengâlî MSS we also find **purely solar dates.** Thus, according to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 211, a MS. of the *Sârasvatî Prakriyâ* is dated —

Śâkê sapta-dvi-sapt-aika-saṁkhyê **Mêsham=itê ravau** I

Tṛitîyê=hni Ravêr=vârê lipyâ pûrtim=agâd=iyam II Śak=âbdâḥ 1727 II;

i. e., in Śaka 1727, when the sun had entered the sign **Mêsha, on the third day, a Sunday — The Mêsha-saṁkrânti** at the end of Śaka 1727 current took place 1 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 11th April, A. D. 1805; and the day of the date is clearly **Sunday, the 14th April, A. D. 1805,** which by the lunar calendar was the first of the dark half of the *amânta* Chaitra.

And according to the same *Catalogue*, p. 35, a Bengâlî MS. of Surêśvarâchârya's *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-bhâshyavârttika* is dated—

navanavaty-adhika-chaturdaśa-śata-mita- śakâbdê **Chaitrasya dvâdas-âṁsê Su(su)kravârê;**

i. e., in the Śaka year 1499, **in the 12th degree of Chaitra, on Friday.**—By the result of my calculations the year of this date is the current solar year Śaka 1499. In that year, the solar month Chaitra commenced 17 h. 25·6 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 25th February, A.D. 1577, and the sun was in the 12th degree from some time on **Friday, the 8th March, A.D. 1577,** which was the 4th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra of Śaka 1499, current.

4.—**Dates are sometimes recorded in days of the Kaliyuga.** A very interesting date of this description is contained in the following

[5] Compare *e.g.* Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II. p. 310; Vol. III. p. 171; etc.

verses of Shadguruśishya's *Vêdârthadîpikâ*,[6] in which the author tells us that he completed his work, when the number of days of the Kaliyuga was 1 565 132 :—

> Kha-gô-tyâ-nmê-shu-mâ-y=êti[7] Kaly-ahargaṇanê sati ।
> Sarvânukramaṇî-vṛittir=jâtâ Vêdârthadîpikâ ॥
> Lakshâṇi pañchadaśa vai pañchashashṭi-sahasrakam ।
> Sa-dvâtriṁśach-chhataṁ ch=êti dina-vâky-ârtha îritah ॥

Expressed in the days of the Julian period, the epoch of the Kaliyuga is—

588 465·75 days;
+ 1565 132 days;

sum 2153 597·75 days of the Julian period = the 24th March, A D. 1184, 18 h after mean sunrise.

Accordingly, the day actually given us by Shadguruśishya would correspond to the **24th March, A. D. 1184.** But since this is the day of the *Mêsha-saṁkrânti*[8] at the end of the solar year Kaliyuga 4285 = Śaka 1106 current, it appears highly probable that, what Shadguruśishya meant to intimate, is merely, that he finished his work in Kaliyuga 4285 = Śaka 1106 expired, and that he has simply copied the number of days, given by him, from the calendar.

That the day put down in the date *was* the day of the *Mêsha-saṁkrânti*, Shadguruśishya indeed has plainly suggested himself. For there can be no doubt whatever that the true reading of the first half of the first of the above verses is—

Khagô=ntyân=Mêsham=âp=êti[9] kaly-ahargaṇanê sati, — *i. e.*, 'when the number of days of the Kaliyuga was the number denoted by *khagô=ntyân=Mêsham=âpa* " the sun passed from the last sign on to the sign Mêsha;" (kh=2, g=3, y=1, m=5, sh=6, m=5, and p=1).

5.—In the Verâval inscription of the reign of the Vâghêla Arjunadêva, **the Mahammada saṁvat or Hijra year** 662 is put down along with the Vikrama, Valabhî, and Simha years to which the day of the date belonged. And in MSS. I have sometimes found Hijra years quoted by the side of the corresponding Śaka years. The Hijra year, described as the **Yâvana year,** is quoted alone in the following date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sûryasiddhânta*, written in Maithilî characters (apparently) in Oudh :[10]—

> Turaga-nava-himâṁśu-kshm-âṅkitê **Yâvanê=bdê**
> charama - Śuchi - chaturthyâṁ kṛishṇa-pakshê=hni **Jaivê** ।;

i.e., in the Yâvana or Hijra year 1197, on the fourth lunar day of the dark half of the second summer-month (Âshâḍha), on **Thursday.** — As the Hijra year 1197 commenced on the 7th December, A. D. 1782, the date should fall in A. D. 1783 or Śaka 1705 expired. And for Śaka 1705 expired the 4th of the dark half of the *amânta* Âshâḍha corresponds to **Thursday, the 17th July, A. D. 1783,** when the fourth *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — *Ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 6, I have attempted to prove that the **Lakshmaṇasêna era** commenced in A. D. 1119, and I have shown that, assuming my epoch to be correct, the difference between a year of that era and the corresponding expired Śaka year must always be 1010, or 1041, or 1042. In support of my views, I would now draw attention to two dates in the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, which I had formerly overlooked.

According to Vol. VII p. 169, a MS. of Bhavadatta's commentary on the *Śiśupâlavadha* is dated **La-saṁ 512 । Śakâbdâḥ 1552 ।.** Here the difference between the two years *is* 1040; and, in accordance with what I have previously stated, the Lakshmaṇasêna year must have been the *current* year 512, and the date written in one of the months from Kârttika to Phâlguna.

According to Vol. V. p. 84, a MS. of Madhusûdana's *Kantakôddhâra* which is written in Maithilî characters, contains the lines —

> chakrê Râmakanîyasô Avanipatêḥ śîtâṁśu-nand-âmbudhâv=
> aṅkê Phâlguna-saptamî-Ravidinê Gaṅgâ-Gaṇêś-ârchakaḥ,—

which give us for calculation the (Lakshmaṇasêna) year 491, and the seventh lunar day (of either the bright or the dark half) of Phâlguna, joined with a **Sunday.** Here, the month being Phâlguna, the date should fall either in Śaka (491 + 1040 =) 1531 expired, or in Śaka (491 + 1041 =) 1532 expired; but calculations for Śaka 1531 yield no

[6] See Professor Macdonell's Edition, p. 168; *Indische Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 160; and Professor Aufrecht's *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 378.

[7] Such is the reading of the published texts, but it yields no sense. I shall show presently what I consider to be the right reading.

[8] It took place 8 h. 58·6 m. after mean sunrise.

[9] Three of Professor Macdonell's MSS. actually read *mêsham* (not *mêshum*), and they have the sign of *anusvâra* above the *akshara* preceding *tyâ*.

[10] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. V. p. 149.

satisfactory result. In Śaka 1532 expired, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Phâlguna ended about 18 h after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 9th February, A.D. 1611, which also does not suit the requirements of the case. On the other hand, in the dark half of the *amânta* Phâlguna of Śaka 1532 expired —

the 6th *tithi* ended 1 h. 38 m. *before* mean sunrise of Saturday, 23 February, A.D. 1611;

the 7th *tithi* ended 0 h. 17 m. *before* mean sunrise of **Sunday**, 24 February, A. D. 1611; and

the 8th *tithi* ended 1 h. 25 m. *after* mean sunrise of Monday, 25 February, A.D. 1611.

It is true that by this result no *tithi* would have ended on the Sunday, and that the Sunday would have been put down in the calendar, like the Monday, as the 8th. But the *tithis* have here been calculated according to Ujjain time, and considering that the date undoubtedly was written far to the east of Ujjain, the seventh *tithi* would for the writer of the date really have ended some time *after* sunrise of the Sunday;[11] and **Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1611,** therefore is the proper equivalent of the date, — deduced from the epoch of the Lakshmaṇasêna era A.D. 1118-19.

7. — A date of the **Âshâḍhâdi Vikrama year** 1574, which does not admit of verification, is given in Professor Macdonell's edition of Kâtyâyana's *Sarvânukramaṇî*, preface, p. xiii. And another Âshâḍhâdi date, according to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 409, occurs in a MS. of part of Hêmâdri's *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi*, written in Western India, and is worded thus :—

Saṁvat 15 Âshâḍhâdi 81 varshê 5 Śrâvaṇa-śudi paṁchamî aparaṁ shashthî Budhê.

As might have been expected, the date falls in the northern Vikrama year 1581, expired, and the corresponding date, for that year, is **Wednesday, the 6th July, A. D. 1524,** when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In addition to quoting the 5th *tithi* which ended on the Wednesday, and from which the Wednesday received its number 5, this date also quotes the following sixth *tithi*, and it is in this respect similar[12] to No. 49 of my Vikrama dates, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 33; but what makes this Âshâḍhâdi date more interesting, is the fact that the 6th *tithi* also ended on the Wednesday, 1 h. 17 m. before sunrise of the Thursday, and was therefore, in fact, a *kshaya-tithi*.

8. — In dates like the preceding the ordinals *pañchamî*, *shashṭhî*, etc., clearly denote the time occupied by the *tithi* itself, not the civil day on which the *tithi* ended; and those dates thus help to explain other dates in which the writers undoubtedly have quoted **actually current tithis, with the week days on which they commenced.**

According to my *Report on Sanskrit MSS. for* 1880-81, p. 22, a palm-leaf MS. of Amarasiṁha's *Nâmaliṅgânuśâsana* is dated : —

Śrîmad-Râmachandradêva - v i j a y a r â j y ê Kumkuṇa-vishayê gata-Kali 4398 Hêmalaṁbba-saṁvatsarê Jyêshṭha-vadi **ashṭamyâyâṁ**[13] **Vṛihaspati-dinê** ǀ

By the southern luni-solar system the year Hêmalamba corresponds to Kaliyuga 4398 expired, and the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Jyêshṭha of that year commenced on **Thursday, the 13th June, A. D. 1297,** 1 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise, and ended at mean sunrise of the following day. Here the Thursday, quoted in the date, was civilly *badi* 7, and the 8th *tithi* was either a *kshaya-tithi* or ended after true sunrise of the Friday. And the meaning of the date clearly is, that the writing was finished on the Thursday, during the 8th *tithi*.

In Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p 357, the date of the composition of Mahêśvara's commentary on Purushôttama's *Vishṇubhakti-kalpalatâ* is given thus : —

Śrîmad-bhûvalayânuraṁjana-lasat-k î r t ê r = nṛipâd=Vikramâj=

jâtê=śch(śv)-âṁbudhi-râga-bhûmi - g a ṇ i t ê = bdê Mârgaśîrshê=rjunê ǀ

pakshê **mukhyajayâ-tithau Suraguru-(rôṛ)=vârê** Virûpâksha-bhûr=

nirmâti sma Mahêśvarô guru-kṛipash= tîkâm=imâṁ suṁdarâm ǁ

Here, again, the third (or *mukhyajayâ*) *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha of V. 1647 expired **commenced on Thursday, the 19th November, A. D. 1590,** 1 h 38 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

And according to Professor Bendall's *Catalogue*,

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[11] I now find that by Prof. Jacobi's Special Tables for the Sûryasiddhânta with *bîja*, published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Pt. VIII., the seventh *tithi*, even at Ujjain, ended 3 *ghâtikas after* mean sunrise of this Sunday.

[12] Another date of this description occurs in a MS. of the *Saptapadârthî*, of which a page is photographed in Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's *Notices*, Vol. II. : *Saṁvat* 1458 *varshê Mâgha-vadi* 6 *anaṁtara*[*ṁ*] *saptamyâṁ tithau Gu*[*ru*]*dinê*; corresponding, for the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha of V. 1458, current, to Thursday, the 6th January, A.D. 1401.

[13] Read *ashṭamyâṁ*.

p. 32, a palm-leaf MS. of Chandragômin's *Sishyalêkha-dharmakâvya* is dated: —

Samvat 200 . 4. Vaiśâkha-śukl-âshṭamyâṁ I Sôma-dinê.

And here, again, the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the expired Nêwâr year 204 commenced on Monday, the 15th April, A. D. 1084, 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 9 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of the following day;[14] and I here, too, take the meaning of the date to be, that the writer finished his work on the Monday, after the commencement of the 8th *tithi*.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN ENGLISH INSCRIPTION AT MAULMAIN.

At Maulmain, on the platform of the chief pagoda, is a large bell of the usual Burmese type with a quaint inscription cut in English thereon, which is worth preserving: —

"He who destroyed to this bell they must be in the great heell and unable to coming out. This bell is made by Koona Lingahyah the Priest and weight 600 viss.[1] No one body design to destroy this bell. Maulmain, March 30th, 1855."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

The PRACHINA GUJARATI SAHITYA RATNAMALA, or Garland of Gems of Old Gujarâtî Literature. The First Gem, the MUGDHAVABODHAMAUKTIKA, or a Grammar for Beginners, of the Gujarâtî Language (V.-S. 1450). Edited by H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B. Printed and published at the Subôdha-Prakâsh Press, Bombay. 1889. Pp. vii., 23, 55.

This work, edited by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, B.A., LL.B., is one of a series proposed by him to be issued with a view to rescue the old vernacular literature of India from the oblivion in which it is at present lying. Evidently Mr. Dhruva believes this work to be a grammar of the Gujarâtî language of the time to which it belongs (V.-S. 1450 = A. D. 1394). I shall presently examine how far this assumption on his part is based on a correct appreciation of the subject-matter of the work. But I propose first to point out some of the many mistakes and errors which have resulted from the evidently superficial manner in which Mr. Dhruva has studied the work, and the very careless way in which it has been edited.[1]

Mr. Dhruva has based his edition on a single manuscript, — the one belonging to the Gujarât Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. I have had the advantage of a look at this manuscript, and I shall point out some of the results of Mr. Dhruva's hurry and carelessness, by instances of disagreement between his manuscript and his edition.

At the end of page 4 of Mr. Dhruva's edition we find the expression गुरून् वन्दयित्वा. The original manuscript has वन्दित्वा and not वन्दयित्वा, and the correct form here is of course वन्दित्वा. The causal form would be meaningless or absurd in this instance.

At the end of page 10 Mr. Dhruva gives some *Kârikâs* on *Samâsa*. In the last verse of the 1st *Kârikâ* Mr. Dhruva gives कर्मधारय, while the manuscript has कर्मधारये. This wrong grammar may be the result of a mere misprint; but being only one of many such instances, it indicates careless editing. The 3rd verse of the 2nd *Kârikâ* has the expletive हि inserted superfluously. It does not exist in the original, and it makes the verse scan wrongly.

These are some of the minor errors into which the editor has run. There are, however, instances in which the results of hurry and want of careful study have been more serious. To cite some of these:—

Page 16, col. 1. — About the beginning of the vocabulary Mr. Dhruva has — जइ। यदि। तइ। तर्हि. The original manuscript has here तउ and not तइ, and the similarity in sound of जइ has betrayed the editor into putting तइ where the real word is तउ. This point owes its importance to the facts that तउ is the intermediate form from which the modern Gujarâtî word तो is derived, and that the broad pronunciation of ओ in this तो (as in "awe") is attributable to the pre-existent अउ in तउ.[2]

[14] Compare No. 168 of my Vikrama dates, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 361.

[1] One viss = 100 tickals = 3·65 lbs. avoirdupois.

[1] [A curious instance of this carelessness stares one in the face on the very title-page, where the name of the work is given in Roman characters as "Mugdhâvabôdha Auktika," but in Dêvanâgarî characters as "Mugdhâvabôdhamauktika." The latter form occurs also at the end of the work; while three lines above there is again "Auktika." As the title-page declares this book to be "*prathamaṁ mauktikam*," the real name seems to be *Mugdhâvabôdhamauktika*.—EDITOR.]

[2] It would be well to indicate here that in Gujarâtî ए and ऐ have each of them two distinct pronunciations, broad and narrow, or short and long; broad or short

At page 6 and also page 7 Mr. Dhruva has कर्ता उक्ति and कर्मि उक्ति for what is rightly given in the original instance as कर्तां उक्ति and कर्मिं उक्ति. The *anusvâra* is not trifling or superfluous. It represents the locative case, कर्तां कर्मिं being the forms for कर्तरि, कर्मणि. These may be mere misprints, but as such they are none the less the results of great carelessness.

But a still more serious blunder appears at page 7, col. 1, when Mr. Dhruva puts: — अनइ जिहां कर्तां कर्मपणइं बोलाइ ते कर्म्मकर्तां उक्ति काहियइ। [Mr. Dhruva's edition has कर्तां कर्मपणइं separated wrongly into कर्तां कर्म पण इं which makes no sense. This by the way.] Here the blunder consists in inverting the order of the words कर्म and कर्तां in the expression कर्तां कर्मपणइं. The original has कर्मं· कर्तापणइं. The sense is अन्यत् यत्र कर्म कर्तृत्वेन उच्यते सा कर्मकर्तरि उक्तिः कथ्यते; —"this division of उक्ति (voice) represents cases in which the कर्म is used as the कर्ता." Mr. Dhruva's reading would make it "कर्ता is used as कर्म," which is not intended. See the instance given ए ग्रंथ सुखिइं पढायइ। अयं ग्रंथः सुखेन पठ्यते. Here ग्रंथ, which is the कर्म, is used as the कर्ता. The object in sense is used as the subject in form. The name given to this उक्ति is कर्मकर्तां and not कर्ताकर्मिं. This also indicates the sense above described.

In the opening portion of his edition Mr. Dhruva gives what he calls an analysis of the work. Here he has :—

"(5) Cases — seven," and then adds the remark "vocative not given." Here Mr. Dhruva forgets that the vocative is not known to Sanskrit grammar as a separate case by itself. It is only the nominative case used when addressing another person. This very work, at page 14, col. 1, under the chapter of the Cases, says आमंत्रणे * * * प्रथमा, "the nominative is used in addressing another." Mr. Dhruva seems to have been misled by the facts that in English grammars, as also in Gujarâtî grammars, the vocative is regarded as a separate case, and that the Sanskṛit *Rûpâvali* gives vocative forms after the locative. But the main cause of this error of his is his theory that this work is a grammar of the vernacular of the period, — a theory which I shall explode below.

Then the Analysis gives — "(19) Rules of Syntax." This appears to refer to the *Kârikâs*, beginning from the end of page 17 to very nearly the end of page 20 in the body of the work. A glance at these will shew that they give no rules of "Syntax." The only rules in these *Kârikâs* which may present an appearance of rules of Syntax, are those which deal with several *Kârakas, viz*, कर्ता, कर्म, करण, संप्रदान, अपादान, अधिकरण, and the संबन्ध sense of the Genitive. But these meanings or significations of the *Vibhaktis* (Cases) cannot, in strict propriety, be regarded as falling within the scope of "Syntax."

The Analysis is then concluded with "(21) Prepositions" [more correctly, he should have said 'Prefixes'] "— twenty." But Mr. Dhruva strangely omits to notice the concluding chapter of the book which gives a few rules of Prosody. His Analysis should have concluded; — "(22) Rudiments of Prosody."

I hope I have cited a sufficient number of instances to shew how superficially the work has been studied, and how carelessly it has been edited by Mr. Dhruva. But the superficiality of this study (if it can be called by the name of study) comes out boldly and strongly in his fundamentally erroneous theory about the nature of the work, which he has sadly failed to appprehend. He seems to regard this work as a Grammar of the Gujarâtî language of the period (A. D. 1394). It is nothing of the kind at all, as will appear from a little careful examination of the text, which clearly shews that it is merely a मार्गोपदेशिका, a hand-book for the help of the beginner (मुग्ध), **to teach Sanskṛit Grammar through the medium of the vernacular of the period.** Along with hurry and superficial observation, this error may be attributed to the feeling of overflowing patriotism which seems to have taken possession of Mr. Dhruva's mind, and has led him to imagine that so far back as 500 years ago his mother-tongue had a grammar of its own.

In examining Mr. Dhruva's theory I shall first point out the errors and wrong conclusions

as in "care" and "awe;" and narrow or long as in "ache" and "boat." When a Gujarâtî word having ए or ओ has in its antecedent Prâkṛit or Dêśya form or intermediate stage अइ or अय, or अउ or अव, the pronunciation of the ए or ओ in the Gujarâtî word is broad. When the antecedent Prâkṛit (or Dêśya) form or intermediate stage has ए and ओ, the pronunciation (in the Gujarâtî word) of ए or ओ is narrow; *e. g.* Dêśya बइल्लो = बॅलॅ Guj.; Sanskrit मलिनं = मइलं Prâk., मॅलुं Guj. Sans. रजनी, Prâk. रयणी, Guj. रॅण. Sans. चतुष्कं, Prâk. चउक्कं, Guj. चॉक. Prâk. कवण (for Sans. क):, Guj. कॉण; while Sans. कदली, Prâk. केली, Guj. केळ; Sans. बदरं, Prâk. बोरं, Guj. बोर. Instances might be multiplied. ॅ and ॉ are used to show the broad ए and ओ.

into which he has fallen in consequence of holding that theory, and then state our grounds for holding that the work is merely **a hand-book of Sanskṛit Grammar**.

First, then, — in his Analysis Mr. Dhruva says, " Vocative not given." This remark, as has been already hinted above, proceeds from an assumption that this is a Gujarâtî Grammar, and the fact that Gujarâtî Grammars regard the Vocative as a separate case.

In his 'Analysis' Mr. Dhruva says : —

" (9) Kṛidanta forms like करी, करवा, करीने, करनार, करतो, &c." Looking at the corresponding chapter in the book we find that this refers to the forms करी, करणहार, करतउ, used incidentally to explain the Sanskṛit participial and other forms ending in तुम्, तृच्, and शतृ. But even supposing for a moment that this work is a grammar of the vernacular of the period, Mr. Dhruva should have given the forms करी, करणहार, करतउ (the forms of the vernacular of the period), and not करीने, करनार, करतो (the forms of modern Gujarâtî). He has in this instance been run away with by his patriotic hobby, so far as to unconsciously represent modern Gujarâtî forms as treated of in the text.

Finally, Mr. Dhruva is forced to resort to a rather amusing shift in order to support his tottering theory, whenever at every turn it meets with some shock or other. The work gives ऋ and other non-Prâkṛit vowels; this, Mr. Dhruva explains away, as a " Sanskṛitism." There are three numbers given (Prâkṛit has only two, having no dual); this Mr. Dhruva says, is a Sanskṛitism. The case-terminations given are Sanskṛit and not Prâkṛit; this again, says Mr. Dhruva, is a Sanskṛitism. The rules of *Sandhi* (which are unknown to Prâkṛit) are again a Sanskṛitism, according to Mr. Dhruva. *Samâsas* giving forms confined to Sanskṛit Grammar, the mention of *Âtmanêpada* forms of verbs (as Prâkṛit has only *Parasmaipada* forms even in the Passive Voice), the Sanskṛit terminations for roots, — all these are " Sanskṛitisms." For Mr. Dhruva must maintain his theory at any cost. Where, then, we ask, is the Prâkṛitism of the work to be found? Is it in the incidentally used Prakṛit terminations which Mr. Dhruva parades in all the importance of a bold black capital type? Mr Dhruva is in the amusing position of a man who, looking at a peacock, would persistently swear it was a dog, and asked, whence the deep blue colour, whence the thick mass of rainbow-coloured feathers, whence the crest, the wings, the beak?, would reply "Oh! that much only is a peculiarity of the peacock"! The fact of the matter is that Mr. Dhruva has started on a wrong line from the outset, with also a wrong foundation, and is therefore compelled to put up a prop here and a prop there to support the tottering superstructure.

I shall now proceed to indicate the grounds on which I base my contention that the work is **a hand-book of Sanskṛit Grammar** and not of Gujarâtî Grammar.

To begin, the very *Maṅgalâcharaṇa* (the opening verse) shews the purport of the work :—

अर्हं प्रणम्य मुग्धानां बोधहेतोर्विधीयते ।
प्रायः प्राकृत उक्तीनां किंचिदाम्नायसंग्रहः ॥

" After bowing to the Arhat, I proceed to make, for the instruction of beginners, a collection of some of the rules of grammar, mostly in the Prâkṛit (*i. e.* using for the greater part the Prâkṛit language in the treatment of my subject)." The author uses the word प्रायः (mostly), because in the latter part of the text he has occasionally treated the whole subject in Sanskṛit and not in Prâkṛit. प्राकृत उक्तीनां is प्राकृते + उक्तीनां (संग्रहः), and hence it cannot mean "a collection of Prâkṛit *Uktis.*" प्राकृते is connected with क्रियते and not with उक्तीनाम्. Even if the locative form is allowed, by a strain, to represent the genitive sense, it would conflict with the word प्रायः, which will not then give a satisfactory meaning. The author must, therefore, be taken, even from this passage, to propose a collection of rules of Sanskṛit Grammar, treated through the medium of Prâkṛit.

The facts that the work gives letters like ऋ, &c., peculiar to Sanskṛit only, the dual number, Sanskṛit case-terminations, Sanskṛit *Prâtipadikas*, the rules of *Sandhi* and *Samâsa* peculiar to Sanskṛit, and *Âtmanêpada* forms, clearly indicates that the book treats of Sanskṛit Grammar and not of Prâkṛit Grammar. It is very easy, but not safe, to explain all these facts away by calling them " Sanskṛitisms." But it involves on the face of it a circumlocutory and inverted way of arguing. It has never struck Mr. Dhruva as peculiar, that so large a fund of peculiarities of Sanskṛit Grammar should have crept into a Gujarâtî Grammar with propriety, and without jarring on the sense of proportion. The author, probably holding that the title of *Vyâkaraṇa* can be claimed only by an exhaustive work treated in Sanskṛit, gave his work a far more modest name.

Mr. Dhruva may possibly have been misled by the facts that the whole treatment in the large portion of the work is carried on in Prâkṛit, that the Sanskṛit terminations are first preceded by the mention of Prâkṛit terminations, and that Sanskṛit instances are preceded by the citation

of instances in Prâkṛit. But the whole tenor of the treatment shews that the Prâkṛit terminations and instances are intended only to afford facility of understanding by the citation of things familiar for the teaching of things unfamiliar.

To cite an instance or two:— At page 4, col. 2 — (*kṛidantas*) we find the following:— करी लेई देई इत्यादि बोलिवइं एक उक्तिमांहि पूर्व्विली क्रिया आगलि ईकार जिहां कहीइ तिहां त्त्वा प्रत्यय त्वा इसिउ आवइ ।, — "in using such words as करी (doing), लेई (taking) देई (giving), where in one sentence ई appears at the end of the first verb, the termination त्त्वा, *i. e.* त्वा, should be applied." What does this shew? The author, in order to shew where and how a Sanskṛit termination is to be applied, shews it by appealing in a practical way to an instance in the familiar Prâkṛit, and points out the corresponding place of the termination. Thus the Prâkṛit terminations, &c., being only a means to an end, sink into a secondary place, and prominence is clearly given to the Sanskṛit terminations and forms. Yet Mr. Dhruva prints the ई in large type and puts त्त्वा and त्वा in small type. But we are consoled by the thought that the mere printing of big or small type will not affect the inherent tenor of the text.

The author goes on:— अव्यय त्त्वानइ कर्म्मि द्वितीया । शिष्य शास्त्र पढी अर्थ पूछइ । पूछइ इसी क्रिया । कउण पूछइ शिष्य । जु पूछइ सु कर्ता तिहां प्रथमा । किसुं पूछइ अर्थ जे पूछइ तं कर्म्म तिहां द्वितीया । किसुं करी पूछइ पढी तिहां त्त्वा प्रत्यय । किसुं पढी शास्त्र तिहां त्त्वानइ कर्म्मि द्वितीया । शिष्यः शास्त्रं पठित्वा अर्थं पृच्छति ।,—"The indeclinable त्त्वा takes (governs) द्वितिया in the कर्म sense. [Then a Prâkṛit sentence is given by way of instance]. शिष्य शास्त्र पढी अर्थ पूछइ,—'the pupil, after reading the Śâstra, asks its sense.' पूछइ is the क्रिया. Who asks?; शिष्य. He who asks is the कर्ता. There put the nominative (termination). What does he ask?; अर्थ. What he asks is the कर्म. There put the accusative (termination). After doing what, does he ask? After reading (the शास्त्र). There put the accusative termination in the कर्म sense. (Thus you have) शिष्यः शास्त्रं पठित्वा अर्थं पृच्छति." This process indicates the steps through which the treatment passes. A Prâkṛit sentence is given for a basis to start with, then each word is examined in its relation, and the terminations are shewn, which are to be put on according to the rules, till at length the final structure is built up in the resulting Sanskṛit sentence. This is the synthetic manner, in which the author teaches up to the final instances.

This exposition of the mode of the author's treatment should shew clearly that he is simply teaching Sanskṛit Grammar through his vernacular. The same method of treatment has been observed by the author almost throughout this work. And in some places (as in the case of the तुम् termination, at p. 5) only Sanskṛit instances are given. What does this shew? If the work were a Prâkṛit Grammar, what need was there to give Sanskṛit instances at all, along with the Prâkṛit instances? And certainly, Prâkṛit instances could not be properly altogether omitted (as they are occasionally), and only Sanskṛit instances given, if this was a Prâkṛit Grammar. The author has thrown Prâkṛit into the background to such an extent that, as the work proceeds, the treatment in Prâkṛit is abandoned in a great measure, as in the *Samâsa* chapter, and finally altogether, as in the *Kârikâs* on *Kâraka*. Could this ever be a feature of a Prâkṛit Grammar? After the beginner has gradually acquired familiarity with Sanskrit by the Prâkṛit treatment in the first portion of the book, the author presumes the learner to be able to give up Prâkṛit and understand the treatment in Sanskṛit itself. This is undoubtedly the explanation of the change in the language of treatment. In fact the author has put the qualifying word प्रायः in his very opening verse.

I think I may, after all this explanation, hope that it will be regarded as clear that this work is **a Sanskṛit Grammar taught through the vernacular**; and that it will be hardly necessary to point out that the Prâkṛit and Sanskṛit equivalent words at pages 16, 17 are but a vocabulary teaching Sanskṛit words, and that the *Kârikâs* at pages 17-20, the *Gaṇas* and *Anubandhas* of roots at page 20, the *Padas* of roots at page 21, and such other features, go entirely against the hasty theory of Mr. Dhruva, and support my contention about the nature of the work.

The only part of the work which would lend plausible support to Mr. Dhruva's theory is the chapter on उक्ति (Voices) at pages 6, 7. पाधरी (Straight, Direct) and वांकुडी (Crooked, Indirect) Voices are names unknown to Sanskṛit Grammar. The author also refrains from giving the corresponding Sanskṛit names for the several Voices, कर्तॄ कार्मि भावें. कर्मकर्ता उक्ति is quite a novel division. And immediately after that, the author gives some forms peculiar to Prâkṛit. These facts might for a moment lead one to suppose this work to be a Prâkṛit treatise, and not one on Sanskṛit Grammar. But against this single short chapter are to be put all the other parts of the book which, as shewn above, clearly

indicate the work to be a Sanskrit Grammar. The probable explanation of this chapter may be that the author took the liberty of allotting a separate chapter to the Voices, which is not done in Sanskrit Grammars, and, therefore, he did not give Sanskrit names at all for the divisions of the *Uktis*; and, having for once spoken in this manner, he incidentally, by way of a note as it were, gave some peculiarities of the Prâkrit language. This view is strengthened by the fact that in giving these peculiarities the author expressly uses the words प्राकृतवार्ता, "in the Prâkrit language," which he would not have done were this not an exceptional case in a work which, for the rest, is a Sanskrit Grammar. Further support is to be found in the fact that the author states in this very chapter that in the कर्तरि उक्ति verbs take the *Parasmaipada* terminations ordinarily (प्राहि, *i. e.* प्राय:), from which it is to be implied that *Âtmanêpadi* roots will take *Âtmanêpada* terminations; and also in the fact that the author states that in the कर्मणि and भावे *Uktis* the verbs take *Âtmanêpada* terminations, — a feature confined to Sanskrit, for in Prâkrit there is no such thing as *Âtmanêpada*, verbs taking *Parasmaipada* terminations even in the कर्मणि and भावे forms. This is a very strong point, and we must conclude that this chapter, although giving the original divisions and names of the *Uktis*, has after all for its main subject-matter the rules of Sanskrit Grammar and nothing else, and is, therefore, in general harmony with the other portions of the work.

I have now surveyed the whole scope of the book, and shewn how and where Mr. Dhruva has allowed himself to run into error. It is clear this has been the result of, among other causes, an undue haste, which is unaccountable and surprising. Mr. Dhruva has not had the patience to wait till he could secure more than one Manuscript for his work. The collation of Manuscripts is out of question in that case. Mr. Dhruva himself speaks of another copy in the Jain Bhâṇḍâr at Ahmedabad, which he did not succeed in securing. But he can have had only his own impatience to thank for this. What hurry was there? What reason was there for him to rush this work through the Press before he returned from the International Congress of Orientalists, to which he he had proceeded as a delegate of H. H. the Gaikwar? Could he not have waited till he had returned and had had time enough amidst "the arduous and multifarious work of an office" he "now occupies" to examine the work with care, diligence, and patience? He could then have secured several Manuscripts and have collated them; — a course the propriety of which ought to have suggested itself, for, although he speaks at one place of the Manuscript he secured as "correct throughout with rare exceptions,"[3] he himself at another place[4] complains of the mislections in which some parts of the work abound.

It is to be hoped that, when Mr. Dhruva brings out the second edition of the work which he has promised at the end of his Preface, he will exercise greater care, eliminate all errors, minor and fundamental, give up his untenable theory, and present the work in a creditable form. Till then, his publication can hardly succeed in commanding any perceptible circulation or patronage.

NARSINGRAO BH. DIVATIA.

Bijâpur District, 10*th May* 1891.

P.S. — I subjoin a few additional points for consideration by Mr. Dhruva when he takes the second edition in hand:—

(1) At page 5, col. 1, l. 2, the word उत्तर seems to be misplaced for पूर्व. The Gujarât Vernacular Society Manuscript also has उत्तर. But it conflicts with the sense. Hence the difficulty. For तुम् is applied in a sentence to the preceding, and not to the succeeding verb. कुम्भकार: घटं घटयितुं मृत्तिकां आनयति; in this instance, given by the author, घटयितुं is a verb precedent to आनयति. Mr. Dhruva will see the necessity here of collating several Manuscripts.

(2) Page 12, col. 1. Among the instances of बहुव्रीहिसमास the author gives आरूढो वानरो य: स आरूढवानरो वृक्ष: This is a curious and evidently ungrammatical instance of dissolving a Bahuvrîhi. यत्र for य: would have been correct. But the author seems to give instances of बहुव्रीहि in all the inflections, even including the nominative (which is surely ungrammatical). This requires careful consideration.

(3) In the chapter on उक्तिभेद (Voices), कर्मकर्ता उक्ति is a puzzling and peculiar division. अयं ग्रंथ: सुखेन पठ्यते; here, merely because the object, ग्रंथ, is in the nominative case and the subject (कर्ता, the doer of पठ्) is not intended to be expressed, how does the nature of the कर्मणि form disappear? This requires more light.

N. BH. D.

[3] See Preface, p. vi. col. 2, para. 1.

[4] See footnote at page 20. — Mr. Dhruva should know, or, will perhaps recognise now, that a single Manuscript cannot be safely rushed through the Press, even if he could rightly call a single Manuscript "MSS.", as he too often amusingly does.

THREE FURTHER PATTAVALIS OF THE DIGAMBARAS.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

SOME months ago (see *ante*, Vol. XX. page 341 ff.) I published two paṭṭâvalîs of the Digambaras, which were kindly made over to me by Mr. Cecil Bendall for publication. I now publish three more paṭṭâvalîs of the same Jain section, which I owe to the kindness of Pandit Hari Dâs Shâstrî, who has now been for several years in Jaipur as Director of Public Instruction in that Principality. The originals of these three paṭṭâvalîs I have been obliged to return to their owners. My account of them is prepared from copies which I got made for me. For reasons of convenience I shall designate them by the letters C, D, E; while the two paṭṭâvalîs published previously I shall refer to as A and B, and Peterson's paṭṭâvalî as P.

The main interest of these new paṭṭâvalîs is that they seem clearly to show that there exist two distinct traditions as to the exact course of pontifical succession, differing not inconsiderably from one another. It is true that the paṭṭâvalî E is so slovenly written as to raise one's suspicions as to its trustworthiness. Thus, in the introduction (see below), among the Ten-Pûrvins, Prôsṭhila is omitted; but that this is a mere clerical error is shown by the total number 9, at the end of the 3rd paragraph. Again in the Vaṁsavalî proper (see below) three names are omitted between Yasaḥkîrtti and Guṇanandin; *viz.*, No. 9 Yasônandin, No. 10 Dêvanandin, No. 11 Jayanandin. Here, too, the fact of its being a mere clerical error is shown by the remark[1] after the entry of Śântikîrtti (No. 21 of the MS., but really No. 25), that till then there had been 26 pontiffs, thus clearly counting the omitted numbers. But these and other similar marks of error are not sufficient to account for the remarkable difference of pontifical succession, disclosed in the introductory portion of E as compared with A and C.

The first point of difference is, that while both traditions agree in making the length of the introductory period to be 683 years (after Vîra), they entirely disagree as to the sub-divisions of that period and the number and identity of the persons composing them. There is no disagreement with respect to the two first sub-divisions; both give the same 3 Kêvalins for 62 years and the same 5 Śrutakêvalins for 100 years. But while A and E enumerate 11 Ten-Pûrvins for 183 years, E allows only 9 Ten-Pûrvins, also for 183 years. The names are the same, but E closes the Śrutakêvalins with the ninth on the list of A and C, Buddhilinga, whom it calls Bahudhûli; and it transfers the tenth and eleventh of the list of A and C, to the next sub-division of Eleven-Angins. In the latter sub-division A and C enumerate 5 members with a total of 123 years, while E has in it 6 members with a total of 220 years. The list of names also differs greatly. Further A and C have a sub-division of 4 Minor-Angins for 97 years, and another of 5 One-Angins for 118 years; but E allows no Minor-Angins at all, and has only one sub-division of 6 One-Angins for 118 years. The list of names again differs entirely: in fact, the Minor-Angins of A and C are identical with the One-Angins of E, with the addition of one new name, quite unknown to A and C. On the other hand, all the names of the One-Angins of A and C are unknown to E. The subjoined table will best exhibit these differences.

Tradition in A and C.			*Tradition in E.*
62 years, 3 Kêvalins	1 Gôtama	1	3 Kêvalins for 62 years.
	2 Sudharman	2	
	3 Jambû	3	
100 years, 5 Śrutakêvalin.	1 Vishṇunandin	1	5 Śrutakêvalins, 100 years.
	2 Nandimitra	2	
	3 Aparâjita	3	
	4 Gôvardhana	4	
	5 Bhadrabhâhu I.	5	

[1] There is here another piece of slovenliness. The remark is misplaced; it should really come after No. 26 (or No. 22 of the MS.) Mêrukîrtti.

Tradition in A and C			*Tradition in E.*
183 years, 11 Ten-Pûrvins	1 Viśâkha	1	9 Ten-Pûrvins, 183 years.
	2 Prôshthila	2	
	3 Kshatriya	3	
	4 Jayasêna	4	
	5 Nâgasêna	5	
	6 Siddhârtha	6	
	7 Dhṛitisêna	7	
	8 Vijayasêna	8	
	9 Buddhilinga = Bahudhûli	9	
	10 Dêva = Gaṅgâdêva	1	6 Eleven-Angins, 220 years.
	11 Dharmasêna	2	
123 years, 5 Eleven-Angins (220)	1 Nakshatra	3	
	2 Jayapâla	4	
	3 Pâṇḍava	5	
	4 Dhruvasêna	6	
	5 Kaṁsa	1	6 One-Angins, 118 years.
97 years, 4 Minor-Angins	1 Subhadra	2	
	2 Yaśôbhadra	3	
	3 Bhadrabâhu II.	4	
	4 Lôhâchârya	5	
	Vinayadhara	6	
118 years, 5 One-Angins	1 Arhadbalin		
	2 Mâghanandin		
	3 Dharasêna		
	4 Pushpadanta		
	5 Bhûtavali		
683 years.			Total 683 years.

The new name is Vinayadhara, the last of the One-Angins according to E, which makes the initial period of 683 years to close with him. A and C know him not; on the other hand, E knows nothing of the five last names of the list of A and C.

But there is still another point of difference. Both traditions agree in making the paṭṭâvalî proper commence with a Bhadrabâhu. Who is this Bhadrabâhu? From the dates assigned to him by A and C it is quite clear that, for them, he is identical with Bhadrabâhu II., who is mentioned as one of the Minor-Angins (or as one of the One-Angins in E) in the introduction and as having ascended the pontifical chair in 492 (or 490) A. V. and 4 Saṁvat. In E, however, he is said to have ascended the chair exactly 100 years later, *i. e.*, in 104 Saṁvat. Three distinct names, *viz.*, Śrî-Dattasêna, Śivadatta and Aradatta, are interposed between him and Vinayadhara, the last of the One-Angins, and he is expressly enumerated as the 30th from Mahâvîra (counting the latter as the first of the series), while Bhadrabâhu, the One-Angin, is placed as the 25th. Undoubtedly their numbers are wrong; the MS. is very carelessly written: they should be the 27th and 33rd respectively; but anyhow they must occupy different places. It is clear, therefore, that in E there are three Bhadrabâhus, and that in it Bhadrabâhu III. is the beginner of the paṭṭâvalî proper. I may here add, that the difference of 100 years is carried on in paṭṭâvalî E down to its No. 7, Yasaḥkîrtti. With its No. 8, Guṇananda, that difference has disappeared. But between its Nos. 7 and 8, three names are wanting, which (as I have already

pointed out) should really be in it, for they are counted later on among the 26 pontiffs, who resided in Mâlwâ (see No. 25, or its own No 21). Now it is a pity that these three names should be missing; for they would show how that difference of 100 years was recovered. One cannot help suspecting, that there must have been some design in the omission; the object may have been to evade the difficulty of making up the difference.

I believe the difference, in this particular point, between the two traditions may be accounted for. It will be noticed, that if the beginner of the paṭṭâvalî proper of the Sârasvatî Gachchha is, as A and C will have it, Bhadrabâhu II., that Gachchha is only a branch of the main-line that began with Mahâvîra. The main-line runs on for, at least, 6 further members, through Lôhâchârya, Ahivalli, Mâghanandin, Dharasêna, Pushpadanta to Bhûtavali, with whom it appears (according to the representation of A and C) to have become extinct. Now it is quite possible to identify Ahivalli with Arhadbalin or Guptigupta of No. 2 of the paṭṭâvalî, and Mâghanandin with Mâghanandin of No. 3 of the paṭṭâvalî; and we may assume that Bhadrabâhu II. was first succeeded by his disciple Lôhâchârya, and afterwards by his other disciple Ahivalli. Guptigupta (Arhadbalin), who in his turn was succeeded by Mâghanandin. But this supposition does not remove the difficulty; for Mâghanandin, the One-Angin, was succeeded by Dharasêna in the main-line; while Mâghanandin, No. 3 of the paṭṭâvalî, was succeeded by Jinachandra in the paṭṭâvalî. The difficulty still remains, that the Sâraswatî Gachchha, after all, is only a side-branch of the main-line, which became extinct with Bhûtavali. This difficulty, it seems to me, cannot help having been felt as derogatory to the dignity and claims of the Digambaras; and the object of the tradition, represented in E, appears to have been to meet the difficulty. By that tradition the main-line is carried on from Bhadrabâhu II., through Lôhâchârya, Vinayadhara, 'Srîdatta, 'Sivadatta and Aradatta (the last four taking the place of the five One-Angins of A and C) to Bhadrabâhu III., who then founds the Sârasvatî Gachchha. The latter is thus shown to be the direct continuation of the main-line.[2]

And yet, in **all probability, the tradition** preserved in A and C **is the genuine one, that the Sârasvatî Gachchha, as well as the three other Gachchhas of the Digambaras, are merely side-branches of the main-line.** There is a curious short notice in paṭṭâvalî E, which quite undesignedly supports this view. After noticing Bhadrabâhu, the founder of the Gachchha, E adds that "from him the 'Svêtâmbaras separated and initiated a paṭṭâvalî of their own." This shows, at all events, that according to E, the Digambaras and 'Svêtâmbaras separated from the time of Bhadrabâhu. Now, if it appeared that the Digambaras were not the main-line but a branch, the presumption would naturally be that it was they who were the schismatics or heretics. Hence the necessity to show that they were the main-line, and therefore that the 'Svêtâmbaras were a branch and schismatics. Hence the fiction of a Bhadrabâhu III. But if the tradition of A and C is the genuine one, and the Sârasvatî Gachchha, *i. e.*, the Digambaras, was founded by Bhadrabâhu II., and if, as tradition E says, the 'Svêtâmbaras separated in his time, it follows that the 'Svêtâmbaras were the main-line, while the Digambaras were the branch or seceders. It follows further that that famous separation took place between 490 and 513 A. V. (or 61 and 38 B. C., adjusted, see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360), the period of Bhadrabâhu's pontificate.

And this leads on to another point. All paṭṭâvalîs agree in representing Mâghanandin as the actual founder of the Sârasvatî Gachchha, whence it is also called the Âmnâya, or Line of Nandin. At the same time they also all agree in making the paṭṭâvalî proper of the Gachchha to begin with Bhadrabâhu, two steps before Mâghanandin. This, it appears to me, can have but one meaning: **before Bhadrabâhu the Jain community was undivided; with him the Digambaras separated from the 'Svêtâmbaras, but remained united themselves; with Mâghanandin the Digambaras themselves separated into four divisions,** the most important

[2] I may here note, that Guptigupta, the successor of Bhâdrabâhu III and No. 2 of the paṭṭâvalî, is not really omitted in E, for he is counted among the 26 pontiffs, who resided in Mâlwâ. His omission, in his proper place, is only another of the many errors of the MS.

of which would seem to have been that named after Mâghanandin. This view is distinctly borne out by that curious notice in E, that the 'Svêtâmbaras separated from the time of Bhadrabâhu. It is also indirectly borne out by the notice of paṭṭâvalî C (in §16, see below), that "the Sitapaṭa or white-robed Sangha arose from the Mûlasangha." For whether the Mûlasangha be taken to mean the undivided Jains or only the undivided Digambaras, in any case the notice refers the origin of the 'Svêtâmbaras to a time prior to the Digambara division under Mâghanandin.

Now, it is well-known that the Digambaras place the great separation of themselves and the 'Svêtâmbaras in Saṁ. 136 (or A. D. 79).[3] This tradition of theirs is not borne out by their own paṭṭâvalîs, as represented in A, B, C, D. For they place Bhadrabâhu in Saṁ. 4 (or B. C. 53), and even Mâghanandin is placed in Saṁ. 36 (or B. C. 21).[4] Therefore one of two things: either the tradition about the separation in Saṁ. 136 is false, or the separation took place long after Mâghanandin. In the latter case, the 'Svêtâmbaras separated not from the Mûlasangha (or the undivided Digambaras), but only from one of its subdivisional Gachchhas. This latter case is negatived, as already pointed out, by the statements of the paṭṭâvalîs themselves. It follows that the paṭṭâvalîs, such as A, B, C, D, contradict the tradition of the great separation in Saṁ. 136. Now, it seems to me, that the object of paṭṭâvalî E is to harmonise the two traditions: that the great separation took place under Bhadrabâhu, or at least under Mâghanandin, and that it took place in Saṁ. 136. It was apparently thought that this could be done most easily by simply adding one hundred years to Mâghanandin's usual traditional date. According to A, B, C, D he succeeded in Saṁ. 36; paṭṭâvalî E turns the year into Saṁ. 136. It is a clumsy expedient; for, in the first place, it necessitated other changes and even interpolations to account for the additional century: hence the fiction of a Bhadrabâhu III. In the second place, it was only a half-measure; for it placed the great separation under Mâghanandin, whereas the paṭṭâvalîs really required it to be placed under Bhadrabâhu II. But to have altered the latter's date from Saṁ. 4 to Saṁ. 136 would seem to have been considered too violent a measure.

We have undoubtedly here two contradictory traditions of the Digambaras disclosed to us; that of their paṭṭâvalîs places the great separation considerably earlier than Saṁ. 136, in the time of Bhadrabâhu. The question is who this Bhadrâbâhu was. The 'Svêtâmbaras paṭṭâvalîs know only one Bhadrabâhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the 'Svêtâmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabâhu I. of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, **the probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabâhu I,** who died 162 A. V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A. V. according to the 'Svêtâmbaras. The final and definite schism may then have occurred later in Saṁ. 136 or, according to the 'Svêtâmbaras, Saṁ. 139.

Further, there is another **divergence of tradition** disclosed in the five paṭṭâvalîs, now published. This refers not to the succession so much **as to the residences or migrations** of the pontiffs, and, therefore, **of the Digambara sect.** On this point, the paṭṭâvalîs A, B, D altogether agree; paṭṭâvalî E also agrees in the main; but paṭṭâvalî C presents a considerably different tradition. This may be seen at a glance from the subjoined table. One point of general agreement comes out clearly and is noteworthy, namely, the general direction **of the Digambara migration. It was from the South to the North, from Bhadalpur to Dillî and Jaipur.** This agrees with the opinion that the Digambara separation originally took place as a result of the migration southwards under Bhadrabâhu in consequence of a severe famine in Bihâr, the original home of the undivided Jaina community.[5] **I have not been a**

[3] The 'Svêtâmbaras place it three years later, in 82 A. D. See my edition of the *Uvâsagadasâo* (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol. II. p. IX.

[4] Or with the adjustment of 8 years (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360), 61 B. C. and 44 B. C. respectively.

[5] See Introduction to my edition of the *Uvâsagadasâo* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II. p. viii.

to identify **Bhadalpur.** It is variously spelt. E spells it with the cerebral *ḍ* (भाडलपुर), but the others with the dental *d*, either single (भद्लपुर) or double (भद्दलपुरी). C places it in Southern India (Dakhiṇa), but the others in Central India (Mâlava).

Table of Pontifical Residences.

Period.	Paṭṭâvalîs A, B, D.	Paṭṭâvalî E.	Paṭṭâvalî C.
I	Bhaddalpur (in Mâlava) 26 pont., Nos. 1-26	Bhâḍalpur (in Mâlava) 26 pont., No. 1-26	Bhaddalpurî (in Dakhiṇa) 26 pont.; No. 1-26
II	Ujjain 25 pont., Nos. 27-51	II and III. Vârâ (Vaḍôdâ) 37 pont., Nos. 27-63	II Mâlava 26 pont., Nos. 27-52. Ujjainî 18 p., Nos. 27-44 Chandêrî 4 p., Nos. 45-48 Bhêl 3 p., Nos. 49-51 Kuṇḍalpur 1 pont., Nos. 52
III	Vârâ (or Vârô) 12 pont., Nos. 52-63		Vârâ. 12 pont., Nos. 53-64
IV	Gvâlêr 14 pont., Nos. 64-77	Gvâlêr 15 pont., Nos. 64-78	IVa Chîṭôṛ 10 pont., Nos. 65-74 IVb Vâghêr 4 pont., Nos. 75-78.
V	Ajmêr 6 pont., Nos. 78-83	Ajmêr 5 pont., Nos. 79-83	Ajmêr[6] 5 pont., Nos. 79-83
VI	Dillî 3 pont., Nos. 84-86		Vâgvar (in Gujarât) 3 pont., Nos. 84-86
VII	Chîtôṛ, No. 87	Chîtoṛ, No. 89	
VIII IX	(D) Smêrskir (?), No. 90. (D) Châṭasû, No. 91	Sâgânêr No. 91	
X	a (D) Sâgânêr, No. 92 b (D) Avêr 3 pont., Nos. 93-95	Avairi 4 pont., Nos. 92-95	
XI	(D) Dillî, No. 96	Dillî, No. 96	
XII	(D) Jaipur 4 pont., Nos. 97-100	Jaipur 4 pont., Nos. 97-100	

[6] MS. C reads 6 pont., but gives only 5 names.

There is still a third point of interest in the three new paṭṭâvalîs, now published. They shew that the Digambara tradition of **the pontifical succession exists in two different recensions.** The two recensions differ, in the main, in a certain number of names and dates. From this point of view the whole of the paṭṭâvalîs, hitherto published, distribute themselves thus: A, B, D represent one recension (I) and C, E, P represent the other (II). The following two tables exhibit the differences:—

1. Table of Differences in Names.

Serial Number.	I. Recension A, B, D.	II. Recension C, E, P.
11	Pûjyapâda	Jayanandin.
19	Harinandin	Siṁhanandin (E, P). Nayananandin (C).
22	Ratnakîrtti	Ratnanandin.
23	Mâṇikanandin (also E)	Mâṇikyanandin (C, P).
30	'Srîchandra (also C)	Sîlachandra (E, P).
31	Nandikîrtti	'Srînandin.
35	Vîrachandra	Vidyânandin.
46	Guṇanandin	Guṇakîrtti.
53	Vṛishabhanandin	Brahmanandin.
54	'Sivanandin	Dêvanandin (C, E).
55	Vasuchandra	Viśvachandra (C, P). Siyachandra (? E).
56	Sishanandin (B, D) Saṅghanandin (A)	Harinandin.
62	Jñânakîrtti	Jñânanandin (C, P). Gunâyananandin (? E).
66	Sundarakîrtti	Chârunandin.
67	Nêmichandra	Nêminandin.
72	Varaddhachandra	Vardhamâna.
80	Sântikîrtti	Viśâlakîrtti.

As the full particulars of the dates are given only in the paṭṭâvalîs A, D and E, the second table will stand thus:—

2. Table of Differences in Dates.

Serial Number.	I. Recension A, D.				II. Recension C.			
5	pontificate	51-10-10,	total	95-10-15	pontificate	41-10-10,	total	85-10-15
20	"	6- 2-22,	"	46- 3- 1	"	6- 7-22,	"	46- 8- 1
25	intercalary	20,	"	32- 1-15	intercalary	25,	"	32- 1-20
26	pontificate	44- 3-16,	"	63- 3-29	pontificate	44- 3-13,	"	63- 3-26
27	monkhood	12- 0- 0,	"	35-11-20	monkhood	22- 0- 0,	"	45- 0- 0
28	intercalary	15,	"	42- 4-15	intercalary	31,	"	42- 5- 1
33	"	5,	"	43-10- 0	"	10,	"	43-10- 5
35	"	8,	"	70- 0-12	"	4,	"	70- 0- 8
41	householder	8- 0- 0,	"	26- 9-20	householder	9- 0- 0,	"	27- 9-20
42	intercalary	8,	"	49- 1-16	intercalary	9,	"	49- 1-17
43	pontificate	16- 6- 0,	"	41- 5- 6	pontificate	16- 0- 0,	"	40-11- 5

Serial Number.	I. Recension A, D.		II. Recension C.	
45	householder 11- 0- 0,	Total 50- 4-14	householder 21- 0- 0,	Total 60- 4-14
50	monkhood 25- 0- 0,	,, 58- 0- 0	monkhood 15- 0- 0,	,, 48- 0- 0
53	pontificate 3- 4- 1,	,, 47- 4- 5	pontificate 2- 4- 1,	,, 46- 4- 5
54	householder 39- 0- 0, etc.	,, 55- 7- 1	householder 7- 0- 0,	,, 23- 6-24
55	monkhood 40- 0- 0,	,, 51- 8- 1	monkhood 24- 0- 0,	,, 35- 8- 1
59	pontificate 5- 5- 5, etc.	,, 57- 5- 9	pontificate 5- 4-29, etc.	,, 49- 5- 9
60	householder 10- 0- 0,	,, 53- 2- 1	householder 14- 0- 0,	,, 57- 2- 1
61	pontificate 4- 1-16, etc.	,, 50- 6-21	pontificate 4- 1- 0, etc.	,, 34- 8- 7
64	monkhood 37- 0- 0,	,, 47- 3- 1	monkhood 27- 0- 0,	,, 37- 3- 1
67	intercalary 9,	,, 35- 9- 8	intercalary 7,	,, 35- 9- 6
70	monkhood 25- 0- 0,	,, 38- 4- 1	monkhood 22- 0- 0,	,, 35- 4- 1
72	pontificate 2-11-28,	,, 26- 0- 1	pontificate 2-11- 8,	,, 25-11-21
75	intercalary 6,	,, 45- 6-21	intercalary 5,	,, 45- 6-20
76	householder 13- 0- 0,	,, 47- 3- 9	householder 12- 0- 0,	,, 46- 3- 9
78	monkhood 20- 0- 0,	,, 33- 5- 0	monkhood 2- 0- 0,	,, 15- 5- 0
79	pontificate 2-13-19,	,, 28- 3-23	pontificate 2- 3-16,	,, 28- 3-20
85	monkhood 24- 0- 0,	,, 96- 3-15	monkhood 14- 0- 0,	,, 86- 3-15

To the above tables I may add that both P and E insert an additional name between Nos. 47 and 48; *viz*., Vâsavachandra (E) or Vâsavêndu (P). In this point C agrees with the other recension (of A, B, D), which omits that name. Further E omits No. 79 Prakshântikîrtti (or as B, D have it Prakshâtakîrtti), so that its total number of pontiffs is the same as that in the other lists. This pontiff is also omitted in P, for the "prakhyâtakîrtti" of the latter is not a name, but a title of No. 78, Vasantakîrtti. In this point, too, C agrees with A,B,D. Though I suspect that E, P are correct, as against A, B, C, D, I am unable to account for the divergence. There is a similar discrepancy between the paṭṭâvalî C and all others (see below) with respect to the successor of No. 85, 'Subhachandra.

One further point I may note. Paṭṭâvalî A is the only one which gives what I have called the Nâgôr section. All others, B, D, E, P, give the Chîtôṛ section. The two sections separated after No. 87. Paṭṭâvalî C only goes down to No. 85 (or rather No. 86), and stops short just before the schism. From the remark in paṭṭâvalî D (see below), referring to this schism, it would seem that the two sections took up their residences in Gwâler and Nâgôr respectively. But paṭṭâvalî E mentions No. 89, Lalitakîrtti, as still resident in Chîtôṛ, and with this the passage on the schism in paṭṭâvalî A agrees. See the passages which are quoted below. This matter of the schism still requires further clearing up.[7]

I now proceed to describe the three paṭṭâvalîs separately.

PAṬṬÂVALÎ C.

This paṭṭâvalî is drawn up on the plan of paṭṭâvalî A, *i.e.* it begins with an introduction detailing the antecedent history of the Gachchha, after which it gives the list of pontiffs, with all the dates of each life in addition to the year of accession. A peculiar feature are the concluding remarks after the introduction (see below §§ 16-19) as well as after the paṭṭâvalî proper (§§ 23—26), which give some curious information regarding the three other orthodox Sanghas, *viz.*, the Dêva, Siṁha and Sêna, as well as regarding some (apparently five) heretical or

[7] In his *Jainamata Vṛiksha*, or Genealogical Table of the Jains, Muni Âtmârâmjî makes the following remark: 'In Sam. 1572 Rûpa Chand Sôrâṇâ, of his own accord, put on the monk's garb and originated the Nâgôrî Lumpaka sect.' This appears to refer to the above-mentioned schism, though the name of the founder differs.

schismatic Sanghas, *viz.*, the Sitapaṭṭa or Svetâmbara, the Kâshtha, the Drâviḍa, the Yâpulîya or Yapanîya, and the Kêkîpichchha or Niḥpichchha. Paragraphs 16 and 17 appear to me a little confused; it is not clear whether the same or different sects are spoken of; the names are so similar, that the former seems the more probable view.

Another peculiarity of paṭṭâvalî C are the numerous extracts it quotes in support of its statements. Some of them are identical with those quoted also in paṭṭâvalî A, and these, it now appears, are quoted from the *Vikrama Prabandha*, a work which I see is mentioned in the Deccan College collection, No. 172.[8] The other extracts are taken from the Nîtisâra, a work ascribed to Indranandin, a copy of which (No. 371) also exists in the Deccan College collection (see its *Catalogue*, p. 145). To judge from the name of its author, he should be a member of the Sârasvatî Gachchha, to which the surname Nandin is peculiar; but it does not occur, at least, among the names of the pontiffs.

In the Gâthâs, giving the dates of Vikrama's life (see below § 15), there again occurs the puzzling word *rasapaṇa*. In my previous paper (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 360) I have suggested that it should be read *paṇarasa*, 'fifteen.' From the comment on the gâthâ in paṭṭâvalî C, however, it is clear that the reading *rasapaṇa* is, at least, so far genuine that it already existed for the writer of the paṭṭâvalî. For he interprets it as meaning "fifty-six." He, evidently, must have taken it as a compound of the two nouns *rasa* and *paṇa*. The former, *rasa*, is the well-known symbolical expression for 6, while the latter would seem to be a name for 5, though I am not aware of the fact. According to the usual rule of interpreting such symbolic names inversely, the word *rasapaṇa* would mean 56. It is also to be noted that in paṭṭâvalî C the line, in which *rasapaṇa* occurs, reads *rajjaṁ kuṇanti* "he reigned," instead of the *jajjaṁ kuṇanti* "he performed sacrifices" of paṭṭâvalî A. If the periods are taken to be consecutive — as one would naturally do —, the verses, as interpreted in paṭṭâvalî C, would give king Vikrama a life of 118 years (*i. e.*, 6 + 16 + 56 + 40)! But possibly 56 years are understood to be the total period of his reign, during the latter portion of which, comprising 40 years, Vikrama was a Jain. If so, there would be a curious coincidence in the fact, that the suggested reading *paṇarasa* 'fifteen' would give him a reign of 55 years (*i.e.*, 15 + 40). The line in question would then have to be translated: "for 56 years he carried on his rule being *at first* attached to heretical doctrines." Here, however, the most significant words "at first" would have to be supplied, not being expressed in any way by the verse itself.

I may also note, that instead of the terms *viraha* or *antara*, paṭṭâvalî C occasionally uses the synonymous term *antarâlá*; see, *e.g.*, No. 62.

The list of pontiffs in this paṭṭâvalî closes with Subhachandra, who reigned up to Saṁ. 150, or A.D. 1440, some time before the separation into the Chîtôṛ and Nâgôr lines took place. In the concluding remarks of the paṭṭâvalî (see § 23) it is stated that Subhachandra was followed by Sakalakîrtti, and from the form of the remark it would seem that he must have been the reigning pontiff, at the time the paṭṭâvalî was written. This would give it a date somewhere about 1450 A. D., and would make it the oldest at present known; the next oldest being the paṭṭâvalî P, the date of which must be about 1650 A.D., as it comes down to the pontiff Narêndrakîrtti (of the Chîtôṛ line, see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 355). There is a difficulty, however, in the names. Instead of Sakalakîrtti, all the other paṭṭâvalîs (A, B, D, E) give either Jînachandra or Prabhâchandra as the successor of Subhachandra. Moreover paṭṭâvalî C gives Vâgvar in Gujarât as the residence of Sakalakîrtti as well as of Padmanandin and Subhachandra, while the other paṭṭâvalîs (A, B, D, E) give Dillî as the residence of the two last mentioned pontiffs, as well as of Subhachandra's successor (see the list above). I am unable to clear up this difficulty; but it may be noted that there are in paṭṭâvalî C itself indications that a pontiff may have borne two quite distinct names. In the same § 23, there is mentioned a pontiff Narên-

[8] *Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College*, by Prof. Bhandarkar, p. 50, (Bombay 1888).

drakîrtti, who, from the connection in which his name appears, must have been the immediate successor of Jñânakîrtti, Mâghachandra and Sûrachandra (*i. e.*, Nos. 60, 61, 62). Accordingly he must be No. 63, who in the nominal list of C, no less than in all others, is known as Gaṅgâkîrtti. Similarly, we have in § 23 a Kanakakîrtti and a Prôshṭhilakîrtti, who would clearly seem to be identical with Nos. 65 Hêmakîrttî and No. 79 Prakshântikîrtti. There is, however, another difficulty in the account given in § 23, which I am unable to solve. That account of the pontifical succession does not agree with the paṭṭâvalî which precedes it. The four pontiffs Sûrachandra, Mâhachandra, Jñânakîrtti, and Narêndrakîrtti are made to follow Vasantakîrtti, whereas in the paṭṭâvalî they preceded him by a long interval. Again in § 23 Vasantakîrtti is made to be the 9th after Kanakakîrtti, whereas in the paṭṭâvalî (if Kanaka is the same as Hêma, No. 65) he is the 13th after him. The table of residences, however, should be compared.

The introductory and concluding portions I again give *in extenso*, but the paṭṭâvalî proper, as before, in abstract tabular form. The bracketed remarks in the last column of the tables are again my own.

TEXT.

Introduction of Pattâvalî C.

(1) ओं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ अवार पञ्चमा काल विषैँ श्रीमहावीर स्वामी के मुक्ति हुए पीछैँ वा की हीणता काल-दोष तैँ भई है ॥ जा तैँ या कै पार गिणती के आचार्य भए हैँ, सो अनुक्रम सैँ प्रसङ्ग करि किञ्चित वर्णन करियै है।

(2) अन्त के तीर्थङ्कर महावीर स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति भए पीछैँ बासठि ६२ वर्ष ताँई केवलज्ञान रह्या, सो कहिये है ॥ जब श्रीवर्द्धमान स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति भई, तिस पीछै श्रीगौतम गणधर कूँ केवलज्ञान उपज्या। सो वारह वरष १२ पर्यन्त रह्या ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ सुधर्म स्वामी कूँ केवलज्ञान उपज्या। सो भी वारह वर्ष ताँई केवल रह्या ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ जम्बू स्वामी कूँ केवलज्ञान उत्पन्न भया। सो वर्ष ३८ अडतीस् ताँई रह्या ॥ ऐसैँ बासठि वर्ष ताँई केवल-ज्ञानी तीन पञ्चम काल विषैँ प्रवर्त्या ॥

(3) वहुरि ता के पीछैँ ग्यारह अङ्ग चउदह पूर्व के धारक अनुक्रम सै पाँच श्रुतज्ञान के पाठी श्रुतकेवली हुवा ॥ ता मैँ प्रथम विष्णुकुमार वर्ष १४ चउदह। वहुरि नन्दिमित्र वर्ष १६ सोलह। वहुरि अपराजित वर्ष २१। वहुरि गोव-र्द्धन वर्ष १९ उगणीस। वहुरि भद्रवाहु वर्ष २९ गुणतीस ॥ ऐसैँ १०० एक सौ वर्ष पर्यन्त या का काल अनुक्रम तैँ रह्या ॥ इहाँ ताँई श्रीमहावीर स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति गयेँ एक सो वासठि १६२ वर्ष जानना ॥

(4) वहुरि ता कै पीछैँ ग्यारह अङ्ग दश पूर्व के धारक ग्यारह मुनि भया। ता को काल वर्ष १८३ एक सो तिरासी को अनुक्रम तैँ है। ता मैँ विशाखाचार्य वर्ष दश १०, प्रोष्ठिलाचार्य वर्ष १५ पन्द्रह, नक्षत्राचार्य वर्ष १७ सतरह, नागसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८ अट्ठारह, जयसेनाचार्य वर्ष इकवीस २१, सिद्धार्थाचार्य वर्ष १७ सप्तदश, धृतिसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८, विजयाचार्य वर्ष तेरह १३, बुद्धिलिङ्गाचार्य वर्ष २०, देवाचार्य वर्ष १४ चउदह, धर्मसेनाचार्य वर्ष सोलह १६ ॥ ऐसैँ याँ का १ एक सो तियाँसी वर्ष का अनुक्रम तैँ काल का वर्त्तमान है ॥ इहाँ ताँई श्रीमहावीर कूँ मुक्ति गये वर्ष ३४५ तीन सै पैँतालीस भए जाननाँ ॥

(5) वहुरि ता के पीछैँ ग्यारह अङ्ग के पाठी पाँच मुनि भए ॥ ता मैँ नक्षत्राचार्य तौ श्रीमहावीर तैँ तीन सै पैँतालीस वर्ष पीछै हुवा, वर्ष १८ अठारह ताँई रह्या ॥ वहुरि महावीर तैँ तीन सै तरेसठि वर्ष पीछैँ जयपाल नाम आचार्य भया। तिन का वर्तमान काल वर्ष वीस २० का है ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ तथा श्रीमहावीर नाथ तैँ तीन सै तियाँसी वर्ष ३८३ पीछैँ पाण्डवाचार्य भया। ता का वर्तमान काल वर्ष गुणतालीस ३९ का रह्या ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ तथा श्रीवर्द्धमान तीर्थङ्कर तैँ ४२२ च्यार सै बाईस वर्ष पीछैँ ध्रुवसेनाचार्य हुवा। ता का वर्तमान काल वर्ष चउदह का है ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ श्रीसन्मति पीछैँ ४३६ च्यार सै छतीस वर्ष गयेँ कंसाचार्य भए। ता का वर्तमान वर्ष वत्तीस ३२ का है ॥ ऐसैँ पाँचू आचार्यंनि का अनुक्रम सैँ वर्ष एक सौ तेईस १२३ जाननाँ ॥ ए सर्व केवल एकादशाङ्गधारी है ॥

(6) वहुरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछैँ च्यार सौ अडसठि ४६८ वर्ष गये सुभद्राचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान काल के वर्ष छह ६ ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैँ तथा श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछैँ च्यार सै चहोत्तर ४७४ वर्ष गयेँ यशोभद्राचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान काल के वर्ष १८ अठारह हैँ ॥ वहुरि ता कैँ पीछैँ तथा श्रीवीर नाथ कूँ मुक्ति हुवा पीछैँ ४९२ च्या-र सौ वाणवै वर्ष गयेँ दूसरा भद्रवाहु नामा आचार्य भए। या का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष २३ तेईस का है ॥ वहुरि ता के

पीछैँ तथा वीर स्वामी पीछैँ ५१५ पाँच सै पन्दरह वर्ष गयेँ लोहाचार्य भयेँ। ता का वर्त्तमान काल पचास वर्ष का है ॥ ऐसै च्यारूँ ही आचार्य का वर्ष सत्यानवै ९७ का है ॥ यह च्यारूँ ही आचार्य अनुक्रम सैँ एक एक अङ्ग के घाटि पाठी हुये हैँ। दस-नव-आठ-सातमाँ अङ्ग के पाठी ताँई हुये ॥

(7) वहुरि ता के पीछैँ एक अंङ्ग के पाठी पाँच मुनिवर होते भए ॥ ता का विस्तार ॥ श्रीवर्द्धमान स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति हुये पीछैँ पाँच सै पैँसठि ५६५ वर्ष गयेँ अर्हद्बलि आचार्य भए। ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष २८ अष्टाविंशति का है ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैँ तथा वीर जिनेश्वर पीछैँ पाँच सै तिराणवै ५९३ वर्ष गएँ माघनन्दि आचार्य भये। ता का वर्तमान वर्ष २१ इक्कीस का है ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैँ तथा श्रीसनमति नाथ पीछैँ छह सै चौदह ६१४ वर्ष गयेँ धरसेनाचार्य भये। ता का वर्तमान काल गुन्नीस वर्ष का है ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैँ तथा श्रीवीर भगवान कूँ निर्वाण भयेँ पीछैँ छह सै तेतीस ६३३ वर्ष भुक्ते पुष्पदन्ताचार्य भये। ता का वर्त्तमान काल वर्ष ३० तीस का भया ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैँ तथा श्री-महावीर पीछैँ छह सै तिरेसठि ६६३ गयेँ भूतवल्याचार्य भये। ता का वर्त्तमान काल २० वीस वर्ष का भया ॥ ऐसैँ अनुक्रम तैँ भयेँ ॥ वहुरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी कुँ मुक्ति गयेँ पीछैँ छह सै तीयाँसी ६८३ वर्ष ताँई पूर्व अङ्ग की परिपाटी चली। फिर अनुक्रम करि घटती रही ॥ और पूर्वोक्त अर्हद्बल्याचार्यादि पाँच आचार्य का वर्त्तमान काल एक सो अठारह ११८ वर्ष का है ॥ इहाँ ताँई एकाङ्ग के धारी मुनि भये हैँ ॥

(8) वहुरि ता के पीछैँ श्रुतज्ञानी मुनि भये। अङ्ग के पाठी नाँही भए। ऐसै आचार्यनि की परिपाटी है ॥

(9) तदुक्तं गाथा ॥

अन्तिमजिणणिव्वाणे केवलणाणी य गोयम मुणिन्दो।
वारह वासे गये सुधम्म सामी य संजादो ॥ १ ॥
तह वारह वासे[9] य पुणु संजादो जम्बुसामि मुणिराओ।
अडतीस वास पठिओ केवलणाणी य उक्किट्ठो ॥ २ ॥
वासठि केवलवासे[10] तिण्ह मुणि गोयम सुधम्म जम्बू य।
वारह वारह वच्छर तिय जुगहीणं च चालीसं ॥ ३ ॥
सुयकेवलि पञ्च जणा वासठि वासे गये सुसंजादा।
पढमं चउदह वासं विण्हुकुवारं मुणेयव्वं ॥ ४ ॥
नँदिमित्त वास सोलह तय[11] अपराजिय परं हु वावीसं।
इगहीणवीस वासं गोवद्धण भद्दवाहु गुणतीसं ॥ ५ ॥
सद[12] सुय केवलणाणी पञ्च जणा विण्हु नन्दिमित्तो य।
अवराजिय गोवद्धण [य[13]] भद्दवाहू य संजादा ॥ ६ ॥
[14]अन्तिमजिणणिव्वाणे तयसय[15] पणचाल वास जादे सु।
एकादहङ्गधारिय पण्ण जणा मुणिवरा जादा ॥ ७ ॥
णक्खत्तो जयपालग पण्डव[16] धुवसेण कंस आयरिया।
अद्दार वीस वासं गुणचाल य चोद वत्तीसं ॥ ८ ॥
सद तेवीस[17] य वासे एयादह अङ्गधारिणो जादा।
वासं सत्ताणवदि[18] य दसङ्ग-नव-अठधरा जादा ॥ ९ ॥

श्लोक प्राकृत ॥

सुभद्दं च जसोभद्दं भद्दवाहुं कमेण य।
लोहाचज्जं मुणीसं च कहियं च जिणागमे ॥ १० ॥
छह अट्ठारह वासे तेवीस वावण वरस मुणिणाहा।
दह-नव-अट्ठङ्गधरा वास दुसद वीस मज्झेसु ॥ ११ ॥

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[9] Read *vâsĕ* metri causâ.

[10] MS. °वासो।

[11] For तइअ। [12] MS. सुद। [13] Not in MS., but some such addition is required by the metre. [14] Here three verses are omitted in the MS. [15] MS. तह सय पण्णाठि, which fits neither sense nor metre. [16] MS. पांडव। [17] MS. तीयांसि = 83. [18] MS. सत्ताणिवदि।

पञ्च सये पण्णट्ठे अन्तिमजिणसमय जादे सु ।
उप्पण्णा पञ्च जणा इयङ्गधारी मुणेयव्वा ॥ १२ ॥
अहवल्लिमाइणन्दि य धरसेणं पुप्फयन्त भूदवली[19] ।
अडवीसं इगवीसं उगणीसं तीस वीस पुण वासा ॥ १३ ॥
इगसय अठार वासे इगङ्गधारी य मुणिवरा जादा ।
छ सय तिरासि य वासे णिव्वाणा अङ्गछित्ति कहिय जिणे ॥ १४ ॥

ऐसैं विक्रम प्रबन्ध विषैं लिखा है ॥ यह पूर्वोक्त प्रकार श्रीमहावीर स्वामी तैं लेय करि जिनमत विषैं अनुक्रम सै आचार्यनि की परिपाटी है ॥

(10) वहुरि श्रीवीर स्वामी कूँ मुक्ति गयें पीछैं च्यार सै सत्तर ४७० वर्ष गयें पीछैं श्रीमन्महाराज विक्रम राजा का जन्म भया ॥ वहुरि पूर्वोक्त सुभद्राचार्य तैं[20] विक्रम राज को जन्म है ॥ वहुरि विक्रम के राजपद मैं वर्ष चत्वारि ४ पीछैं पूर्वोक्त दूसरा भद्रवाहु कूँ आचार्य का पट्ट हुवा ॥ वहुरि भद्रवाहु का सिष्य गुप्ति नाम । ता के नाम तीन । गुप्तगुप्ति १ अर्हद्वलि २ विशाखाचार्य ३ ॥ वहुरि जा के च्यार ४ सिष्य । नन्दि नाम जाति के वृक्ष के अधोभाग कैं विखैं चातुर्मास का वर्षा योग धारया ऐसा माघनन्दि आचार्य जी नैं नन्दिसङ्घ स्थापित कीया ॥ १ ॥ वहुरि जा नैं तृणतल विषै वर्षा योग स्थापित कीया, सो जिनसेन नाम सेनसङ्घ स्थापित कीया ॥ २ ॥ वहुरि सिंह की गुफा विषैं वर्षा योग धारया, जा तैं सिंहसङ्घ स्थाप्या ॥ ३ ॥ वहुरि जा नैं देवदत्ता नामा वेश्या के गृह के विषैं वर्षा योग धारया, सो देवसङ्घ भया । ऐसैं जिनमत मैं पाँचमाँ काल विषैं आचार्यनि के च्यार सङ्घ भए ॥

(11) वहुरि पूर्वोक्त नन्दिसङ्घ के विषैं नन्दिसङ्घ १, पारिजात गच्छ एक १, वलात्कारगण[21], च्यार मुनि के नाम कहिये नन्दि १ चन्द्र २ कीर्त्ति ३ भूषण ४, ऐसैं स्थापित भये ॥ तथा श्रीमूलसङ्घ १ नन्द्याम्नाय १ सरस्वती गच्छ १ वलात्कारगण १, ऐसैं च्यार ४ । वहुरि पूर्वोक्त नन्दि १ चन्द्र २ कीर्त्ति ३ भूषण ४, ऐसैं च्यार मुनि के नाम स्थापे ॥

(12) तदुक्तं श्रीइन्द्रनन्दि सिद्धान्तो कृत नीतिसारे ॥ श्लोक ॥
अर्हद्वली गुरुश्चक्रे सङ्घसङ्घट्टनं परं ॥ १ ॥
सिंहसङ्घो नन्दिसङ्घः सेनसङ्घो महाप्रभः ।
देवसङ्घ इति स्पष्टः स्थानस्थितिविशेषतः ॥ २ ॥

(13) वहुरि श्रीमहावीर स्वामी पीछैं ४९२ च्यारि सै वाणवै वर्ष गयें सुभद्राचार्य का वर्त्तमान व॰ २४ चौईस, सो विक्रम जन्म तैं वावीस वर्ष ॥ वहुरि ता का राज्य तैं वर्ष ४ च्यार दुसरा भद्रवाहु हुवा जाननाँ ॥

(14) वहुरि श्रीमहावीर तैं च्यार सै सत्तर ४७० वर्ष पीछैं विक्रम राजा भयो । ता के पीछै आठ वर्ष पर्यन्त वाला-क्रीडा करि । ता के पीछैं सोलह वर्ष ताँई देशान्तर विषैं भ्रमण करि । ता के पीछैं छप्पन ५६ वर्ष ताँई राज कीयो नानाप्रकार मिथ्यात्व के उपदेश करि संयुक्त रह्यो ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैं चालीस वर्ष ताँई पूर्वमिथ्यात्व कूँ छोडि जिनवर धर्म कूँ पाल करि देवपदवी पाई ॥ ऐसैं विक्रम राजा की उत्पत्ति आदि है ॥

(15) तदुक्तं विक्रमप्रबन्धे । गाथा ॥
सत्तरि चदुसदजुत्तो तिण काले विक्कमो हवइ जम्मो ।
अठ वरस वाललीला सोडस वासे हि भम्मिए देसे ॥ १ ॥
रसपण वासा रज्जं कुणन्ति मिच्छावदेससंजुत्तो ।
चालीस वास जिणवरधम्मं पाले य सुरपयं लहियं ॥ २ ॥

(16) ऐसैं श्रीमूलसङ्घ कैं विषैं गण-गच्छ-सङ्घ-आदि नाना प्रकार की भई है ॥ तदुक्तं नीतिसारे काव्यं[22] ॥
पूर्वं श्रीमूलसङ्घात्तदनु सितपटः काष्ठसङ्घस्ततो हि ।
तत्राभूद्भाविराख्यः पुनरजनि ततो यापुली सङ्घ एकः ॥
तस्मिन् श्रीमूलसङ्घे मुनिजनविमले सेन नन्दी च सङ्घौ ।
स्यातां सिंहाख्यसङ्घो ऽभवदुरुमहिमा देवसङ्घश्चतुर्थः ॥ १ ॥

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19 MS. भूतवली ।
20 Here the date is wanting in the MS.
21 MS. वलात्कारगुण ।
22 Metre: *Sragdharâ*.

वहुरि ऐसैं ही पूर्वश्रीमूलसङ्घ विषैं प्रथम दूसरा स्वेतपट्टी गच्छ भया ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैं काष्ठसङ्घ भया ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैं द्राविड गच्छ भया ॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैं यापुलीय गच्छ भया ॥

(17) वहुरि इत्यादिक गच्छ पीछैं केतेक काल पीछैं स्वेताम्बर भया ॥ वहुरि यापनीय गच्छ, केकिपिच्छ, स्वेतवास, निःपिच्छ, द्राविड, यह पञ्च सङ्घ जैनाभास कह्या है। जैन का सा चिह्नाभास दीसै है। सो या नैं अपणीं अपणीं बुद्धि कै अनुसार करि सिद्धान्तां का व्यभिचारवर्णन कह्या है॥ श्रीजिनेन्द्र का मार्ग कूँ व्यभिचाररूप कीया। तदुक्तं नीतिसारे। श्लोक ॥

कियत्यपि ततोऽतीते काले श्वेताम्बरोऽभवत्।
द्राविडो यापनीयश्च केकीसङ्घश्च मानतः ॥ १ ॥
केकीपिच्छः श्वेतवासो[23] द्राविडो यापुलीयकः।
निःपिच्छश्चेति पञ्चैते जैनाभासाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ २ ॥
स्वस्वमत्यनुसारेण सिद्धान्तव्यभिचारणं।
विरचय्य जिनेन्द्रस्य मार्गं निर्भेदयन्ति ते ॥ ३ ॥

ऐसैं जाननां ॥

(18) इहाँ कोई पूछैं। पूर्वं नन्दि-चन्द्र-कीर्त्ति-भूषण-आदि, नन्दिसङ्घ वहुरि सेनसङ्घ वहुरि देवसङ्घ वहुरि सिंहसङ्घ आदिक त्या, सो इनके आचार्य जुदे जुदे भए? ता की मान्य कैसैं है? या मैं परस्पर भेदभावरूपी मान्य है, कि एक मान्य है?॥ ता का उत्तर। पूर्वोक्त गणगच्छादिक भए हैं, सो पर कै सुखदाता भए हैं। या कै विषैं कोई भी तहाँ भेद नाँही है। और प्रव्रज्यादि कर्म के विषैं भी समानता है। और जो पूर्वोक्त श्रीमूलसङ्घ कै विषै चतुःसङ्घ के भेद, आचार्यनि विषैं जो भेदभाव करै है, सो सम्यक्दर्शन तैं रहित है, मिथ्यादृष्टि है, वहुरि सो संसार के माँहि चिरकाल संचरै है। जा तैं यह चतुःसङ्घ के विषैं प्रतिमाँ के भेद, वहुरि प्रायश्चित्तादि कर्म का भेद, वहुरि आचार का भेद, वहुरि वाचनादि शास्त्रनि का भेद, कोई कै भी परस्पर जुदा भेद नाँहि, सर्व एक ही है। या तैं या मैं जे भेदभाव राखै हैं, सो सम्यक्दर्शन तैं रहित हैं, मिथ्यात्वी हैं, दीर्घसंसारी हैं॥ वहुरि पूर्वोक्त चतुःसङ्घ सहित प्रतिष्ठित जिनप्रतिमाँ, ता मैं और सन्देह नहीं करनाँ ॥ या तैं अन्य हैं, सो विपर्ययरूप हैं॥ भावार्थ। चतुःसङ्घ करि प्रतिष्ठित जो जिनबिम्ब सो पूजनीक है। या तैं अन्य कहिये स्वेताम्बरादिक कल्पित प्रतिमा है, सो विपर्ययरूप है॥

(19) तदुक्तं नीतिसारे ॥ श्लोक ॥

गणगच्छादयस्तेभ्यो जातास्ते परसौख्यदाः।
न तत्र भेदः कोप्यस्ति प्रव्रज्यादिषु कर्मसु ॥ १ ॥
चतुःसङ्घे नरो यस्तु कुरुते भेदभावनां।
स सम्यग्दर्शनातीतः संसारे संचरत्यरं ॥ २ ॥
न तत्र प्रतिमाभेदो न प्रायश्चित्तकर्मणः।
नाचारपाचनापद्यवाचनासु[24] विशेषतः ॥ ३ ॥
चतुःसङ्घेन महितं जिनबिम्बं प्रतिष्ठितं।
नमेन्नापरसङ्घीयं यतो न्यासविपर्ययः ॥ ४ ॥

(20) ऐसैं पूर्वोक्त प्रकार भद्रवाहु भए। ता कैं पीछैं और आचार्य अनुक्रम तैं भए है, सो किञ्चित् मात्र भद्रवाहु तैं ले कर याँ का वर्णन अनुक्रम तैं लिखिये है॥ विक्रम राजा कूँ राज्यपदस्थ के दिन तैं संवत् केवल ४ के चैत्र शुक्ल १४ चतुर्दशी दिने श्रीभद्रवाहु आचार्य भये। ता की जाति ब्राह्मण। गृहस्थ वर्ष २४ चौवीस। दीक्षा वर्ष ३० तीस। पट्टवर्ष २२ वाईस के उपरि मास १० दश दिन २७ सत्ताईस वहुरि विरहदिन ३। तिन का सर्वाङ्गुवर्ष छिहत्तर ७६। पुनर्मास ११ ग्यारह ॥

(21) वहुरि ता के पीछैं संवत् केवल छहवीस २६ का फाल्गुन शुक्ल १४ चतुर्दशी दिन मैं गुप्तगुप्ति नाम आचार्य जाति परवार भये। ता का गृहस्थ वर्ष २२ वाईस का। वहुरि दीक्षावर्ष १४ चौदह। पट्टस्थवर्ष ९ नौ, मास ६ छह, दिन २५ पचीस, विरह दिन ५ पाँच। या की सर्वाङ्गुवर्ष पैसठि ६५ मास ७ सात ६५।७ का जाननाँ ॥

[23] MS. स्वेतवासः।

[24] The reading of the text is not quite reliable here.

Here follows the remainder of the paṭṭâvalî, which I omit. The method of each entry is sufficiently shown by the two initial entries above quoted. But the substance of the whole I again give in a tabular form below. The final entry runs as follows:—

(22) वहुरि ता कें पीछैं पिच्यासीमाँ पट्ट संवत् १४५० चोदह सै पचास का माघ शुक्ल पञ्चमी ५ नैं शुभचन्द्र भया ता का गृहस्थकाल का वर्ष १६ सोलह, दीक्षावर्ष १४ चौदह, पट्टस्थवर्ष ५६ छप्पन मास ३ तिन दिन ४ च्यार विरह दिन ११ ग्यारह सर्वायुवर्ष ८६ छिँयासी मास ३ तीन दिन पन्द्रह १५ की भई ॥ इत्यादिक पट्टावली जाननाँ ॥

(23) ता कै पीछैं भद्रबाहु सौं लेर मेरुकीर्त्ति ताँई पट्ट छब्बीस पर्यन्त दक्षिणदेश विषै भद्दलपुरी मैं भए ॥२६॥ वहुरि महीकीर्त्ति आदि लेर महीचन्द्रान्त ताँई छब्बीस पट्ट मालवा विषैं । ता मैं अठारह १८ उज्जैनी मैं भये । चन्देरी के विषैं ४ च्यार भए । भेल मैं ३ तीन भए । कुण्डलपुर एक भए १॥ यह सर्व छब्बीस २६ भए ॥ वहुरि ता के पीछैं वृषभनन्दि आदि सिंहकीर्त्ति अन्त ताँई पट्ट वारह १२ वाराँ विषै भए ॥१२॥ वहुरि ता कै पीछैं कनककीर्त्ति आदि वसन्तकीर्त्त्यन्त पट्ट दश १० चीतोड कै विषैं भए ॥१०॥ वहुरि सूरचन्द्र १, माघचन्द्र १, ज्ञानकीर्त्ति १, नरेन्द्रकीर्त्ति १, ये च्यार पट्ट वघेरै भये । ४ ॥ वहुरि प्रोष्ठिलकीर्त्ति आदि प्रभाचन्द्रान्त पट्ट ६ छह अजमेर भये । ६[25] । वहुरि पद्मनन्दी आदि शुभचन्द्रान्त पट्ट २ दोय गुजरातदेश विषै वाग्वर देश मैं भये ॥ वहुरि सकलकीर्त्ति आदि वाग्वर देश मैं भए ॥ ऐसैं श्रीमूलसङ्घ नन्द्याम्नाय् सारस्वतीगच्छ बलात्कारगण की पट्टावली अनुक्रम तैं जाननाँ ऐसैं ॥

(24) और सेनसङ्घ १, सिंहसङ्घ १, देवसङ्घ की १ पट्टावली जुदी है । सेनसङ्घ मैं जिनसेन आदि ऐसे ही सर्वत्र जुदी जुदी पट्टावली आचार्यनि की है । ता कै विषैं सेनसङ्घ मैं राज १, वीर २, भद्र ३, सेन ४, ऐसैं च्यार नाम हैं ॥ वहुरि सिंह १, कुम्भ २, आश्रव ३, सागर ४, ऐसैं च्यार ४ सङ्घ के नाम सिंहसङ्घ मैं हैं ॥ वहुरि देव १, दत्त २, नाग ३, लङ्क ४, ऐसैं सिंहसङ्घ तैं और चौथा देवसङ्घ विषै च्यार नाम हैं ॥

(25) वहुरि पूर्वोक्त सेनसङ्घ विषैं सेनसङ्घ पुष्करगच्छ, सूरस्थगण जाननाँ ॥ वहुरि सिंहसङ्घ चन्द्रकपाटगच्छ काणूरगण सिंहसङ्घ विषैं है ॥ वहुरि देवसङ्घ पुस्तकगच्छ देशीगण यह देवसङ्घ विषैं है ॥

(26) तदुक्तं गाथा ॥

णन्दी चन्दो कित्ती भूसण णामा[26]हि णन्दिसङ्घस्स ।
सेणो राजो[27] वीरो भद्दो तह[28] सेणसङ्घस्स ॥ १ ॥
सिंहो कुम्भो आसव सायर नामा हि सिंहसङ्घस्स ।
देओ दत्तो नागो लङ्को तह देवसङ्घस्स ॥ २ ॥

इत्यादि दिगम्बराम्नाय विषैं आचार्यनि की परिपाटी जाननाँ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Oṁ! Salutation to the Perfect ones! In the fifth period, after the death of the Lord Mahâvîra, its decadence took place on account of the badness of the times. Of the several pontiffs who came after him, I am going to give a brief account in their proper order.

§ (2) After the death of the last Tîrthankar, the Lord Mahâvîra, for 62 years, there abode Kêvala-jñânins. These I now name. After the Lord Vardhamâna had died, the Gaṇadhara Gautama attained the knowledge of Kêvalin. He abode for 12 years. After him the Lord Sudharman attained a Kêvalin's knowledge. He, too, abode as a Kêvalin for 12 years. After him the Lord Jambû attained the knowledge of a Kêvalin. He abode for 38 years. Thus, for 62 years there lived three Kêvalins in the fifth period.

§ (3) After this, there came in succession five Srutakêvalins, men versed in sacred lore, who possessed a knowledge of the eleven Aṅgas and the fourteen Pûrvas. Among them first was Vishṇukumâra (who abode) for 14 years; after him (came) Nandimitra for 16 years: next Aparâjita for 22 years; next Gôvardhana for 19 years; next Bhadrabâhu I. for 29 years. Thus their total period extended to 100 years. Up to this point of time 162 years must be understood to have passed since the death of the Lord Mahâvîra.

[25] MS. has १ ॥. [26] MS. णामे । [27] MS. रज्जो । [28] MS. तहेव c. m.

(4) After this, there came eleven Munis who possessed a knowledge of eleven Aṅgas and ten Pûrvas. Their total period extended to 183 years. Among them the Âchârya Viśâkha (abode) for 10 years, Prôshṭhila for 15, Nakshatra for 17, Nâgasêna for 18, Jayasêna for 21, Siddhartha for 17, Dhṛitisêna for 18, Vijaya for 13, Buddhiliṅga for 20, Dêva for 14, Dharmasêna for 16. Thus the total period of these men extended to one hundred and eighty-three years. Up to this point of time 345 years must be understood to have passed from the death of Mahâvîra.

(5) After this there came five Munis, who (only) possessed a knowledge of the eleven Aṅgas. Among them the Âchârya Nakshatra arose 345 years after Mahâvîra, and abode for 18 years. Next, 363 years after Mahâvîra the Âchârya, named Jayapâla, arose. His period comprised 20 years. After him, and 383 years after Mahâvîra, the Âchârya Pâṇḍava arose, and his period took up 39 years. After him, and 422 years after Mahâvîra, the Âchârya Dhruvasêna arose. His period was 14 years. After him, and 436 years after Mahâvîra, the Âchârya Kaṁsa arose. His period was 32 years. Thus the total period of these five Âchâryas extended to 123 years. All these only possessed a knowledge of the eleven Aṅgas.

(6) Again 468 years after the Lord Mahâvîra there arose the Âchârya Subhadra. His period was 6 years. After him, and 474 years after the Lord Mahâvîra, there arose the Âchârya Yaśôbhadra. His period was 18 years. After him, and 492 years after the death of Vîranâtha, a second Âchârya named Bhadrabâhu (II.) arose. His period was 23 years. After him, and 525 years after Vîrasvâmin, came the Âchârya Lôha. His period was 50 years. Thus, the period of all these four Âchâryas was 97 years. Each of these four Âchâryas knew one Aṅga less than his predecessor; their knowledge extended as far as the tenth, ninth, eighth and seventh Aṅgas respectively.

(7) After this there came five Munis, who possessed a knowledge of one Aṅga (only). They are the following: 565 years after the death of the Lord Vardhamâna there arose the Âchârya Arhadbalin. His period was 28 years. After him, and 593 years after Vîra, the chief of the Jinas, there arose the Âchârya Mâghanandin. His period was 21 years. After him, and 614 years after Sanmati Nâtha, there arose the Âchârya Dharasêna. His period was 19 years. After him, and 633 years after the blessed Vîra, there came the Âchârya Pushpadanta. His period was 30 years. After him, and 663 years after Mahâvîra, there came the Âchârya Bhûtavali. His period was 20 years. Thus they followed one another; and the traditional knowledge of the Aṅgas and Pûrvas went on till the year 683 after the death of the Lord Mahâvîra, but it gradually decreased. The total period of the above named five Âchâryas, Arhadbalin and the others, extended to 118 years. Up to this point of time there lived Munis, who possessed the knowledge of (at least) one Aṅga.

(8) After this there were only Munis, who were Śrutajñânins, (*i. e.*, who knew of the sacred lore only by hearsay). Of such as were actually able to recite an Aṅga, there was none. The above is the traditional enumeration of the Âchâryas.

(9) On this subject there are the following Gâthâs :—

(See the translation, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 347ff. The gâthâs are the same as those cited in paṭṭâvalî A, except that the three verses describing the Third period of the Ten-Pûrvins are omitted in paṭṭâvalî C, apparently by a mere oversight of the scribe.)

Thus it is written in the (work called) Vikrama Prabandha. This gives the traditional enumeration of the Âchâryas of the Jain religion, as they followed in regular order after the Lord Mahâvîra.

(10) Now in the year 470 after the death of the Lord Vîra the birth of King Vikrama took place. Now it took place [2 years][29] after the above-named Subhadra Âchârya's (accession to the pontificate). Again the accession to the pontificate of the above-named Âchârya

[29] The bracketed clause is wanting in the original text, probably by a mere oversight of the scribe.

Bhâdrabâhu II. took place 4 years after Vikrama's accession to the throne. Further Bhadrabâhu II. had a disciple named Gupti. The latter had three names, *viz*, 1, Guptagupti[30], 2, Arhadbalin, 3, Viśâkhâchârya. Further he had four disciples, *viz.*, 1, one who used to keep his four-monthly rainy season's retreat in the (hollows) lower part of a tree of the Nandi species; this was the Âchârya Mâghanandin, who founded the Nandi Saṅgha: 2, one who originated the practice of keeping the rainy season's retreat under bushes;[31] he was called Jinasêna, and founded the Sêna Saṅgha: 3, one who used to keep his rainy season's retreat in the hole of a lion, hence he founded the Simha Saṅgha: 4, one who used to keep his rainy season's retreat in the house of a courtesan named Dêvadattâ; (he founded) the Dêva Saṅgha. Thus, there arose four Saṅghas of Âchâryas in the Jain religion during the fifth period.

(11) Further in the before-mentioned Nandi Saṅgha there were the following names in use (for the Saṅgha): 1, Nandi Saṅgha, 2, Pârijâta Gachchha, 3, Balâtkâra Gaṇa: and the following four names for the Munis, *viz.* 1, Nandin, 2, Chandra, 3, Kîrtti, 4, Bhûshaṇa. Also the following four (names for the Saṅgha) were in use: 1, Śrî Mûla Saṅgha, 2, Nandi-Âmnâya, 3, Sârasvatî Gachchha, 4, Balâtkâra Gaṇa; and the four already-mentioned names for Munis: 1, Nandin, 2, Chandra, 3, Kîrtti, 4, Bhûshaṇa.

(12) On this subject the following ślokas occur in the Nîtisâra, a work of Indranandin:—

The Guru Arhadbalin effected the excellent combinations into Saṅghas: the Simha Saṅgha, the Nandi Saṅgha, the famous Sêna Saṅgha, and the Dêva Saṅgha, which are well known to be distinguished by the places of their establishment.[32]

(13) Further the year 492 after the Lord Mahâvîra, which was the 24th year of Subhadra's pontificate, was also the 22nd year after the birth of Vikrama. Again in the fourth year of the latter's reign Bhadrabâhu succeeded to the pontificate.

(14) Now 470 years after Mahâvîra King Vîkrama was born. Afterwards he passed 8 years in child's play; next he spent 16 years in wandering over different countries; next he passed 56 years in ruling (his own country), being (at the same time) devoted to various sorts of heresy: finally having abandoned his earlier heresies and fostered the Jain religion for forty years, he obtained admission among the gods. Thus was the birth, etc., of King Vikrama.

(15) On this subject there are the following Gâthâs in the Vikrama Prabandha:—

"It was the year 470 when the birth of Vikrama took place. For eight years he played as a child; for sixteen he roamed over the country; for fifty-six he exercised rule, being given over to false doctrine; for forty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven."

(16) Thus there arose in the Mûla Saṅgha Gaṇas, Gachchhas, Saṅghas, and such like (distinctions). On this subject there is the following verse in the Nîtisâra:—

"First there arose from the Mûla Saṅgha the Sitapaṭa (or white-robed) Saṅgha, and then the Kâshṭha Saṅgha. Then there arose the so-called Drâviḍa (Saṅgha), and then again a certain Yâpulî Saṅgha. In that Mûla Saṅgha, adorned by many Munis, there was the Sêna and the Nandî Saṅgha; also the Saṅgha of wide reputation, which was called after Simha; and as the fourth there was the Dêva Saṅgha."

Thus then in the original Mûla Saṅgha there arose first another Svêta Paṭṭî, or "white-robed," Gachchha, after that there came the Kâshṭha Saṅgha, after that the Drâviḍa Gachchha, and finally the Yâpulîya Gachchha.

(17) Further, some time after the above-mentioned Gachchhas the Svêtâmbaras came into existence; also the Yâpanîya Gachchha, the Kêkipichchha, the Svêtavâsa, the Niḥpichchha, and the Drâviḍa. These five Saṅghas are called false Jains. They adopt marks in imitation

[30] Or rather, Guptigupta.

[31] Text: *triṇa-tala vishai*, lit. 'at the foot of grasses.'

[32] Referring to the places probably, where the several retreats used to be kept in the rainy seasons.

of the Jains; but they, drawing on their own imagination, hold tenets in variance with the Siddhântas (or Holy Scriptures), and follow practices contrary to those of the Jinêndra (or founder of Jainism). On this subject, there are the following ślôkas in the Nîtisâra:—

"Then after the lapse of some time there arose the Śvêtâmbara, the Drâviḍa, and the Yâpanîya (Saṅgha), as well as the Kêkî Saṅgha through arrogance. The Kêkîpichchha, the Svêtavâsa, the Drâviḍa, the Yâpulîyaka, and the Niḥpichchha; these five are well-known as being false Jaina sects. Having in reliance on their imagination elaborated practices in variance with the Siddhântas, they have caused divisions in the religion of the Jinêndra."

Thus it should be understood.[33]

(18) Here the question may be asked: "It has been mentioned that there are (Âchâryas called) Nandin, Chandra, Kîrtti and Bhûshaṇa, and that there are the four Saṅghas called Nandi, Sêna: Dêva and Siṁha, now do the Âchâryas of these Saṅghas differ among themselves? In what estimation should they be held? Are they to be considered as differing among themselves, or are they to be considered as one?" To this the following answer (is to be given):— "The Gaṇas, Gachchhas, etc., which, as above mentioned, have arisen, have been the channels of eternal happiness. Among them there exists no sort of difference; and in their mendicant and other practices they are alike. And as to the above-mentioned four Saṅghas into which the Mûla Saṅgha is divided, if any one make a difference between the Âchâryas, he is devoid of truth and is a heretic; moreover such people have for a long time been leading a worldly life. Therefore in these four Saṅghas there is no difference of images, nor any difference in penitential and other practices, nor any difference of rules, nor any difference in their teaching and in their scriptures; in no single point is there any difference between them; they are all alike. Hence those who maintain a difference, are devoid of the truth and are heretics and worldlings of old standing. And there is no reason to entertain any more doubts regarding such Jina images as are consecrated and adored in the four Saṅghas; all others that there are, are heretical." In short; "any image that is consecrated by the four Saṅghas, should be worshipped; all others, such as the images made by the Svêtâmbaras and others, are heretical."

(19) On this subject, there are the following ślôkas in the Nîtisâra:—

"The Gaṇas, Gachchhas and others that have arisen from them, are the grantors of eternal bliss. There is between them no difference whatever in their monastic and other practices. If any man imagine any difference in the four Saṅghas, he has travelled beyond the truth and is gone completely into the world. In them there is no difference of images nor of penitential observances; nor is there any distinction in their rules and readings. Any Jina image

[33] It may be useful for purposes of comparison, to add here the notice of the Digambaras, which Muni Âtmârâmjî, the head of the Vijayagaṇa of the Śvêtâmbaras, gives in his *Jaina Mata Vṛiksha*, or Genealogical Table of the Jains:— "In 609 A. V., Śivabhûti Sahasramalla, the disciple of Krishṇa Sûri, originated the Digambara sect (*mata*). He had two disciples, Kauṇḍinya and Kaushtavîra. After these two there came Dharasêna, Bûtavali and Pushpadanta. These commenced, in 683 A. V., on the 5th day of the bright half-month, to compose three, śâstras, *viz.*, 1, the *Dhavala* comprising 70,000 ślôkas, 2, the *Jayadhavala* comprising 60,000 ślôkas, and 3, the *Mahâdhavala* containing 40,000 ślôkas. These three śâstras exist to the present day in the Karṇâṭaka country; and borrowing from them Nêmichandra (No. 17 or 67 ?) composed the *Gomaṭṭasâra* for the perusal of Râjâ Châmuṇḍa. No śâstra older than these three is to be found among the Digambaras. Afterwards the Digambaras became divided into four Śâkhâs, *viz.*, 1, Nandi, 2, Sêna, 3, Dêva, 4, Siṁha. Later on there arose four Sanghas, *viz.*, 1, Mûlasangha, 2, Kâshthâ Sangha, 3, Mâthura Sangha, 4, Goppa Sangha. Still later, there arose the following Panthîs; *viz.*, 1, the Vîsapanthî, 2, the Têrâpanthî, 3, the Gumânapanthî, and 4, the Tôtâpanthî, *i. e.*, those who worship a book (*pustaka*) in the place of an image (*pratimâ*). At first Śivabhûti originated the *Nagna-pantha* (or the ordinance of nakedness); next he taught that a woman could not be saved (*moksha*), and that a Kêvalin should not eat a morsel; finally he taught a mass (*lit.* eighty-four) of other things. In our days, the Têrâpanthîs have put forth a mass (*bahut hî*) of heterogeneous things, which may be learned by comparing their old with their new books." With regard to the origin of the Têrâpanthîs he adds in another note to the *Vṛiksha*:—"In Saṁ. 1709 Lavajî, the adopted son of Phûlâ Bâî, the daughter of the Bôrâ Vîrajî of the Lumpaka sect (*i. e.*, the Nâgôr section; see above, p. 63), together with Dharmadâsa, the cotton-printer, originated the *pantha* (or sect) of the mouth-covering Ḍhuṇḍhakas. These divided into 22 sections, the second of which is the Dhanâjî section. Dhanâ's disciple (*chêlâ*) was Bhûdhara; his disciple was Raghunâthajî; his disciple Bhîshma originated the Têrâpanthîs and propagated the sect of Mukhabandhas (or mouth-coverers)."

consecrated and adored by the four Saṅghas one should reverence, but not any of any other Saṅgha, because this only leads to heresy."

(20) Thus, in the manner above explained, Bhadrabâhu arose. After him came other Âchâryas in regular order. Of these I am going to write only a brief account in their proper order, commencing with Bhadrabâhu. It was not more than 4 years after the date of the accession to the throne of King Vikrama, on the 14th day of the light half of Chaitra, that Bhadrabâhu succeeded to the pontificate; by caste he was a Brâhmaṇ; as a householder he lived for 24 years, as an ordinary monk for 30 years; as pontiff for 22 years 10 months and 27 days; the intercalary days were 3; the total period of his life was 76 years and 11 months.

(21) After him, not more than 26 years (after Vikrama), on the 14th day of the light half of Phâlguna, Guptigupta, a Parwâr by caste, succeeded to the pontificate. He lived as a householder for 22 years, as an ordinary monk for 14, as pontiff for 9 years, 6 months and 25 days; the intercalary days were 5; the total period of his life was 65 years and 7 months.

(22) After this the 85th pontificate[34] began in the year 1450 after Vikrama, when, on the 5th day of the light half of Mâgha, Subhachandra succeeded. He lived as a householder for 16 years, as an ordinary monk for 14 years, as pontiff for 56 years 3 months and 4 days; the intercalary days were 11; his total period was 86 years, 3 months and 15 days. This should be understood to be the paṭṭâvalî (or list of the pontiffs).

(23) After this (it is to be added that) the 26 pontificates, commencing with Bhadrabâhu down to Mêrukîrtti, took place in Bhaddalpurî in the Southern Country. Again the 26 pontificates, commencing with Mahîkîrtti down to Mahîchandra, took place in Mâlvâ. Among the latter 18 took place in Ujjainî, 4 in Chandêrî, 3 in Bhêl, and one in Kuṇḍalpur. These make up the 26 pontificates. After this, 12 pontificates, commencing with Vṛishabhanandin and ending with Siṁhakîrtti, took place in Vârâ. After this 10 pontificates, commencing with Kanakakîrtti and ending with Vasantakîrtti, took place in Chîtôṛ. After this, 4 pontificates, *viz.*, of Sûrachandra, Mâghachandra, Jñânakîrtti, and Narêndrakîrtti, took place in Vaghêr. After this, 6 pontificates, commencing with Prôshṭhilakîrtti and ending with Prabhâchandra, took place in Ajmêr. After this 2 pontificates, *viz.*, those of Padmanandin and Subhachandra, took place in Vâgvar in Gujarât. After this Sakalakîrtti succeeded to the pontificate in Vâgvar. This is the list of pontiffs in their proper order in the glorious Mûlasangha, the Nandi Âmnâya, the Sârasvatî Gachchha, the Balâtkâra Gaṇa.

(24) Further the paṭṭâvalîs of the Sênasaṅgha, Siṁhasaṅgha and Dêvasaṅgha are separate. In the Sênasaṅgha there is a paṭṭâvalî of Âchâryas in all respects different, commencing with Jinasêna. In that (paṭṭâvalî) there are four names in use for the Sênasaṅgha, *viz.*, 1, Râja, 2, Vîra, 3, Bhadra, 4, Sêna. Again the four names, in use in the Siṁhasaṅgha, are 1, Siṁha, 2, Kumbha, 3, Âsrava, 4, Sâgara. Again in the Dêvasaṅgha, the fourth after the Siṁhasaṅgha, there are the following 4 names in use, *viz.*, 1, Dêva, 2, Datta, 3, Nâga, 4, Langa.

(25) Further it should be understood that the above-named Sênasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Sêna Saṅgha, Pushkara Gachchha and Sûrastha Gaṇa. Similarly the Siṁhasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Siṁha Saṅgha, Chandra Kapâṭa Gachchha, and Kâṇûra Gaṇa. Again the Dêvasaṅgha is known by the (three) names Dêva Saṅgha, Pustaka Gachchha, and Dêśî Gaṇa.

(26) On this subject there are the following gâthâs:—

"Ṇandi, Chanda, Kittî, Bhûsaṇa, these are the names of the Ṇandisaṅgha. Sêṇa, Râja, Vîra, Bhadda, are those of the Sênasaṅgha. Siṁha, Kumbha, Âsava, Sâgara are the names of the Siṁhasaṅgha. Dêva, Datta, Nâga, Langa are those of the Dêvasaṅgha."

This is a complete enumeration of the Âchâryas within the Digambara Community.

[34] The intermediate pontificates are given in the subjoined table.

Table of the Pontifical Succession in the Sârasvatî Gachchha of the Digambaras; from MS. C.

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months	Days.	Years.	Months	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
1	Bhadrabâhu II ...	4 C. S. 14	B. C. 53	24	..	...	30	...		22	10	27	73	6	11	..	Brâhmaṇ by caste.
2	Guptigupta	26 Ph. S. 14	31	22	...	...	34	...	..	9	6	25	5	65	7	...	Parwâr by caste. (So also C, but A has Pawâr, B Pamâr. MS. has Guptagupti).
3	Mâghanandin	36 Â. S. 14	21	20	...	..	44	..	...	4	4	26	4	68	5	...	
4	Jinachandra.........	40 Ph. S. 14	17	24	9	...	32	3	.	8	9	6	3	65	9	9	
5	Kundakunda	49 P. V. 8	8	11	..	..	33	...	..	41	10	10	5	85	10	15	Humvaḍ by caste (MSS. A, D give him 51 years pontificate, and a total of 95).[35]
6	Ûmâsvâmin	(101) K. S. 8	A. D. 44	19	...	...	25	...	...	40	8	1	5	84	8	6	
7	Lôhâchârya	142 As. V. 14	85	21	...	..	38	...	...	10	10	20	6	69	10	26	(So also MSS. B,C, but MSS. A, E have A. S. 14.)
8	Yaśaḥkîrtti	153 J. S. 10	96	12	...	...	21	..	...	58	(8)	(21)	(5)	91	(9)	(15)	(MSS. A,D give the same inconsistent dates.)
9	Yaśônandin	211 Ph. V. 10	154	16	...	...	17	...	...	46	4	9	4	79	4	13	(So MSS. B,D, but MS. A has Ph. V. 11.)
10	Dêvanandin.........	258 As. S. 8	201	11	5	...	15	...	..	49	10	28	4	76	11	2	(MSS. A,B,D add Pôrwâl by caste.)
11	Jayanandin	308 J. S. 10	251	15	5	...	11	7	...	44	11	22	7	71	6	29	(MSS. A, B, D have Pûjyapâda.)
12	Guṇanandin.........	353 J. S. 9	296	14	...	...	13	5	...	11	3	1	4	38	8	5	(MS. has 358 Saṁvat.)
13	Vajranandin...	364 Bh. S. 14	307	19	...	...	(73)	3	...	(40)	2	(20)	(9)	(76)	5	(20)	(MS. A gives correct dates.)
14	Kumâranandin ...	386 Ph. V. 4	329	16	...	...	10	2	..	40	2	20	9	66	4	29	
15	Lôkachandra	427 J. V.	360	18	..	...	16	...	...	26	3	16	10	60	3	26	
16	Prabhâchandra ...	453 Bh. S. 14	396	9	...	...	24	...	...	25	5	15	11	58	5	26	
17	Nêmichandra	478 Ph. S. 10	421	10	...	...	22	...	...	8	9	1	9	40	9	10	
18	Bhânunandin	487 P. V. 5	430	10	...	...	25	...	...	21	9	24	12	56	10	6	(MS. A gives a pontificate of 22, inconsistent with 508 Saṁvat.)
19	Nayananandin	508 M. S. 11	451	9	...	...	15	...	...	16	7	15	14	40	7	29	(MSS. A,B,D have Harinandin; P.10, Simhanandin).
20	Vasunandin	525 Â S. 10	468	10	...	...	30	...	...	6	7	22	9	46	8	1	(MSS. A,D give different, though equally consistent months.)
21	Vîranandin	531 P. S. 11	474	9	..	...	13	...	...	30	...	14	10	52	...	24	
22	Ratnanandin	561 M. S. 5	504	8	...	...	12	...	...	23	4	7	11	43	4	18	(MSS. A,B,D have Ratnakîrtti; but (P.10, Ratnanandin.)

[35] MS. adds: "He had five names (*nâma*): Padmanandin, Vakragrîva, Gridhrapichchha, Êlâchârya, Kundakundâchârya. The special reasons for having these names may be known from another book (*grantha*)."

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A. D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days		Years.	Months.	Days	
23	Mâṇikyanandin ..	585 As. V. 8	528	10	...	...	19	...	...	16	5	10	15	45	5	25	(MSS. A, B, D Mâṇikanandin.)
24	Mêghachandra ...	601 P. V. 3	544	24	(3)	17	7	(6)	13	25	(5)	2	15	56	(10)	17	(MS. A gives equally inconsistent dates.)
25	Śântikîrtti I.	627 As. V. 5	560	7	...	..	10	...	...	15	...	25	25	32	1	20	(MSS. A, D agree in different though equally consistent days.)
26	Mêrukîrtti	642 Ś. S. 5	585	8	...	...	11	..	.	44	3	13	13	63	3	26	(MSS. A, D give different though equally consistent days. D has Ś V. 5.)
27	Mahikîrtti	686 Mr. S. 4	629	6	...	...	22	...	...	17	11	5	15	45	11	20	(MSS A, D give different though equally consistent years; they also have Mahâkîrtti.)
28	Vishṇunandin	704 Mr. V. 9	647	7	...	...	14	.	...	21	4	...	31	42	5	1	(MSS. A, D give different, but equally consistent days.)
29	Śrîbhûshaṇa I......	726 C. S. 9	669	14	...	...	8	...	...	9	...	..	26	31	...	26	
30	Śrî Chandra	735 V. Ś. 5	678	6	...	...	12	.	...	14	3	4	31	32	4	5	
31	Śrînandin	749 Bh. S. 10	692	15	...	...	20	...	...	15	6	4	13	50	6	17	(MSS. A, B, D have Nandikîrtti, but P 12, Śrînandin.)
32	Dêśabhûshaṇa ...	765 C. V. 12	708	18	...	...	24	...	..	...	6	6	7	42	6	13	
33	Anantakîrtti.........	765 Â. S. 10	708	11	...	...	13	...	...	19	9	25	10	43	10	5	(MSS. A, D give different, though equally consistent days.)
34	Dharmanandin ...	785 Ś. S. 15	728	13	...	...	18	...	...	22	9	25	5	53	10	...	
35	Vidyânandin	808 J. S. 15	751	13	...	...	25	...	...	32	..	4	4	70	...	8	(MSS. A, B, D have Vîrachandra, and A, D give different, though equally consistent days.)
36	Râmachandra	840 As. V. 12	783	8	...	...	11	...	...	16	10	...	6	35	10	6	
37	Râmakîrtti	857 V. S. 3	790	14	...	...	16	...	...	21	4	26	11	51	5	7	
38	Abhayachandra ...	878 Â. S. 10	821	18	...	..	10	...	...	17	..	27	4	45	1	1	
39	Navachandra	(897) K. S. 11	840	15	...	...	21	...	...	18	9	..	9	54	9	9	(This agrees partly with MS. B, partly with MS. A.)
40	Nâgachandra	916 Bh. V. 5	859	21	...	...	13	...	...	23	.	3	10	57	...	13	
41	Harinandin	939 Bh. S. 3	882	9	...	..	10	...	...	8	9	11	9	27	9	20	(MSS. A, B, D have Nayanandin, and different, but equally consistent years. A has Bh. S. 9. See No. 19.)
42	Harichandra	948 As. V. 8	891	8	4	...	14	8	...	26	1	8	9	49	1	17	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days.)
43	Mahîchandra I. ...	974 Ś. S. 9	917	14	...	...	10	11	...	16	...	...	5	40	11	5	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent months. MSS. B, D have Saṁ. 972 and so on.)
44	Mâgachandra I. ...	990 M. S. 14	933	13	...	...	20	...	...	32	2	24	9	65	3	3	

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
45	Lakshmîchandra...	1023 J. V. 2	966	21	...	...	25	...	..	14	4	3	11	60	4	14	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
46	Guṇakîrtti	1037 A. V. 1	970	18	..	...	20	...	...	10	10	29	14	48	11	13	(MS. A,B,D have Guṇanandin, but B, D add Guṇakîrti on margin.)
47	Guṇachandra	1048 Bh. S. 14	991	10	...	...	22	...	...	17	8	7	10	49	8	17	
48	Lôkachandra II ...	1066 J. S. 1	1009	15	...	..	30	...	...	13	3	3	4	58	3	7	
49	Śrutakîrtti	1079 Bh. S. 8	1022	13	...	...	32	...	...	·15	6	6	6	60	6	12	
50	Bhâvachandra......	1094 C. V. 5	1037	12	...	...	15	...	...	20	11	25	5	48	...	...	(MS. A,D have different, but equally consistent years.)
51	Mahîchandra II ...	1115 Ch. V. 5	1058	10	...	..	26	...	...	25	5	10	5	61	5	15	(MS. D has different, but equally consistent years. MSS. D, P have Mahâchandra.)
52	Mâghachandra II..	1140 Bh. S. 5	1083	14	...	...	13	...	...	4	3	17	7	31	3	24	
53	Brahmanandin ...	1144 P. V. 14	1087	7	...	...	37	...	...	2	4	1	4	46	4	5	(So P. 16, but MSS. A, B, D have Vrishabhanandin. MSS. A, D have different, but more consistent years.)
54	Dêvanandin II......	(1148) V. S. 4	1091	9	...	...	7	...	...	7	6	10	14	23	6	24	(MSS. A,B,D have Śivanandin, and A,D have different, though consistent dates.)
55	Viśvachandra......	1155 Mr. S. 5	1098	11	...	...	24	...	...	...	7	28	3	35	8	1	(So P 16, but MSS A, B, D have Vasuchandra. MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
56	Harinandin	1156 Ś. S. 6	1099	7	...	...	32	...	...	4	..	24	5	43	...	29	(So also P. 17, but MS. A Sanghanandin, MSS. B, D Sishananda.)
57	Bhâvanandin	1160 Bh. S. 5	1103	11	...	...	30	...	...	7	2	...	3	48	2	3	
58	Dêvanandin II......	1167 K. S. 8	1110	11	...	...	30	...	...	3	3	2	10	44	3	12	
59	Vidyâchandra	1170 Ph. V. 5	1113	14	...	...	30	...	...	5	4	29	10	49	5	9	(MSS. A,D have entirely different, but equally consistent dates.)
60	Śûrachandra	1176 Ś. S. 9	1119	14	...	...	35	...	...	8	1	29	2	57	2	1	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years.)
61	Mâghanandin II...	1184 Â. S. 10	1127	14	6	2	16	1	...	4	1	...	5	34	8	7	(MSS. A,D have entirely different, but equally consistent dates.)
62	Jñânanandin	1188 M. S. 1	1131	10	...	...	34	...	..	10	...	3	7	55	...	10	(So also P. 18, but MSS. A, B, D Jñânakîrtti. From here the term *antarâlâ din*.)
63	Gaṅgâkîrtti	1199 Mr. S. 11	1142	13	...	...	33	...	...	7	2	8	10	53	2	18	
64	Siṁhakîrtti	1206 Ph. V. 14	1149	8	...	...	27	...	...	2	2	15	16	37	3	1	(MSS. A,D have different but equally consistent, years.)
65	Hêmakîrtti	1209 J. V. 3	1152	13	...	...	24	...	...	7	3	27	6	44	4	3	
66	Chârunandin	1216 Â. S. 3	1159	6	9	...	19	3	...	6	6	20	10	32	7	...	(So also P. 18, but MSS. A,B,D Sundarakîrtti.)

Serial Number	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
67	Nêminandin II ...	1223 V. S. 3	1166	7	..	...	21	...	..	7	8	29	7	35	9	6	(So also P. 19; but MSS. A, B, D Nêmichandra, A, D have different, but equally consistent days.)
68	Nâbhikîrtti	1230 M. S. 11	1173	5	...	...	35	...	...	1	11	26	4	42	...	..	
69	Narêndrakîrti	1232 M. S. 11.	1175	14	...	...	13	...	..	9	...	18	12	36	1	...	
70	Śrîchandra II	1241 Ph. S. 11	1184	7	...	...	22	...	..	6	3	24	7	35	4	1	(MSS. A, D give different but equally consistent years.)
71	Padmakîrtti........	1248 As. S. 12	1191	10	...	...	22	...	..	4	11	25	6	37	...	1	
72	Vardhamâna	1253 Âs. S. 13	1196	18	..	...	5	...	..	2	11	8	13	25	11	21	(So P. 19, but A, B, D Varadhachandra. A, D give different, but equally consistent dates)
73	Akalaṅkachandra.	1256 As. S. 14	1199	14	...	...	33	...	..	1	3	24	7	48	4	1	
74	Lalitakîrtti	1257 K. S. 15	1200	13	...	...	24	...	...	4	..	...	5	41	...	5	
75	Kêśavachandra ..	1261 Mr. V. 5	1204	11	...	...	34	...	...	..	6	15	5	45	6	20	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days)
76	Chârukîrtti	1262 J. S. 11	1205	12	...	...	32	..	...	2	3	2	7	46	3	9	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years)
77	Abhayakîrtti	1264 Â. V. 3	1207	11	2	...	30	5	...	..	4	11	7	41	11	18	(MSS. B, D have A. V. 3.)
78	Vasantakîrtti	1264 M. S. 5	1207	12	...	...	2	...	..	1	4	22	8	15	5	...	(A, D have different, probably consistent dates.)
79	Prakshântikîrtti...	1266 As. S. 5	1209	11	...	...	15	...	...	2	3	16	4	28	3	20	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent days. MSS. B, D have Prakshâtakîrtti.)
80	Viśâlakîrtti	1268 K V. 8	1211	18	...	...	23	...	..	2	9	7	8	43	9	15	(A, B, D Śântikîrtti.)
81	Dharmachandra...	1271 Ś. S. 15	1214	16	...	...	?	...	...	25	..	..	5	(41)	..	5	(A, D have different, and most consistent dates.)
82	Ratnakîrtti II......	1296 Bh. V. 13	1239	19	...	...	25	...	...	14	4	10	6	58	4	16	
83	Prabhâchandra ...	1310 P. S. 14	1253	12	...	...	12	..	..	74	11	15	8	98	11	23	
84	Padmanandin	1385 P. S. 7	1328	10	7	...	23	5	..	65	..	18	10	99	...	28	
85	Śubhachandra......	1450 M. S. 5	1393	16	...	...	14	...	...	56	3	4	11	86	3	15	(MSS. A, D have different, but equally consistent years. He was succeeded by Sakalakîrtti, see § 23.)

PAṬṬÂVALÎ D.

This paṭṭâvalî is drawn on the plan of paṭṭâvalî B, with which it also agrees very closely in regard to names and dates; that is, it gives no introductory or concluding remarks, but consists only of the list of successions commencing with Bhadrabâhu II., interspersed with a few short notes. It differs, however, from B, in giving full details of every pontifical life, as is

done in A and C. The list is carried down in it to No. 100, Naiṇakîrtti, who succeeded to the pontificate in A. D. 1822. As his successor followed in 1826 (see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 353), it follows that paṭṭâvalî D must have been written between 1822 and 1826.

I now subjoin the short interspersed notes, as well as those successions, in which D differs from other paṭṭâvalîs. From No. 88, D alone gives full details of the lives.

After No. 51 Mahîchandra II., there is the following note : —

एता पाट मालवै भदिलापुर (in No. 26 भदलापुर) हुवा । २६ हुवा । पट २५ उजीण मेँ हुवा । महीचन्द्र ताँई सर्वे पट ५१ ॥

i.e., "These pontificates took place in Bhadilâpur (or Bhadalâpur) in Mâlavâ; they were 26 in number; 25 pontificates took place in Ujîṇa (Ujjain); down to Mahîchandra the total of pontificates was 51."

After No. 63 Gaṅgâkîrtti, there is the following note : —

ए पट वारा मेँ हुवा गङ्गाकीर्त्ति जी ताँई । ग्वालेर अठा सूँ लेर पट १४ हुवा । अभेकीर्त्ति जी ताँई पट ७७ ॥

i.e., "These pontificates took place in Vârâ, down to Gaṅgâkîrtti; beginning from here 14 pontificates took place in Gwâlêr; down to Abhayakîrtti there were (altogether) 77 pontificates."

After No. 83 Prabhâchandra II., there is the following note : —

संवत् १३७५ दिन सुँ एक भट्टार्क प्रभाचन्द्र जी के आचार्य छो । सो गुजरात मे श्री भट्टार्क जी तो न छा अरु वै आचार्य ही छा । सो महाजन एक प्रतिष्ठा को उद्यम कीयो । सो वै तो न आय पहुँच्या । जदि आचार्य ने सूरिमन्त्र दिवाय भर भट्टार्क पदवी गुजरात की दीन्ही प्रतिष्ठा करिवा पाछैँ । तठा सूँ गुजरात मे पट्ट थापो ॥ आचार्य सुँ भट्टार्क हुवो । नाम पद्मनन्द जी दीयो ॥

i.e., "In Samvat 1375 there was a certain Âchârya belonging to (the suite of) the Bhaṭṭâraka Prabhâchandra. Now the Bhaṭṭâraka himself was not in Gujarât, but that Âchârya was there. Now a certain Mahâjan (or banker) had resolved to perform a consecration. Now he (Prabhâchandra) could not arrive in time; so he (the banker) caused the Âchârya to receive the powers of a Sûri and conferred on him the Gujarâtî title of Bhaṭṭâraka, after he had performed the consecration. Thenceforth his pontifical residence was in Gujarât. The Bhaṭṭâraka title dates from that Âchârya. The name Padmananda was given to him."

In paṭṭâvalî B, the corresponding note runs thus :—

प्रभाचन्द्र जी कै आचार्य गुजरात मैँ छो । सो वठै एकै श्रावक प्रतिष्ठा नैँ प्रभाचन्द्र जी नैँ बलायाँ । सो वै नाया । तदि आचार्य नैँ सुरमन्त्र (read सूरि°) दे भट्टारक करि प्रतिष्ठा कराई । तदि भट्टारक पद्मनन्दि जी हुवा । स्याँ पाषाण की सरस्वती मुडै बुलाई ॥

i.e., "There was an Âchârya belonging to (the suite of) Prabhâchandra in Gujârât. Now there (*i.e.*, in Gujârât) a certain Srâvaka called Prabhâchandra to perform a consecration. Now he could not come. Then having given to the Âchârya the powers of a Sûri and having made him a Bhaṭṭâraka, he got the consecration performed. Then he became the Bhaṭṭâraka Padmanandin. He carved a stone figure of Sarasvatî and made it to speak." (See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 354, No. 83).

The last circumstance is thus referred to in paṭṭâvalî P :—

पद्मनन्दी गुरुर्जाँतो बलात्कारगणाग्रणीः ।
पाषाणघटिता येन वादिता श्रीसरस्वती ॥
उज्जयन्तगिरौ गच्छः (स्वछः) सारस्वतो ऽभवत् ।
अतस्तस्मै मुनीन्द्राय नमः श्रीपद्मनन्दिने ॥

i.e., "The Guru Padmanandin then became the leader of the Balâtkâra Gaṇa, — he who made the stone figure of the glorious Sarasvatî to speak. (Thus) on mount Ujjayanta the (pure) Gachchha came to be (called) the Sârasvata. Hence let us give honour to him, the great Muni Padmanandin."

From this notice it would seem that the miracle of the speaking figure of Sarasvatî took

place on the mount Ujjayanta, and that it was the cause of the Gachchha being called the 'Sârasvatî Gachchha.'

After No. 87, Prabhâchandra, there is the following note:—

एकै वार गच्छ २ नीकल्य, ग्वालेर को नागोर को, संवत १५७२ का ॥

i.e., "Once the Gachchha separated into two, that of Gvâlêr, and that of Nâgôr, in the year 1572." Or it might also mean "Once from the Gachchha (at Chitôr̤) two (branches) came out, that of Gvâlêr and that of Nâgôr." But the former version is more probable, to judge from the wording of the corresponding passage in A, which is as follows:—

एकै वार गच्छ का शेय हुवा, चीतोड अर नागोर को, सं० १५७२ का ॥

i.e., "Once the Gachchha split up into two, those of Chîtôr̤ and of Nâgôr, in the year 1572."

Table of Pontifical successions in which D differs from A and E.

Serial number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A. D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
18	Mânanandin	487 P. V. 5	430	10	...	..	15	...	...	21	...	24	12	46	1	6	(Here A, D, E have each different dates. A, E Bhânunandin).
24	Mêghachandra ...	601 P. V. 3	544	24	...	17	7	...	...	25	5	2	13	56	6	2	(A, E give each different and inconsistent dates).
38	Abhayachandra ...	878 Â. S. 10	821	18	...	...	10	...	...	17	...	20	11	45	1	1	(A, E give different days).
40	Nâgachandra	916 Bh. V. 5	859	21	...	...	23	...	..	23	...	3	10	67	...	13	(A, E give different years.)
51	Mahâchandra	1113 Ch. V. 5	1056	10	...	..	26	...	...	26	5	10	5	62	5	15	(A, E differ entirely).
81	Dharmachandra ...	1271 Ś. S. 15	1214	16	...	...	24	...	...	25	...	5	...	65	...	5	(A, E differ each).
86	Jinachandra.........	1507 J. V. 5	1440	12	...	..	15	...	...	64	8	17	10	91	8	27	(So also B, E; but A transposes the names Nos. 86 and 87).
87	Prabhâchandra ...	1571 Ph. V 2	1514	15	...	...	35	...	...	9	4	25	8	56	5	3	
88	Dharmachandra ...	1581 Ś. V. 5	1524	9	...	...	31	...	...	21	8	13	5	61	8	18	(From here D alone gives details of the lives).
89	Lalitakîrtti	1603 Ch. S. 8	1546	7	...	...	25	...	...	19	...	15	7	51	...	22	
90	Chandrakîrtti	1622 V. V. ?	1565	?	?	?	?	?	?	40	9	23	?	?	?	7	(Down to No. 94, most of the details are wanting).
91	Dêvêndrakîrtti.....	1662 Ph. V. ?	1605	?	?	?	?	?	?	28	7	25	7	?	?	?	
92	Narêndrakîrtti ...	1691 K. V. 8	1634	11	...	...	?	?	?	30	8	15	8	?	?	?	
93	Surêndrakîrtti......	1722 Ś. V. 8	1665	?	?	?	?	?	?	10	11	10	17	?	?	?	
94	Jagatkîrtti	1733 Ś. V. 5	1676	11	...	...	26	...	...	37	5	29	7	74	6	6	
99	Sukhêndrakîrtti ...	1852 ?	1795	4	..	...	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(From No. 95-100 names and dates as in B, but all details are wanting).
100	Naiṇakîrtti	1879 As. V. 10	1822	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(Here the paṭṭâvalî closes).

PAṬṬÂVALÎ E.

In its general arrangement, this paṭṭâvalî resembles paṭṭâvalîs A and C. It begins with an introduction, followed by the paṭṭâvalî proper. But the latter, like paṭṭâvalî B, gives only a list of the names and dates of accession of the pontiffs. A peculiar feature of it is that it adds notices regarding the caste of each pontiff. In a few exceptional cases such notices are also given in paṭṭâvalî D; and these are noted in the tabular statement below. I am doubtful, however, regarding the correct spelling of many of the caste-names; some of them I cannot identify. That the tradition represented in paṭṭâvalî E considerably differs from that of the other paṭṭâvalîs has been already referred to; also that it gives the succession list of the so-called Chîtôṛ section. The latter it brings down to No. 102, **Mahêndrakîrtti, who succeeded in 1880 A. D. and is probably still living.**

In the following, I again give the introduction *in extenso*, and the paṭṭâvalî proper in tabular form. In the latter my own remarks are within brackets.

TEXT.

Introduction of Paṭṭâvalî E.

(1) अथ वंसावली गुराँ की लिख्यते ॥ श्रीमहावीर जी १, गोतम स्वामी २, सुधरमा स्वामी ३, जम्बू स्वामी ४ ॥ वरस ६२ ताँई केवली हुवा ॥ ४ ॥

(2) विष्णुनन्द जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ५, नन्दमित्र जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ६, अपराजित जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ७, गोवरधन जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ८, भद्रवाहु जी श्रुतज्ञानधारी ९॥ वरस सो ताँई ॥ ९ ॥

(3) विसाखाचार्य दशपूर्व का पाठी १०, (प्रोष्ठिल जी दशपूर्व का पाठी,[29]) क्षत्रिय जी दशपूर्व का पाठी ११, जयसेन जी दसपूर्व का पाठी १२, नागसेन जी दसपूर्व का पाठी १३, सिद्धार्थ जी दसपूर्व का पाठी १४, धृतिसेन जी दशपूर्व का पाठी १५, विजयसेन जी दशपूर्व का धारी १६, वहुधूलि जी दसपूर्व० ॥ १८३ वरस ॥ ९ ॥

(4) गङ्गादेव जी ग्यारा अङ्ग का पाठी १७, धर्मसेन जी ग्यारा अङ्ग का पाठी १८, नक्षत्राचार्य ग्यारा अङ्ग धारी १९, जयपाल जी ग्यारा अङ्ग धारी २०, पाण्डव जी ग्यारा अङ्ग धारी २१, ध्रुवसेण जी ग्यारा अङ्ग धारी ॥ २२० वरस ताँई रह्या ॥ १५ ॥

(5) कंसाचार्य प्रथम अङ्ग का धारी २२, सुभद्र जी प्रथम अङ्ग का धारी २३, जसोभद्र जी प्रथम अङ्ग का धारी २४, भद्रवाहु जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी २५, लोहाचार्य जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी २६, विनयधर जी प्रथम अङ्ग धारी ॥ ११८ वरस ताँई र० ॥

(6) श्रीदत्तसेण जी २७, सिवदत्त जी २८, अरदत्त जी २९ ॥ भद्रावाहु जी स० १०४ के साल पाट वैठा काती सुदि १४ ॥ सेताम्वर ऐठा सौ निकस्या पट्टावली प्रवृत्ति करी ॥ ३० ॥

Here follows the paṭṭâvalî. After No. 21 (45)[30] there is the following remark :—

येता पट तो मालव देस मै हुवा ॥ २६ ॥

Similar remarks follow after No. 23 (47), 60, 75 (91), 80, 86 (98), 88, 92 (102), 93, 94 (103), 95, 96.

TRANSLATION.

§ 1. Here the Vaṁsâvalî (list of succession) of the Gurus is written down :—

(1) The glorious Mahâvîra, (2) the Lord Gôtama, (3) the Lord Sudharmâ, (4) the Lord Jambû. These were Kêvalins for 62 years. Altogether 4.

[29] The bracketed portion is wanting in the MS., owing probably to a mere slip; as the totalisation at the end of the paragraph shows.

[30] It will be noticed that the numbering, actually given in the paṭṭâvalî, is very capricious, some members being left unnumbered, without any apparent reason. These capricious numbers are quoted within brackets.

§ 2. Then came those versed in sacred lore (*śrutajñâna-dhârî*), *viz.*, (5) Vishṇunanda, (6) Nandamitra, (7) Aparâjita, (8) Gôvardhana, (9) Bhadrabâhu I. These (abode) for 100 years. Altogether 9.

§ 3. Then came those who could recite 10 Pûrvas, *viz.*, (10) Viśâkhâchârya, [Prôshṭhila,] (11) Kshattriya, (12) Jayasêna, (13) Nâgasêna, (14) Siddhârtha, (15) Dhṛitisêna, (16) Vijayasêna, Vahudhûli. These lived for 183 years. Altogether 9.

§ 4. Then came those who could recite 11 Aṅgas, *viz.*, (17) Gaṅgâdêva, (18) Dharmasêṇa, (19) Nakshatrâchârya, (20) Jayapâla, (21) Pâṇḍava, Dhruvasêṇa. These abode for 220 years. Altogether 15.

§ 5. Then came those who could recite (only) the first Aṅga; *viz.*, (22) Kaṁsa, (23) Subhadra, (24) Jasôbhadra (25) Bhadrabâhu II., (26) Lôhâchârya, and Vinayadhara. These abode for 118 years.

§ 6. Then came (27) the glorious Dattasêṇa, (28) Śivadatta, (29) Aradatta, and (30) Bhadrabâhu III., who succeeded to the pontificate on the 14th of the light half of Kâtik, in the year 104 after Vikrama. The Svêtâmbaras originated at this time and commenced a paṭṭâvalî of their own.

Note after No. 21 :— Now these 26 pontificates took place in the Mâlavâ country.

Vaṁsâvalî of the Gurus of the Digambaras. From MS. E.

Serial Number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		Remarks.
			Samvat	A. D.	
1	1 (30)	Bhadrabâhu III	104 K. S. 14	47	From him the Svêtâmbaras went forth and initiated a pattâvalî of their own. (In A, B, C, D Brâhman by caste).
3	2 (31)	Mâghananda...	136 Â. S. 14	79	Sawâl by caste (A has Sâh.).
4	3 (32)	Jinachandra...	140 Ph. S. 14	83	A Chôsarâ Pôrwâl. (C has Huṁvad.)
5	4 (33)	Kundakunda..	149 P. V. 9	92	Palîvâl by caste.
6	5 (34)	Umâsvâmi......	201 K. S. 9	144	A Srâvak of Ayôdhyâ.
7	6 (35)	Lôhâchârya ...	242 As. S. 14	185	Labêchâ by caste
8	7 (36)	Jasakîrti	253 As. S. 9	196	Pûrvâl by caste; (A, B, D have Jâyalvâl).
12	8	Guṇananda ...	363 J. S. 4	306	Pûrvagôlâ by caste.
13	9	Vajrananda ...	364 Bh. S. 14	307	Gôlapûrb by caste.
14	10 (37)	Kumârananda.	386 Ph. V. 4	329	Sahajvâl by caste
15	11 (38)	Lôkachandra..	427 J. V. 4	360	Lavêchû by caste
16	12 (39)	Prabhachandra	453 Bh. S. 14	396	Pancham Śrâvak by caste.
17	13 (40)	Nêmachandra.	478 Ph. S. 10	421	Nagam Śrâvak by caste.
18	14 (41)	Bhânunanda...	487 P. V. 5	430	Dusar by caste.
19	15 (42)	Siṁhananda ...	508 M. S. 11	451	Śrîmâl Sakaryâ by caste.
20	16 (43)	Vasunanda ...	525 Â. S. 10	468	Vadhnêrâ by caste.
21	17	Vîrananda	531 P S. 11	474	Labêchû by caste.
22	18	Ratnananda ...	561 M. V. 5	504	Vâgaḍya by caste.
23	19	Mâṇikananda..	585 As V. 12	528	Agarvâlâ by caste.
24	20 (44)	Mêghachandra	601 P. V. 3	544	Khaṇḍêlvâl
25	21 (45)	Śântikîrtti......	627 As. V. 6	560	Sahajvâl by caste All these 26 had their seat of pontificate in Mâlavâ.

Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		REMARKS.
			Samvat.	A. D	
26	22 (45)	Mêrukîrtti	642 Ś. S. 5	585	Jaisvâl by caste.
27	23 (47)	Mahâkîrtti ...	686 Mr. S. 15	629	Sahajvâl by caste Up to here the seat of pontificate was in the town of Bhâdalpur in Mâlavâ.
28	24	Vasunanda ...	704 Mr. S. 9	647	Vâgḍya by caste. (D has Vâgaḍô.)
29	25 (47)	Śrîbhûshaṇa...	726 Ch. S. 9	669	Sahajvâl by caste.
30	26	Śîlachandra ...	735 V. S. 5	678	Śrîmâl by caste.
31	27 (48)	Śrînanda	749 Bh. S. 10	692	Nâgadrahâ by caste.
32	28 (49)	Dêśabhûshaṇa.	765 Ch. V. 12	708	Śrîmâl by caste.
33	29	Anantakîrtti..	766 Â. S. 10	709	Pôrvâl by caste.
34	30 (50)	Dharmananda.	785 S. S. 15	728	Nâgaḍya by caste.
35	31 (51)	Vidyânanda ...	808 J. S. 5	751	Vaghêrvâl by caste.
36	32	Râmachandra .	840 As. V. 12	783	Pancham Śrâvak by caste.
37	33 (52)	Râmakîrtti ...	857 V. V. 3	790	Lavêchû by caste
38	34 (53)	Abhayachandra	878 Â. S. 10	821	A Śrâvak of Ayodhyâpurî.
39	35 (54)	Narachandra..	897 K. S. 11	840	Nagam Śrâvak by caste.
40	36 (55)	Nâgachandra..	916 Bh. S. 5	859	Bâgaḍ by caste.
41	37 (56)	Nayanananda.	939 Bh. S. 8	882	Dusar by caste.
42	38 (57)	Harichandra ..	948 As. V. 9	891	Sôrâ Vaghêrvâl by caste.
43	39	Mahîchandra..	974 S. S. 9	917	Dâkaḍya by caste
44	40 (58)	Mâghachandra	990 M. S. 10	933	Padmâvatî Pôrvâl by caste.
45	41 (59)	Lakshmîchandra.	1023 J. V. 2	966	Agarâlâ by caste.
46	42 (60)	Gunakîrtti ...	1037 Â. S. 1	970	Gôlvâl by caste.
47	43 (61)	Guṇachandra..	1048 Bh. S. 14	991	Gôlâpûrab by caste.
	44 (62)	Vâsavachandra	1066 J. S. 1	1009	Sahajvâl by caste. (So also P.14).
48	45 (63)	Lôkachandra .	? J. S. 1		Sahajvâl by caste
49	46 (64)	Surakîrtti	1079 Bh. S. ?	1022	Sachânû by caste
50	47 (65)	Bhâvachandra	1096 Ch. V. 5	1039	? by caste.
51	48 (66)	Mahîchandra..	1115 Ch. V. 5	1058	Śrîmâl by caste.
52	49 (67)	Mâghachandra	1140 Bh. S. 5	1083	Pancham Śrâvak by caste.
53	50 (68)	Brahmananda.	1144 P. V. 14	1087	Vadhnôrâ by caste.
54	51 (69)	Śivananda.....	1148 V. V. 14	1091	Sahajvâl by caste.
55	52 (70)	Siyachandra ..	1155 Mr. S. 5	1098	Vadhnôra by caste.
56	53 (71)	Harinanda . ..	1156 Ś. S. 6	1099	Sichâṇî by caste.
57	54 (72)	Bhâvananda ..	1160 Bh. S. 5	1103	Dumak Śrâvak by caste.
58	55 (73)	Surakîrtti	1167 V. S. 9	1110	DhâkadyaŚrâvak by caste.
59	56 (74)	Vidyâchandra.	1170 Ph. V. 5	1113	Vâgaḍa Śrâvak by caste
60	57 (75)	Surachandra..	1176 S. S. 9	1119	Narsimhapurâ by caste.
61	58 (76)	Mâghananda...	1184 Â. S. 10	1127	Chatrurath Śrâvak by caste.
62	59	Guṇâyananda.	1188 Mr. S. 1	1131	Gagarî by caste.
63	60	Gaṅgâkîrtti	1199 M. V. 11	1142	(Caste omitted). All these 37 Pontiffs resided in Wârâ Vadoḍ.
64	61 (78)	Simhakîrtti .	1106 Ph. V, 14	1149	Narsinghpurâ by caste.
65	62 (79)	Hêmakîrtti ...	1209 J. V. 11	1152	Hummaḍ by caste.
66	63 (80)	Chârunanda ...	1216 Â. S. 3	1159	Sahajvâl by caste.
67	64 (81)	Nêmananda .	1223 V. S. 3	1166	Nâgad Rahâs by caste.
68	65 (82)	Nâbhikîrtti ..	1230 M. S. 11	1173	Nagam Śrâvak by caste.
69	66 (83)	Narêndrakîrtti	1232 M. S. 11	1175	Nâgad Râh by caste.
70	67 (84)	Śrîchandra ...	1241 Ph. S. 11	1184	Nâgarwâl Vâgdya by caste.

Serial number.	Number in MS.	Names.	Dates of accession.		Remarks.
			Saṁvat	A. D.	
71	68 (85)	Padmakîrtti .	1248 As. S. 12	1191	Pôrvâl by caste.
72	69 (86)	Vardhamâna ..	1253 As. S. 13	1196	Vadhnôrâ by caste.
73	70 (87)	Akalaṅka	1256 As. S. 14	1199	Pôrvâl by caste.
74	71 (88)	Lalitakîrtti ...	1257 K. S. 15	1200	Lavêchû by caste
75	72	Kêśavachandra	1261 Mr. V. 5	1204	Caste ?
76	73 (89)	Chârukîrtti	1262 J. S. 11	1205	Pancham Śrâvak by caste.
77	74 (90)	Abhayakîrtti..	1264 Â. V. 3	1207	Ath Sâkhâ Pôrvâl by caste.
78	75 (91)	Vasantakîrtti	1264 M. S. 5	1207	Sâh Rayôd by caste. All these 15 pontiffs resided in Gvâlêr.
80	76 (92)	Visâlakîrtti	1266 As. S. 5	1209	Pancham Śrâvak by caste.
79	77 (93)	Śubhakîrtti ..	1268 K. V. 11	1211	Sâh Varâ by caste.
81	78	Dharmachandra.	1271 Ś. S. 15	1214	Sêthî by caste.
82	79 (94)	Ratnakîrtti .	1296 Â. S. 13	1239	Nâgad Rahâ by caste.
83	80	Prabhâchandra	1310 P. V. 10.	1253	Padmâvatî Pôrvâl by caste. All these 5 pontiffs resided in Ajmêr.
84	81	Padmananda	1385 P. S. 9	1328	Caste ?
85	82 (95)	Śubhachandra	1450 M. S. 5	1393	Agarvâlâ by caste.
86	83 (96)	Jinachandra .	1507 J. V. 5	1440	Agarvâlâ by caste. (So also D.)
87	84	Prabhâchandra	1571 Ph. V. 2	1514	Vaidya Gôtra by caste. (So also D.)
88	85 (97)	Dharmachandra.	1581 Ś. V. 5	1524	Gaṅgâvâl by caste. (So also D.)
89	86 (98)	Lalitakîrtti ..	1603 Ch. S. 9	1546	Gôdhâ by caste. He pontificated in Chîtôr. (So also D).
90	87	Chandrakîrtti.	1622 V. S. 11	1565	Gaudhâ by caste.
91	88	Dêvêndrakîrtti	1662 Ph. U. 11	1605	Sêthî by caste. He pontificated in Sângânêr.
92	89 (99)	Narêndrakîrtti	1691 K. V. 11	1634	Sôgânî by caste. (So also D.)
93	90 (100)	Surêndrakîrtti	1712 Ś. S. 9	1655	Kâlâ by caste. (So also D.)
94	91 (101)	Jagatkîrtti ...	1733 Ś. S. 7	1676	Sôkhû Râyâ by caste. (D has Sâkhûrâ Yôgî.)
95	92 (102)	Dêvêndrakîrtti	1770 M. V. 11	1713	Vôlyâ by caste. (D has Gôdhâ) These four pontiffs resided in Âvairi.
96	93	Mahêndrakîrtti	1792 P. S. 10	1735	Pâpaḍîvâl (So also D.) He pontificated in Dîlî (Delhi)
97	94 (103)	Kshêmêndrakîrtti.	1815 As. S. 11	1758	Pîtanî by caste. (So also D.) He pontificated in Jaspur.
98	95	Surêndrakîrtti	1822 V. V. ?	1765	Pahâdyâ by caste. (So also D). In Jaipur.
99	96	Surêndrakîrtti	1852 Mr. V. 9	1795	Anôpada Svâî by caste. (D has Anôpadâvôlî kâ paṭvârî.) He pontificated in Jaipur.
100					
101	97	Narêndrakîrtti.	......	...	(D has Nainakîrtti, a Kâlâ by caste).
102	98	Dêvêndrakîrtti			
	99	Śrîratna Mahêndrakîrtti.			

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing the foregoing paper, I have procured the Deccan College Manuscript of the **Vikrama Prabandha**. On examination I find it to be an altogether different work from the one referred to in the paṭṭâvalîs. The latter was in Prâkṛit verse, while the *Vikrama Prabandha* of the Deccan College Library is in Sanskṛit verse, and contains a few folk tales connected with Vikrama: in fact, it is identical with the *Panchadanda-chhattra Prabandha*, published by Prof A. Weber in 1877.

On the other hand, the Deccan College manuscript of the Nîtisâra, which I have also procured, is the work in question. It is a very small work, consisting of 113 ślôkas, and giving brief explanations of a number of Digambara technicalities. With the exception of one, all the quotations in the paṭṭâvalî are confirmed by this manuscript.

The first quotation, in § 12, constitutes the ślôkas 6 *b* and 7 in the *Nîtisâra*. There is, however, a slight difference in the second line, which reads in the Deccan Manuscript as follows:—

सेनसङ्घो नन्दिसङ्घः सिंहसङ्घो महाप्रभुः।

The third quotation, in § 17, forms the 9th, 10th and 11th ślôkas in the *Nîtisâra*. In that manuscript the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th lines read a little differently: —

द्राविडो यापनीयश्च काष्ठसङ्घश्च मानतः।
गोपुछिकः श्वेतवासो द्राविडो यापनीयकः।
स्वस्वमत्यनुसारेण सिद्धान्तं व्यभिचारिणं।

The fourth quotation, in § 19, forms ślôkas 8, 12, 13, 14 in the *Nîtisâra*. In that manuscript they read as follows: —

गणगच्छादयस्तेभ्यो जाताः स्वपरसौख्यदाः।
न तत्र भेदः कोप्यस्ति प्रव्रज्यादिषु कर्म्मसु ॥ ८ ॥
चतुःसंघ्यां नरो यस्तु कुरुते भेदभावनां।
स सम्यग्दर्शनातीतः संसारे संचरत्यरं[31] ॥ २२ ॥
नात्र प्रतिक्रमे भेदो न प्रायश्चित्तकर्मणि।
नाचारवाचनाद्युक्तवाचनासु विशेषतः ॥ २३ ॥
चतुःसङ्घी संहितायां जैनं बिम्बं प्रतिष्ठितं।
नमेन्नापरसङ्घस्य यतो न्यासविपर्ययः ॥ २४ ॥

The second quotation, in § 16, I cannot find in the Deccan College Manuscript. It is a verse written in the Sragdharâ metre. The whole of the *Nîtisâra* is written in ślôkas, with the exception of the last (113th) verse, which happens to be in the Sragdharâ metre. This last verse, however, does not belong to the body of the work, but contains a laudatory reference to the author, Indranandin. It does not seem probable therefore, that the verse, quoted in § 16, really belongs to the *Nîtisâra*. The Deccan College MS. has all the appearance of being complete.

That the author, Indranandin, belonged to the Sârasvatî Gachchha is shown by his being described in verse 113 as a clever follower of Kundakunda. He does not appear in the pontifical succession list. There are, however, certain indications to fix the dates of himself and his work. In verses 67-70 he enumerates a number of celebrated (*sattama*) Munis from all the four Saṅghas. The latest in date among those quoted form the Nandi Saṅgha are Prabhâchandra and Jinachandra, Nos. 86 and 87 in the list. The latter died 1524 A. D. At the end of the manuscript, — quite independently of the work, — there is the remark that it was written *Srî-Lalitachandra-paṭhanârtham*, 'for the reading of Srî-Lalitachandra.' This person, in all probability, is the same with Lalitakîrtti II., No. 89, of the pontifical list (Chîtôṛ section), who died in 1565 A. D. Between these two dates (1524 and 1565) Indranandin should have lived and written the Nîtisâra. As Lalitakîrtti (or Lalita Chandra) pontificated from 1546 to 1565 A. D., the Deccan College MS. was most probably written within that period; and there is just a possibility that it is the autograph of Indranandin himself, who may have been a disciple of Lalita Chandra.

[31] The MS. has संचरत्यरंले, *araṁ* and *alaṁ* having the same meaning.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from page* 13.)

C. — KHALSI, DHAULI-JAUGADA, COLUMNAR EDICTS, BHABRA, SAHASARAM, RUPNATH, BAIRAT.

The Spelling of the remaining edicts is so similar, that it will be advantageous to group all the facts together in one view.

The edicts are referred to by their initial letters: Dh. = Dhauli; Kh. = Khâlsi; S. = Sahasarâm; R. = Rûpnâth; B. = Bairât; Bh. = Bhabra. For the Columnar Edicts, I have taken, as typical, the only complete version, the most correct and that best known, that of the pillar of Fîrûz Shâh at Dehli (D). I only cite the divergencies of the other versions (D²ARM) when they appear to me to present points of special interest, and to be not merely accidental transformations.

The text of Jaugada is, in the series of the fourteen edicts, almost invariably identical with that of Dhauli. Dr. Bühler only notes four points of divergence; according to his texts I count at most seven or eight; the text of Jaugada, being moreover less complete than that of Dhauli, offers nothing new. The case is not the same with regard to the detached (or 'separate') edicts; here the two versions more frequently shew points of difference, which are not all devoid of interest. Under these conditions Dhauli, as a general rule, answers for both, and I shall content myself with merely drawing attention, in the proper place, to forms peculiar to Jaugada.

The fragments of the Queen's Edict, of the edict of Kauśâmbî, and of the inscriptions of Barâbar, are too short and too damaged to lend themselves to methodical treatment.

1. — PHONETICS.

(a). — Vowels.

Changes of Quantity. — Kh. does not mark, for *i* and *u*, the distinction between long and short. The solitary instance in which an *î* has been read: *piyadasî*, I, 2 (Bühler) is so indistinct, that the facsimile of General Cunningham gives it as short. I have no doubt that he is right. — R. and B. read *jaṁbudipasi*, which is not sufficient ground for us to conclude that they would not have marked the long vowel, if the text had brought it again elsewhere; and that especially, because at Bh. we have certain examples of *î* and *û*. We must, therefore, conclude that this peculiarity belongs only to Kh.

Vowels lengthened. — KHÂLSI. — *A* final very often becomes *â*, more often, indeed, than it remains short. I quote only a few examples of each case: *abhisitasâ*, XIII, 35, &c.; *abhisitênâ*, IV, 13, &c.; *âhâ*, passim (once only *âha*, VII, 6); *ajâ*, IV, 9; *ehâ* (more frequent than *cha*); *êvâ*, II, 6, al.; *hidâ*, I, 1, al.; *palatâ*, IX, 27, &c.; *punâ*, passim; *mamâ*, V, 13; *vâ* (= *va*, *êva*), III, 7, &c. — In the middle of words, I note *sukhâyâmi*, VI, 20; *lâti*, VIII. 23.

DHAULI. — Finals: *âhâ*, III, 9, al. (never *âha*); *âlâdhayêvû*, det. II, 6; *chalêvû*, det. II. 5; *nikhamâvû*, III, 10; *pâpunêvû*, det. II, 7; *yujaṁtû*, IV, 8; *mamâ*, det I, 5; *nâ*, I, 4; *vasêvutî*, VII, 1 (Jaug. °*ti*). — In the interior of words, we find several instances of lengthening, some of which are compensatory or accidental: *-sahâsâni*, I, 3; *tâkhasilatê*, det. I, 24; *abhîkâlê*, V, 25; *chilaṭhitîkâ*, V, 27; VI, 33; *nîchê*, VII, 2; *anâvûtiya*, det. I, 11; *nithûliyêna*, det. I, 11; *hîlaṁna*, VIII, 5 (Jaug. *hi*°) can only be an error of the engraver.

DEHLI. — Finals: *âhâ* (*ahâ*), passim; *apahaṭâ*, VI, 3 (RM °*ṭa*), if the form is really equivalent to *apahṛitya*; *anupaṭipajêyâ*, VII-VIII, 17; *asvasâ*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *bhayênâ*, I, 4; *ehâ*, passim; *êvâ*, I, 6 (RM °*va*); *gônasâ*, V, 18 (RM °*sa*); *hêmêvâ*, I, 8; VI, 6 (ARM °*va*); *jâ*, *napadasâ*, IV, 5 (RM °*sa*); *lôkasâ*, VI, 2, 4, (RM °*sa*); *mamâ*, IV, 12 (D²RM °*ma*); *papôvâ*- VI, 13 (ARM °*va*); *usâhênâ*, I, 5; *vaḍhêyâ*, VII-

VIII, 13, 16, 18; *sâdhû*, II, 11 (ARM °*dhu*). D. VI, 8 and 1, 4 writes *pûjâyâ*, *palîkhâyâ* and *susûsâyâ*, the instrumental written in *âya* by RM. — Medial vowels: -*dâkhinâyê*, II, 13 (D²ARM *da*°); *anupaṭîpaja*, VII-VIII, 10, 21, 3; *anupaṭîpajîsati*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṁpaṭîpatiya*, VII-VIII, 8; *anûpaṭîpaṁnê*, VII-VIII, 7; *niṭhûliyê* III, 20; *pachûpagamanê*, VI, 8 (A *pichu*°); *paṭîbhôgê*, VII-VIII, 3 *paṭivisiṭhaṁ*, VII-VIII, 5 (by the side of *paṭivisiṭhaṁ*); *pavajîtânaṁ*, VII-VIII, 4; *putâpapôtikê*, VII-VIII, 10; *saṁpaṭipajîsati*, II, 16 (D²ARM °*ji*°).

Instead of the *chilaṁthitikâ* of D, II, 15, D² gives *chilâthitikâ* and ARM *chilaṁthitîkâ*; instead of the *chaghaṁti* of D, IV, 10, D² gives *chaghaṁtî*.

BHABRA. — Finals: *âhâ* 1; *châ* (four times; twice *cha*); *êvâ*, 8. — Medials: *chilaṭhitîkê*, 4.

SAHASARÂM. — Finals: *avaladhiyênâ*, 6; *châ*-4, 5 (more often *cha*); *paṁnâ* (= *pañcha*), 6-*likhâpayâthâ*, 7. — Medials: *chilaṭhitîkâ*, 5.

RUPNÂTH. — Finals: *apaladhiyênâ*, 4; *paka*, *mamânênâ*, 3; *v(i)ya(ṁ)janênâ*, 5; *vyuṭhênâ*, 5.

BAIRÂT. — *âhâ*, 1; *châ*, 6.

Vowels shortened. — KHÂLSI. — Finals: *ma*, XIII, 14; — Medials: *ananiyaṁ*, VI, 20; *ayatıyê*, X, 27; *akâlêna*, XII, 32; *avâhasi*, IX, 24; *abhilamâni*, VIII, 22; *avaṁ*, XIII, 6; *avatakê* XIII, 39; *ôpayâ*, VIII, 23; *lajâ*, X, 28; *lajânê*, XIII, 5; *vijinamanê*, XIII, 36.

DHAULI. — Finals: *anuvigina* (nom. pl.), det. II, 4; -*viyôhâlaka*, det. 1, 1, and other noms. plur.; *ichha*, det. II, 4; *sôtaviya*, det. I, 18; *lâja*, det, II, 4; *atha* (*yatha*), four times against twice *athâ*; *paja*, V, 27; *va* (=*vâ*), V, 21, 25, 26; VI, 28, 30; det. 1, 20, 21. — Medials: *niti*, det. 1, 8, 12 (?); *sa(ṁ)khina*, det. 1, 22.

DEHLI. — Finals: *ajaka*, V, 7 (RM °*kâ*); *asvatha* IV, 4, 13; *atha*, VI, 4 (RM °*thâ*); III, 20; *êsa* (nom. fem.), I, 9 (ARM °*sâ*); *lâja* (nom.), passim (by the side of *lâjâ*); *siya* IV, 15; *tatha*, VI, 6 (RM °*thâ*). — Medials: *âladhi*, VII-VIII, 10; *ava*, IV, 15, (A *aṁva*, M *âvâ*); *avahâmi*, VI, 6; *palibhasayisaṁ*, III, 21; *anuvidhiyaṁti*, VII-VIII, 7 (°*dhî*°, 1, 7); *anulupâyâ*, VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18; *bhutânaṁ*, VII-VIII, 9; *ôpayâ*, VIII, 5.

In the following instances other versions present a short vowel, as against a regular long one at D.: *abhîtâ*, IV, 4, RM *abhîta*; D. 1, 6 *apekhâ*, RM °*kha*; D. VI, 8, *atanâ*, RM °*na*; D. IV, 10, *athâ*, D² °*tha*; D. IV, 13, *avimanâ*, D²RM °*na*; D. IV, 3, *âyatâ*, RM °*ta*; *likhâpitâ*, D. 1, 2; II, 15; IV, 2; VI, 2, 9, RM °*ta*; *abhîtâ*, D. IV, 12, D²R °*bhı*°; *aṭhamîpakhâyê*, D. V, 15, D²RM °*mi*°; D. III, 20, *isyâkâlanêna*, RM °*sya*°.

Changes of Quality. — KHÂLSI. — *a* into *i*: *majhimênâ*, XIV, 8; *pichhê* (?) (= *paśchât*), I, 4; into *ê*: *hêta* (=*atra*), VIII, 23, al.; into *u*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *î* into *ê*: *êdisâyê*, IX, 24; — *u* into *a*: *galu*, XIII, 36, 38; into *i*: *munisa*, II, 6; — *ê* into *i*: *gihithâ*, XIII, 38; *mi*, XIV, 19; — *ô* into *ê*, not only at the end of words, and for *aḥ*, as in *pulê*, I, 3; *mukhatê*, VI, 18; — there are some exceptions, as *lâjânô*, II, 5; *kêlalaputô*, II, 4; *sâtiyaputô*, II, 4, — but in *kalêti*, V, 13; IX, 24; *apakalêti*, XII, 32; *upakalêti*, XII, 32.

Ṛi changes to *a*: *adhê*, IX, 17; *ânaniyaṁ*, VI, 20; *bhatiyâ*, XII, 33; *vadhi* and *vaḍhi*, passim; *bhaṭakasi*, XIII, 37, al.; *kata*, passim; *gahathâni*, XII, 31; *matê*, *maṭê*, XIII, 35, 36, 39; *nikati*, VI, 19; *usaṭêna*, X, 28, 29; *viyâpaṭa*, XII, 34, al.; *vithaṭênâ*, XIV, 18; — into *i*: *âdisê*, IV, 10; *diḍha*, VII, 22; *gihithâ*, XIII, 37; *êdisâyê*, IX, 24; *kiṭaṁnata*, VII, 22; *migê*, I, 4; *migaviyâ*, VIII, 22; *âdisê*, IV, 10; — into *u*: *palipuchhâ*, VII, 23; *lukhâni*, II, 6; *vudhânaṁ*, VIII, 23; *vutaṁ*, XIII, 9.

DHAULI. — *a* into *u*: *avucha*, VII, 2; IX, 16, (Jaug. *avacha*); *munisa*, VII, 1, al. (by the side of *manusa*); — *a* into *e*: *hêta* (*atra*), XIV, 19; — *i* into *a* in *puṭhaviyaṁ*, V, 26; — *i* into *ê*: *anusathê* (for °*thi*) VI, 31; — *u* into *i*: *munisa*, loc. cit.; *pulisa*, det. I, 7, 8; — *ê* into *i*: *asamati*, XIV, 19; *vêditu*, det. II, 6 (for °*dê*° = °*dayi*°); *pitênikêsu*, V, 23; — *ô* into *ê* in *kalêti*, V, 20, al.; and at the end of words when derived from *aḥ*: *bhûyê*, *dhaṁmatê*, &c. (*nê* = *nô*, *na*, at Jaug. det. I, 4, is doubtless only an incorrect reading).

Ṛi becomes *a*: *âdasê* IV, 14; *ânaniyaṁ*, det. II, 9; VI, 32; *bhaṭi*- V, 23; *bhaṭaka*, IX, 8; *kaṭa*, passim; *vaḍhî*, IV, 18; *usaṭêna*, X, 16; *viyâpaṭâ*, V, 24; — *i*: *âdisê*, IX, II; *êdisâni*, VIII, 3; *hêdisa*, passim; *dhiti*, det. II, 6; *tâdisê*, IV, 14; — *u*: *lukhâni*, II, 8; *puṭhaviyaṁ*, V, 26; *vuḍha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; perhaps *kutê*, det, I, 16.

JAUGADA. — *a* final changes into *u* in *savatu*, II, 8 (Dh. °*ta*); — *i* into *ê* in *ânanêyaṁ* (= *ânaniyaṁ* = *ânṛiṇyaṁ*), det. I, 9; det. II, 13.

DEHLI. — *a* into *i*; *majhima*, I, 7; — *a* into *u*: -*mutê* (ARM), VI, 19; *munisânaṁ*, VII-VIII, 2, al.; — *u* into *i*: *munisa*, passim; *pulisa*, I, 7, al.; *mina*, III, 8, if it really is equivalent to *punaḥ*, which appears doubtful; into *ô*: *gôti*, I, 10; — *ê* into *i*: *sûkali*, V, 8 (D[2] °*li*); *gihithânaṁ*, VII-VIII, 4; *likhâpitâ*, passim; — *ô* (*aḥ*) final into *ê*: *itê*, IV, 15. — Instead of *sêyatha*, V, 2, A has *sayatha*. — *Ṛi* changes to *a*: *apahaṭâ*, VI, 3 (if really equivalent to *apahṛitya*); *apakaṭhêsu*, VI, 5; *bhaṭakêsu*, VII-VIII, 8; *vaḍhi*, VII-VIII, 8, al.; *kapana*, VII-VIII, 8; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyâpaṭâ*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into *i*: *nisijitu*, IV, 10.

BHABRA. — *ê* changes to *i* in *likhâpayâmi*, 8; — *ṛi* into *i* in *adhigichya*, 6.

SAHASARÂM. — *ê* changes to *i* in *likhâpayâthâ*, 7; — *munisâ*, 3; — *kaṭâ*, 3; *misaṁ* (= *mṛishâ*), 2, 3.

RÛPNÂTH. — *Pavatisu* (for °*tê*°), 4; — *amisâ*, 2; *kaṭâ*, 2, al.

BAIRÂT. — *Bâḍhi* for °*dhê*, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — KHÂLSI. — Additions: *galahâ*, XII, 31; *galahati* XII, 33; *supadâlayê*, V, 14 (if equivalent to *supradâryaṁ*); — *sinêhê*, XIII, 38; — *puluva*, passim; *kuvâpi*, XIII, 39; *suvâmikênâ* IX, 25. — Suppressions: *pi*, passim; *ti* (*iti*, IX, 26); *va* (= *êva*), IX, 26, alias.

DHAULI. — Additions: *supadâlayê*, V, 22; *anuviginâ*, det. II, 4; *ithî*, IX, 7; *kilamathêna*, det. I, 11; *palikilêsê*, det. I, 21; *puluva*, V, 22, al.; *suvâmikêna*, IX, 10; *pâpunêvû*, det. II, 7. — Suppressions: *ti* (*iti*, det. II. 4, 7), *pi*, *va* (*êva*), passim.

DEHLI. — Additions: *upadahêvû*, IV, 5; *vidahâmi*, VI, 6; *gê*(*ṁ*)*vayâ*, I, 7; *âsinavê*, II, 11, al.; *duvâḍasa*, VI, 1; *suvê*, I, 6. — Suppressions: *pi*, *ti*, *va* (*êva*), passim; *anuvêkhamânê*, VII-VIII, 2; *paṭivêkhamânê*, VI, 4, 7.

BHABRA. — Additions: *alahâmi*, 4; *abhikhinaṁ*, 7; *pasinê*, 5. — Suppressions: *ti*, 2, al.

SAHASARÂM. — Suppressions: *pi*, *ti*, passim; *va* (*êva*), 3.

RUPNÂTH. — Additions: *sumi*, 1. — Suppressions: *pi*; *ti*; *va*; *dâni*, 2; *sumi*, 1.

Contractions. — KHÂLSI. — *A*(*l*)*u* into *ô*: *khô*, X, 28, al.: — *aya* into *ê* in causals; — *ava* into *ô*: *ôlôdhana*, V, 16; VI, 18; — *ayi* into *ê* in *lêkhâpêṣâmi*, XIV, 19; — *a*(*y*)*ô* into *ê*: *têdasa*, V, 14; — *ya* into *i*: *palitiditu*, X, 28; *iya* into *ê*: *êtakâyê*, X, 27.

DHAULI. — *A*(*l*)*u* into *ô*: *khô*, IX, 8; — *ava* into *ô*: *viyôhâlaka*, det. I, 1; *viyôvaditaviyê*, IX, 11; *ôlôdhana*, passim; — *avâ* into *ô*, if *ahô*, IV, 13, is really equivalent to *atha vâ*; — *aya* into *ê*: *ujênîtê*, det. I, 23; — *ayi* into *i* in *vêditu*, det. II, 6; — *ayô* into *ê*: *têdasa*, V, 22; — *iya* into *ê*: *êtaka*, passim; — *ya* into *i*: *palitijitu*, X, 15; — *va* into *û*: *atûlanâ*, det. I, 11, 12 (Jaug. °*tu*°); — *vi* into *u*: *su* (= *svid*), det. II, 4; *duâhalê*, det. I, 16.

DEHLI. — *Nigôhâni*, VII-VIII, 5 (*nyagrôdha*); — *jhâpêtaviyê*, V, 10; *khô*, passim *khu*, II, 12; *paliyôvadâtha*, VII-VIII, 1; *ôlôdhana*, VII-VIII, 6; *viyôvadisaṁti*, IV, 7, 9; *su*(*svid*), VII-VIII, 17, 18.

BHABRA. — *Khô*, 3; *ôvâdê*, 5; *abhivâdêmânaṁ* (for °*dya*°), 1.

RÛPNÂTH. — *Lêkhâpêtaviyê*, *vivasêtaviyê*, 5.

BAIRÂT. — *Âlâdhêtayê*, 6.

NASALISED VOWELS. — I do not attempt to point out all the instances in which the *anusvâra* has been omitted, either in negligence, or by error. They are frequent, especially at Khâlsi.

KHÂLSI. — A long vowel equivalent to a nasalised one: *atapâsaṁḍâ* (°*ḍaṁ*), XII, 32, 33; *daḍatâ* (°*taṁ*), XIII, 15; *dêvânâpiyê*, XII, 30, 34; *dhaṁmasu*(*su*)*sâ* (°*saṁ*), X, 27; *disâ* (°*saṁ*), XIV, 21; *hêtâ* (°*taṁ*), V, 14; *kaṁmatalâ* (°*laṁ*), VI, 20; *pujâ* (°*jaṁ*), XII, 31, 34; *punâ* (= *puṇyaṁ*), IX, 26; *saṁtaṁ*, XIV, 17 (if it is really a nom. plur.). — After Dr. Bühler's revision the only trace of a confusion between *aṁ* and *u* which would appear to remain is *sukhitênâ*, XIV, 17 (for *saṁ*°). The concordance of several versions in the spelling *supadâlaya*, V, 14, renders, in this instance, the equivalence of *saṁ* and *su* hardly probable.

DHAULI. — Equivalence of the long and of the nasalised vowel: *baṁbhana* and *bâbhana*; *bhâvasudhî* (°*dhiṁ*), VII, 1; *kalaṁtaṁ* (nom.

plur.), dét. I, 18; *kaṁmata(laṁ)*, VI, 32, as against *kâmatalá*, at Jaug.; *kiṭi*, X, 13 (°*ṭiṁ*); *saṁbôdhî* (°*dhiṁ*), VIII, 4; *palataṁ*; (°*tá*, °*ta*); VI, 23; *sôtaviyaṁ* (Jaug. °*yá*), det. I, 17; *vataviyaṁ* (°*yá*), det. I, 2; *yá* (*yaṁ*), IV, 17. — *Saṁtaṁ* (n. s. m.), VI, 30, and *vayê* (= *vayaṁ*), det. II, 8, appear to imply the equivalence of *aṁ* and *ê*. — *u* for *aṁ* in *têsu aṁtânaṁ*, det. II, 10. — The nasal is written double in *aṁnâlaṁbhê*, III, 11; *saṁmyá*, IX, 8; *sukhaṁm*, det. II, 5.

DEHLI. — *Anupaṭîpatî*(°*tiṁ*), VII-VIII, 3; *-vîsati*, V, 1, 20; *saṁtaṁ* (nom. plur.) IV, 13; *tiṁni* = *triṇi*), IV, 16; V, 12; *yá iyaṁ* (= *yaṁ idaṁ*), VII-VIII, 7; — *kimaṁ*, VI, 5, (= *kimu*).

SAHASARÂM. — *Aṁmisaṁ*, 2; *misaṁ*, 3 (= °*sá*); *chaṁ*, 5 (= *chá*).

(b). — Consonants.

Two peculiarities are common to all the versions, which we are now comparing. In the first place they know neither the cerebral *ṇ*, nor the palatal *ñ*. They replace both by the dental *n*. There is only one solitary exception: Dh. det. II, 6, would seem to have, according to General Cunningham's facsimile, *paṭiṁñá*. I should be much surprised to find this reading authenticated; already, in Prinsep's time, the facsimile published by him shewed that, at this place, the stone is damaged and the reading uncertain. I am strongly tempted to believe that the real reading is *paṭiṁná*, as at Jaugada. As to *ṇ* Dr. Bühler states two exceptional occurrences of it, one in *khaṇasi*, Dh. det. II, 10, the other in *savêṇá*, J. det. II, 3. — In the second place, they have no *r*, replacing it regularly (when standing alone) by *l*. I notice only two exceptions, — at Rûpnâth, where, by the side of *ahâlê*, 6, we read *chhavachharê*, 1, and *chiraṭhitika*, 4. *Samavariya* at Kh. XIII, 2, is probably a false reading.

Khâlsi presents a two-fold peculiarity: the first is the use, for the sibilant, of three signs differing in unequal degrees: 𑀰, 𑀱, and 𑀲, of which the first is also employed on one occasion at Bairât (*ṣvaṁgikiyê*). It appears to me to be certain that these signs are all, among themselves, absolute equivalents, and that they do not represent, as has been maintained, the three sibilants of Sanskṛit. I have already dealt with this question in the Introduction; and I shall return to it later on. I can, therefore, neglect its consideration here. I may remind my readers that in transliteration I represent the sign 𑀰 by *ṣ*. — The second point concerns the use, at Khâlsi, of a character 𑀓 which I, at first, considered as a simple graphic variant of 𑀓. The same sign is employed twice (*vaḍiḳá*, *aḍhakôsiḳáni*) at D. I pass over this difficulty here, and content myself, in order to retain consistency in transcription, with rendering the sign in question by *ḳ*, as I have hitherto done.

Simple Consonants.

Changes. — KHÂLSI. — *k* into *g* in *aṁtiyôga*, II, 5; XIII, 4, 5.

g into *k* in *maká*, XII, 5; *aṁtêkina*, ibid.

gh into *h* in *lahuká*, XI, 32, al.

ch into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

j into *d* in *palitiditu*, X, 28.

t into *ṭ* in *bhaṭaka*, XIII, 37, alias; *kaṭa*, passim; *maṭê*, XIII, 39 (by the side of *matê*); *paṭi-*, passim; *usaṭêna*, X, 28, 29; *viyápaṭa*, passim; *vithaṭêná*, XIV, 18; — into *d* in *dôsê*, VI, 19; *hidasukhâyê* = *hitasu*°, V, 15.

d into *ḍ* in *hêḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25 (by the side of *êdisa*); *duvâdasa*, III, 7; IV, 13; — into *t* in *tatôpayá*, VIII, 13 (?); — into *y* in *iyaṁ* (in the neuter, for *idaṁ*), passim.

dh into *d* (?) in *hida*, passim.

bh into *h* in *hôti*, etc., passim.

y into *j* in *majulá*, I, 4; — into *v*: *vasêvu*, VII, 21 (ordinarily the termination is *êyu*); — into *h*: *yêhaṁ*, VI, 20.

s into *h* in *ha(ṁ)chê*, IX, 26.

DHAULI. — *k* changes into *kh* in *akhakhasê*, det. I, 22.

g into *gh* in *chaghati*, II, 11, al., if it is really equivalent to *jagṛi*, which is extremely doubtful.

ch into *j* in *ajalá*, det. II, 7, (Jaug. has *achala*); — into *chh* in *kichhi*, passim.

j into *ch* in *chaghati*, loco cit.; *kaṁbôcha*, V. 23.

t into *ch* in *chiṭhitu*, IV, 17; — into *ṭ* in *paṭi*, passim; *kaṭa*, passim; *viyápaṭá*, det. I, 15, al.; *usaṭêna*, X, 16.

th into *h* in *ahô* (?), IV, 13.

dh into *d* (?) in *hida*, passim.

bh into *h* in *lahêvu*, det. II, 5; *hôti*, &c., VIII, 4; *hûtapuluva* IV, 14, al.

y into *v* in the termination *êvu* of the 3rd pers. plur. of the potential (at Jaug *êyu*, except in *nikhamâvû*, III, 11); *âvutikê*, det. II, 8 (at Jaug. *âyu°*); — into *h* in the 1st pers. sing. of the potential: *yêhaṁ*, &c.

v into *m* in *mayê* (= *vayaṁ*), det. II, 8.

JAUGADA. — *k* into *g* in *hidalôgaṁ palalôgaṁ*, (Dh.: *°lôka °lôkaṁ*), det. II, 7; *hidalôgika°* (Dh.: *°ki°*), det. II, 12-13.

d into *t* in *paṭipâtayêhaṁ*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: *paṭivêdayêhaṁ*); *paṭipâtayêma*, det. I, 5 (Dh.: *°pâda°*); *vipaṭipâtayaṁtaṁ*, det. I, 8 (Dh.: *vipaṭipâdayamînêhi*); *paṭipâtayêhaṁ*, II, 2; *saṁpaṭipâtayitaʌê*, det. II, 16 (Dh.: *°pâda°*).

DEHLI. — *g* into *gh* in *chaghatûti* (??), IV, 8, 10.

gh into *h* in *lahu*, VII-VIII, 9.

j into *ch* in *chaghaṁti* (??), IV, 8, 10.

ṭ into *ḍ* in *vaḍikâ*, VII-VIII, 2.

t into *ṭ* in *kaṭa*, passim; *paṭi-*, passim (*paṭiyâsaṁnêsu*, VI, 5); *viyâpaṭâ*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6; — into *v* in *châvudasaṁ*, V, 12.

th into *ṭh* in *nighaṁṭhêsu*, VII-VIII, 5.

d into *ḍ* in *duvâḍasa*, VI, 1; *paṁnaḍasaṁ*, V, 12.

dh into *d* (?) in *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.; — into *h* in *nigôhâni*, VII-VIII, 5.

p into *b* in *libi*, VII-VIII, 10, 11; — into *m* in *mina* (= *punaḥ* ?), III, 18.

bh into *h* in *hôti*, &c., passim.

m into *ph* in *kaphaṭa*, V. 5; — into *v* in *gêvayâ*, I, 7.

y into *v* in *âvuti*, IV, 15; termination *êvu* of the potential; *pâpôvâ*, VI, 3; — into *h* in the termination *êhaṁ* of the 1st pers. of the potential.

s into *h* in *hôhaṁti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (*hôsaṁti*, VII-VIII, 2).

BHABRA. — *k* into *g* in *adhigichya*, 6.

bh into *h* in *hôsati*, 4.

SAHASARÂM. — *p* into *v* in *avaladhiyênâ*, 6; *pâvatavê*, 3.

bh into *h* in *hôtu*, 5.

d into *ḍ* in *uḍâlâ*, 4.

RÛPNÂTH. — *d* into *ḍ* in *uḍâlâ*, 3.

bh into *h* in *husu*, 2.

Additions and Suppressions. — KHÂLSI. — Loss of an initial *y* in: *a*, XII, 31; *aṁ*, IV, 12; X, 28; *âdisê*, IV, 10; *atatâ*, II, 5, 6; *asâ*, VII, 21; *atha*, II, 4; XII, 34; *âva*, IV, 12; V, 14; IX, 25, 26; *âvatakê*, XIII, 39; *ê*, passim. — Addition of an initial *y*: *yêva*, IV, 12; XIV, 17; of a medial *y*: *kaligya*, XIII, 35, 36 (*kaliga*, XIII, 39); of an initial *h*: *hêḍisa*, VIII, 22; IX, 25; *hêta* (*atra*), IX, 24, al.; *hêtâ*, X, 28; *hêvaṁ*, passim, (*êvaṁ*, II, 6); *hida*, VI, 20, al.

DHAULI. — Loss of an initial *y*, except in: *yasô*, X, 13; *yâ*, IV, 17; *yê*, I, 8; V, 21; *yêhaṁ*, VI, 32; *yuj*, passim; *yôna*, V, 23; — of the syllable *ra* in *hêmêva*, det. I, 24. — Addition of an initial *y* in: *yêva*, IV, 17; — of a *v* in *vutê*, IX, 10; — of an initial *h* in *hêdisa*, passim (by the side of *êdisa*); *hêmêva*; *hêta*, XIV, 19; *hêta*(*ṁ*), V, 21; *hêvaṁ*, passim (never *êvaṁ*, *êva* and never *hêva*); *hida*, passim.

DEHLI. — Loss of the initial *y* in: *ata*, VII-VIII, 11; *atha*, III, 20; IV, 10; VI, 4; *âva*, IV, 15 (*yâva*, V, 19); *ê*, V, 17; VI, 8; *êna*, VII-VIII, 11; — of the syllable *ya* in: *êtadathâ* (or possibly equivalent to *êtadathaṁ* ?), VII-VIII, 3; — of the syllable *va* in *hêmêva*, VII-VIII, 4, al. — Addition of an initial *y* in *yêva*, V, 13; VII-VIII, 8 (by the side of *êva*); — of an initial *v* in *vutaṁ*, IX, 10; — of an initial *h* in *hêmêva*; *hêvaṁ*, passim (by the side of *êvaṁ*); *hida*, VII-VIII, 6, al.

BHABRA. — Loss of the initial *y*. — Addition of an initial *h* in *hêvaṁ*, 3, 8.

SAHASARÂM. — Loss of an initial *y* in *aṁ*, I, 2 (*yatâ*, 7). — Addition of an initial *v* in *vivuthâ*, 7; — of an *h* in *hêvaṁ*, 1.

RÛPNÂTH. — Addition of an initial *h* in *h*(*i*)*dha*(?), 4; *hêvaṁ*, 1. — The initial *y* remains unchanged: *yâvatakâ*, 5; *yâ*, 2.

BAIRÂT. — Initial *y* lost in *aṁ*, 3, preserved in *ya* (*yad*), 2.

Compound Consonants.

kt becomes *t*. Kh., Dh., D.

ky becomes *kiy*: (*s*)*akiyê*(?), S. 3; *sakiyê*, R. 3; *ṣvaṁgikiyê*(?), B. 6.

kr becomes always *k*.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvâpi*, Kh. XIII, 39.

ksh becomes, at Kh., *kh* : *khudaka*, X, 28, &c.; *chh* in *chhanati*, XII, 32; — at Dh., *kh* : *khudaka*, det. II, 5, &c.; — at D., *kh* : *anuvêkhamânê*, VII-VIII, ?, &c.; *jh* in *jhâpêtaviyê*, V, 10; — at Bh., *kh* : *bhikhuniyê*, 7; — at S., *kh* : *khudakâ*, 4; — at R, *kh* : *khudakâ*, 3.

kshn becomes *khin* in *abhikhinaṁ*, Bh.

kshy becomes *kh* in *dupaṭivêkhê*, D. III, 19.

khy becomes, at Kh., *kh* : *sâkhaṁ*, XIII, 14; — at Dh, *khy* : *môkhyamata*, det. II, 2; det. I, 3 (Jaug.: *môkhiya*°); — at D., *kh* : *môkhâni*, V. 20, and *khy* : *môkhyamatê*, VI, 19.

gn becomes, at Kh., *g* : *agikaṁdhâni*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *g* : *agi-*, IV, 3; and *gin* : *anuvigina*, det. II, 4.

gr becomes *g*, Kh., Dh., D.

jñ becomes *ṁn* or *n*, Kh., Dh., D.

ñch becomes *ṁn*, at D.: *paṁnadasa*, V, 12, al.; — at S.: *paṁnâ* (?), 6.

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* at Kh.: *paṁḍiyâ*, XIII, 6; — at D.: *chaṁḍiyê*, III, 20.

ṇy becomes *niy* in *ananiya*, at Kh., VI, 20; at Dh., VI, 32; det. II, 9; — *ṁn* in *hilaṁna*; at Kh., VIII, 23; at Dh., VIII, 5.

tk becomes *k*, D., S.

tth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhâna*, at Kh., VI, 9, al.; at Dh., VI, 31, al.

tm becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D.

ty becomes, at Kh, *tiy* : *apatiyê*, V, 14, &c.; remains unchanged in *nityaṁ*, XIV, 19, if indeed we are to read thus; changes into *ch* in *nichê*, VII, 22; into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 28; — at Dh., becomes *tiy* : *atiyâyikê*, VI, 19, &c.; changes into *ch* in *êkachâ*, I, 2 (doubtful; J. has *êkatiyâ*); *nichê*, VII, 2; changes into *t* in *palitijitu*, X, 15; — at D., becomes *ch* : *sachê*, II, 12; *pachûpagamanê*, VI, 8; *tiy* in *patiyâsaṁnêsu*, VI, 5, which R. and M. write *patyâsa*°.

tr becomes everywhere *t*.

tv remains unchanged in *tadatvâyê*, at Kh. X, 27, and at Dh., X, 13; — becomes *t* at S.: *mahatatâ*, 3; *satâ*, 7; and at R.: *mahatatâ*, 2; *sata*, 5.

ts becomes *s* at Kh.: *chikisâ*, II, 5; nevertheless *chikisakichhâ*, same line, appears to shew a certain hesitation between the form *chikisâ* and the form *chikichhâ*; *usaṭêna*, X, 29; — at Dh. II, 6; X, 6; — at D.: *usaṭênâ*, I, 5; *chh*, at R., in *chhavachharê*.

tsy becomes *chh* at D., in *-machhê*, V, 4.

ddh becomes, at Kh., *ḍh* in *vaḍhi*, XII, 31, 34, 35, remains *dh* in *vadhi*, IV, 12, 13; — *ḍh*, at Dh., in *vaḍhi*, IV, 18; *vuḍha*, IV, 15; VIII, 4; and at D. in *vaḍhi*, passim.

dy becomes *j* (Kh., Dh., D.), except in *uyâna* (Kh., VI, 18; Dh., VI, 29) in which it becomes *y*, and at D., I, 3, in *dusaṁpaṭipâdayê* for °*diyê*, °*dyê*.

dr becomes everywhere *d*.

dv becomes, at Kh., *duv* : *duvâdasa*, III, 7, &c.; — at Dh., *duv* : *duvâlâ*, det. II, 2, &c.; *v* in *anuvigina*, det. II, 4; — at D., *duv* : *duvêhi*, VII-VIII, 8, &c.; — at S., R. and B., *d* in *jaṁbudipasi* (S., 2; R., 2; B., 4); and *duv* at S. in *duvê* (6).

dhy becomes, at Kh., *dhiy* in *adhiyakha*, XII, 34; — at D., *dhiy* in *avadh[i]ya*, V, 2, 8, 13 (RM °*dhya*), *avadhiyâni*, VII-VIII, 9, &c.; *jh* in *nijhati*, VI-VIII, 8.

dhr becomes *dh*, Kh., D.

ny becomes *ṁn*, Kh. Dh., D.

pt becomes *t*, Kh., Dh., D. — Appears to change into *vat* in *pâvatavê* (= *prâptavê*), S., 3.

pr becomes everywhere *p*.

bdh becomes *dh* : *ladhâ*, Kh., XIII, 11, &c.

br becomes *b*, Kh., Dh., D.

bhy becomes *bh*, at Kh., in *ibhêsu*, V, 15; — remains unchanged, at D., in *abhyuṁnâmayêhaṁ*, VII-VIII, 19; *abhyuṁnamisati*, VII-VIII, 21. — It is written *bhiy*, at Dh., in *ibhiyêsu*, V, 24; *âlabhiyisu*, 1, 3; at Kh., in *alabhiyati*, &c., 1, 3, 4.

bhr becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

my remains unchanged in *samyâ* at Kh., IX, 25; XIII, 37; and at Dh., *saṁmyâ*, IX, 8.

mr becomes *ṁb*, at Kh., in *taṁbapaṁniyâ*, XIII, 6; at D., in *aṁbâvaḍikâ*, VII-VIII, 2.

rg becomes everywhere *g*.

rgr becomes *gh*, at D., in *nighaṁṭhesu*, VII-VIII, 5.

rch becomes *ch*, Kh., Dh., D.

rṇ becomes *ṁn*, Kh., D.

rt becomes, at Kh., *t* in *nivatêti*, IX, 26; *anuvataṁti*, XIII, 8, &c.; *ṭ*, in *anuvaṭisaṁti*, V, 9; *ni(va)ṭêti*, *nivaṭêya*, IX, 26; — at Dh., *t* in *anuvatisaṁti*, V, 21; *ṭ* in *anuvaṭatu*, V, 27; *kiṭi*, X, 13; — at D., *t* in *pavatayêvu*, IV, 5, 13; *ṭ* in *kêvaṭa*, V, 14; *palihaṭavê*, IV, 11.

rth becomes, at Kh., *th* or *ṭh* : *atha*, IV, 12, al.; *aṭha*, VI, 17, al.; — at Dh., *th* in *athâyê*, det. I, 19, 21; det. II, 8; *ṭh* in *aṭha*, passim; — at D., *th* in *atha*, VII-VIII, 3, 10; *ṭh* in *aṭhasi*, VII-VIII, 4, al.; — at S., *ṭh*: *aṭhaṁ*, 7, al.; — at R., *ṭh* : *aṭhâya*, 3, al.

rthy becomes *thiy* at Kh. (IX, 23) and at Dh. (IX, 7), in *nilathiyaṁ*.

rd becomes *d*, Kh., D.

rdh becomes, at Kh., *ḍh* : *vaḍhayisaṁti*, IV, 12; *diyâḍha*, XIII, 35, &c.; *dh* in *vadhitê*, IV, 11 (ordinarily *vaḍhita*); — at Dh., *ḍh*: *vaḍhayisati*, IV, 16, &c.; — at D., *ḍh* : *aḍhakôsikâni*, VII-VIII, 2, &c.; — at S., *dh* in *avaladhiyênâ*, 6; *ḍh* in *vaḍhisati*, 3, 6; — at R., *ḍh* : *aḍhitiyâni*, 1; *vaḍhisati*, 4; — at B., *ḍh* : *vaḍhisati*, 7, 8.

rdhy becomes, at S., *dhiy* in *avaladhiyênâ*, 6; *ḍhiya* in *diyâḍhiyaṁ*, ibid.; — at R., *dhiy* and *ḍhiy* (same words); — at B., *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṁ*, 8.

rbh becomes *bh*, Kh., Dh.

rm becomes, *ṁm*, Kh., Dh., D.

ry becomes, at Kh., *liy* in *anaṁtaliyênâ*, VI, 19; *lay* in *supadâlayê*, if we assume it to be equivalent to *supradâryaḥ*; — at Dh., the same, VI, 31; V, 22; — *liy* at D.: *suliyikê*, VII-VIII, 10; *nithûliyê*, III, 20, &c.; at Bh.: *aliyavasâni*, 5; *paliyâyâni*, 4, 6.

rv usually becomes *v* in all texts; — *luv*, at Kh. and Dh., in *puluva*, passim.

rś becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D.

rsh becomes usually *s* (*vasa*), Kh., Dh., D., Bh.

rshy becomes, at Kh., *chh* in *kachhâmi*, &c., VI, 18, al. (= *kar(i)shyâmi*); — at Dh., *s* in *isâya*, det. I, 10; *chh* in *kachhaṁti*, VII, 2, al.; — at D., *sy* in *isyâkâlanêna*, III, 20; *chh* in *kachhati*, II, 16, al.

rh becomes *lah*, at Kh., in *galahati*, XII, 33; at Bh, in *alahâmi*, 4.

lp becomes *p*, Kh., Dh.

ly becomes *y* in *kayâna* at Kh., Dh., D.

vy becomes, at Kh., *viy* : *migaviyâ*, VIII, 22; *viyaṁjanatê*, III, 8, &c., except in *divyâni*, IV, 10; — at Dh. and D., *viy* : *diviyâni*, Dh., IV, 3, &c.; *haṁtaviyâni*, D., V, 15, &c.; *ichhitayê*, at Jaug., det. I, 5, should, probably, be restored *ichhita(vi)yê*; — at R. *viy* (*lêkhâpêtaviyê*, 4), except in *vyuṭhênâ*, 5; — at B., *y* in *âlâdhêtayê*, 6.

vr becomes *v*, Kh., Dh., D.

śch becomes *chh*, Kh., Dh.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasinê*, at Bh. (5).

śy becomes *siy*, at Kh., in *paṭivêsiyênâ*, IX, 25; at J. det. I, 6, we have *âlasyêna*.

śr becomes *s*, Kh., Dh., D., R.

śv becomes at D., *s* in *sêta*, V, 6; *suv* in *suvê*, I, 6.

shk becomes *k*, at Kh., in *dukalê*, V, 13; — at Dh., in the same word, V, 20, al.

shkr becomes *kh* : *nikhamati*, Kh., III, 7, al., *nikhami*, Dh., VIII, 4, al.

shṭ becomes *ṭh*, Kh., Dh., D., R., and *th*, at S., in *vivuthâ*, 7.

shṭh becomes, at Kh., *ṭh* : *adhiṭhânâyê*, V, 15; *sêṭhê*, IV, 12; — at Dh., *th* : *adhithânê*, V, 26; *adhithânâyê*, V, 23; *nithûliyêna*, det. I, 11; *ṭh* in *chiṭhitu*, IV, 17; — at D., *ṭh*, *niṭhûliyê*, III, 20.

shp becomes, at Kh. (IX, 26) and at Dh. (IX, 10) *ph*, in *niphati*; — *p*, at D. in *chatupadê*, V, 7.

shy becomes, at Kh., *s*: *âlabhiyisaṁti*, 1, 4, &c.; — at Dh., *s*: *ânapayisati*, III, 11, &c.; *h* in *êhatha*, det. I, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug., in both cases : *êsatha*); — at D., *s* : *abhyuṁnamisati*, VII-VIII, 21, &c.; *h* in *hôhaṁti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6 (by the side of *hôsaṁti*), and, to add it at once, although here *h* = *sy*. in *dâhaṁti*, IV, 18; — at Bh., *s*: *upatisa*, 5.

sk becomes, at Kh., *k* in *agikaṁdhâni*, IV, 10; — at Dh., *kh* : *agikhaṁdhâni*, IV, 3.

st becomes everywhere *th*.

sth becomes, at Kh., *th* in *chilathitikâ*, V, 17; *gahathâni*, XII, 31; *ṭh* in *chilaṭhitika*, VI, 20; — at Dh., *ṭh* in *chilaṭhitikâ*, V, 27; VI, 33; — at D., *th* in *chilathitika*, II, 15 (AR °*ṭhi*°); *thaṁbhâni*, VII-VIII, 2; *ṭh* in *chilaṭhitikê*, VII-VIII, 11; *anaṭhika*, V, 4; — at Bh., *ṭh* in *chilaṭhitîkê*, 4; — at S., the same, 5; — at R., *th* in *silâthaṁbha*, 5; *ṭh* in *chilaṭhitikê*, 4. — *tsth* becomes *th* in *uthi* — (= pâli *uṭṭhahati*), Jaug., det. I, 7.

sn becomes *sin* in *sinêhê*, at Kh., XIII, 33.

sm becomes, at Kh., *s* in locatives in *asi*; — at Dh., remains unchanged in *akasmâ*, det. I, 9, 20, 21; becomes *s* in the locative in *asi*; *ph*

in *aphê*, det. I, 7, &c.; *tuphê*, det. I, 4, &c.; — at D., *s* in the locative in *asi*; — at S., *sum* in *sumi*, I, *s* in the locative; — at R., *sum* in *sumi*, I; *ph* in *tup(h)aka(ṁ)*, 5; *s* in the locative; — at B., *s* in the locative in *asi*.

sy becomes, at Kh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyâ*, XII, 31, al.; — at Dh., *s* in the genitive in *asa*; *siy* in *siyâ*, passim; *âlasiyêna*, det. I, 11; — at D., *sa* in the genitive; *siy* in *siyâ*, IV, 15; VII-VIII, 11; — at R., *siy* in *siyâ*, 3.

sr becomes *s*, Kh., Dh.; *sin*, at D., in *âsinavê* II, 11, al.

sv becomes, at Kh., *s* in *sakaṁ*, VI, 18; *suv* in *suvâmikêna*, IX, 25; remains unchanged in *svagaṁ*, VI, 20; — at Dh., remains unchanged: *asvâsanâyê*, det. II, 8, 10; *svagâ*, passim; becomes *suv* in *suvâmikêna*, IX, 10; at D., remains unchanged: *asvasâ*, V, 18; *asvatha*, IV, 13; — at S., *su* in *suaga*, 4; — at D., remains unchanged in *svagê*, 3; — at B., remains unchanged in *svaṁgikiyê*, 6.

hm becomes, at Kh., *ṁbh* in *baṁbhana*, passim; once *ṁhm* in *baṁhmanê*, XIII, 39; — at Dh., *bh*, *ṁbh* in *bâbhana*, IV, 12, &c.; *baṁbhana*, IV, 15, &c.; — at D., *bh*: *bâbhana*, VII-VIII, 4, 8.

(c). — Sandhi.

KHÂLSI.

a+a gives *â*; but *atatâ*; II, 5, 6; *dhaṁmanusathi*, III, 7, al.; &c.

a+i gives *ê* in *chêmê*, V, 17; *i*, in *baṁbhanibhêsu*, V, 15.

a+u gives *ô*: *manusôpagâni*, II, 5; *pajôpadâyê*, IX, 24.

a+ê gives *ê*: *chêva*, IX, 25; *yênêsa*, XIII, 38.

i+a gives *i* in *ithidhiyakha*, XII, 34.

u+u gives *ô* in *pasôpagâni*, II, 5.

ê+a gives *ê* in *êyaṁ* (?) (= *ê ayaṁ*), V, 15; *êtâyêṭhâyê*, VI, 20; *â* in *êtâyâṭhâyê*, XII, 34.

ṁ + a vowel changes to *m* in *tam êva*, XIII, 15; *tânum êva*, XIII, 38; *hêvam êvâ*, II, 6; XIII, 6.

DHAULI.

a+a gives *â* (but *atata*, II, 7; *dhaṁmanusathi*, VIII, 5, &c.); or remains uncombined in: *mahâapâyê*, det. 1, 15 (Jaug., *mahâpâyê*); [illegible], det. 1, 16; *dêsaâyutikê*; Jaug., det. II, 12 (Dh. [illegible]).

a+i gives *i* in *baṁbhanibhiyêsu*, V, 24.

a+u gives *ô* in *munisôpagâni*, II, 7; *pajôpadâyê*, IX, 26 (J.: *pajupadâyê*).

a+ê gives *ê* in *chêva*, IV, 16.

i+i gives *i* in *nitiyaṁ* (??), det. I, 12 (Jaug. *nitiyaṁ*), and in *kiṁtimê* (Jaug., det. 1, 3), if we must really understand *kinti imê*.

u + u would seem to give *uô* in *pasuôpagâni* (so also at J.) (= *pasu(k)ôpagâni* ?), II, 7. But most probably we should take as starting point a form *ôpaga* equivalent to *upaga*.

Before *ti* (= *iti*), a final vowel is lengthened: *patipâdayêmâti*, det. I, 10; *paṭipajêyâti*, XIV, 19; *mamâti*, det. I, 12; *alâdhayaṁtûti*, VI, 33; *aphêsûti*, det. II, 4, &c.

d final remains unchanged in *tadôpayâ*, VIII, 5.

ṁ before a vowel changes to *m*, or is even written *ṁm* in *hêdisaṁmêva*, det I, 24; *sukhaṁmêva*, det. II, 5.

DEHLI.

a + a gives *â*, or remains uncombined as in °*vasaabhisita*°, VI, I (RM °*sâbhi*°), al.

a + u gives *ô*: *chhâyôpagâni*, VII-VIII, 2.

a + ê gives *ê* in *chêva*, VII-VIII, 4.

i + a gives *i* in *dupaṭivêkhê*, III, 19; *paṭivêkhâmi*, VI, 4, 7.

u + a gives *u* in *anuvêkhamânê*, VII-VIII, 2.

u + u gives *u* in *anupôsathaṁ*, V, 13.

e + i gives *i*, in *kiyaṁ*, II, 11, if my explanation is right.

Before *ti*, a final short vowel is sometimes lengthened: *nâmâti*, III, 19; *kachhatîti*, II, 16 (RM °*ti*°); *âlâdhayêvûti*, IV, 19, &c. (but *vaḍhisati ti*, VII-VIII, 7; *hôtu ti*, VII-VIII, 10).

d final remains unchanged in *tadathâ*, VII-VIII, 3.

ḍ final remains unchanged in *saḍvîsati*, I, 1 al.; assimilated in *saṁmâsikê*, V, 9.

ṁ final remains unchanged, or is even doubled before a vowel; *hêvaṁmêva*, VI, 6; *êtamêva*. VII-VIII, 2; *kayânaṁmêva*, III, 17 (A °*namê*°).

BHABRA.

Lâghulôvâdê, 6; *saṁghasîti*, 2; *h(ô)satîti*, 4 *hêvaṁmêvâ*, 8.

SAHASARÂM.

Sâdhikê, 2.

RÛPNÂTH.

Sâtilêka.

MISCELLANEA.

AN EARLY KADAMBA ROCK INSCRIPTION.

The following rock-cut inscription, in two lines, was discovered by Mr Govind Gangadhar Deshpande, at the falls of the Ghaṭaprabhâ near Koṇṇûr, in the Gôkâk Tâlukâ, Belgaum District. I transcribe it from estampages made by him; a note on them indicates that the inscription is "on the face of the cliff on the right of the falls."

TEXT.

1 Pitṛi[1]-bhaktaś=śuchir=ddaksha[ḥ] satv-ôtsâha-pratâpavân [| *]

2 Kadambânâṁ kulê jâtaḥ śrîmân=Dâmôdarô ṇripah [|| *]

TRANSLATION.

Dutiful to (*his*) father, pure, intelligent, possessed of courage and energy and vigour, — (*such is*) the illustrious king **Dâmôdara**, born in the family of the Kadambas.

This record gives us a new name in the Early Kadamba family; and may perhaps be taken to indicate a point to the north-east to which the territories of the kings of that line extended. **Dâmôdara** is probably to be allotted to a period not long after the last of the connected names given in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 9.

Another point of interest in this record, is, that the characters, which belong to the southern class of alphabets, are of the same "box-headed" type with those used in the Êran inscription of Samudragupta and the Nachnê-kî-talâî and Siwanî Vâkâṭaka records (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 18, 233, 243). The size of the letters varies from 2¼″ to 4″; the largest *akshara* not formed entirely between the lines of writing, — *viz.*, the *śrî* of *śrîmân*, line 2, — is about ten inches from top to bottom. Line 1 is about 4′ 4″ long; and line 2, about two inches longer. It should be noted how the *visarga* is assimilated to the following sibilant in °*bhaktaś=śuchir*°, line 1; but the same is not done at the ends of the first and third quarters of the whole verse.

Near the above record, there occurs twice the name of **srî-Dâmôdara**: once in "box-headed" characters of precisely the same type; and once in the characters customarily used in the Early and Western Chalukya records.

J. F. FLEET.

A FOLKTALE ABOUT THE KOMATIS.

The Kômatis are generally the merchant class of Southern India. Economy and frugality are their characteristic traits. If a person goes to a Kômati *bâzâr* to purchase anything, the merchant is all politeness to him and entreats him to take a seat. This politeness is partly superstitious, and leads to one curious practice. Supposing a purchaser asks for *pappu* (or *dâl*) and the Kômati has none with him he will never say *lêdhu* (no), but will answer "*Swâmi, uppu undhi*, Sir, there is salt." "No" is considered to be a word of ill-omen and is never heard from a Kômati's mouth. In giving an answer to do duty for "no," a Kômati will usually try to rhyme to the purchaser's remarks.

To the popular mind the word *Kômati*, or rather *Kumati*, taken to be *ku* (good)+*mati* (intellect), means a man of sense or a clever man.

In this connection the following story about the Kômatis is told:—

"Once upon a time a Pâṇḍiyan king had a new silver goblet of enormous size made for the use of the palace, and he superstitiously believed that its first contents should not be of the ordinary kind. So in view of making a special use of it, he ordered his minister to publish it abroad that all the subjects of his kingdom were to put into the vessel a *chembu* full of milk from each house. The frugal Kômatis, hearing of this, thought each within himself, 'Oh! when the king has ordered such a large quantity, and all will bring milk, it will be enough for me to take a *chembu* full of water, as a little water poured into such a large quantity of milk will not change its colour. It will not be known that I poured in only water, and I shall pass off as having given my tribute.' In this way all the Kômatis brought each a *chembu* full of water, and no one of them told the other of the deceit he was about to practise. Now, it so happened that the Kômatis were the first to enter the palace, while they thought that the people of other castes had come and gone. The vessel was placed behind a screen, so that no one might cast the evil eye on it and the Kômatis were let in one by one to do honour to it. This they did in all haste and each returned with great joy in the success of his deceit. Thus there was nothing but water in the vessel. Now it had been arranged that the king was to be the first person to see the contents of his new vessel, and when he went to the apartment where the vessel was kept and saw its contents, he was

[1] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

thunderstruck to see only water, and was greatly disappointed. He became enraged at the impudence of the Kômatis and directed his minister to punish them severely. However the ready-witted Kômatis came forward with all presence of mind and cried out, 'O gracious king! appease thy anger and kindly listen to what we have to say. We each brought a *chembu*-ful of water to find out how many *chembu*-fuls your Highness' precious vessel contained. Now that we have taken the measurement, we will forthwith fetch the quantity of milk required.' The king was extremely pleased to hear this and sent them away."

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SIMILAR PASSAGES IN THE BHAGAVATA-PURANA AND THE BHAGAVADGITA.

While recently reading through the **Bhâgavata-Purâṇa**, I came across several verses which are almost word for word the same as are found in the **Bhagavadgîtâ** Others again, though not word for word similar, yet are sufficiently so to prove that the author of the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* was familiar with the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, and used it freely in the composition of his work. I give below, in parallel columns, a few of these similar verses :—

Bhâgavata-Purâṇa.

नहि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ॥
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म गुणैः स्वाभाविकैर्बलात् ॥
6 ; 1, 53.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेयानितरस्तत्तदीहते ॥
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥
6 ; 2, 4.

यदा यदेह धर्मस्य क्षयो वृद्धिश्च पाप्मनः ॥
तदा तु भगवानीश आत्मानं सृजते हरि· ॥
9 ; 24, 56.

संस्थापनाय धर्मस्य प्रशमायेतरस्य च ॥
अवतीर्णो हि भगवानंशेन जगदीश्वरः ॥
10 ; 33, 27.

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ॥
तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्नामि प्रयतात्मनः ॥
10 ; 81, 4.

Bhagavadgîtâ.

नहि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ॥
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥
3 ; 5.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ॥
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनु वर्त्तते ॥
3 ; 21.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ॥
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
4 ; 7.

परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ॥
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥
4 ; 8.

पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ॥
तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्नामि प्रयतात्मनः ॥
9 ; 26.

J. E. ABBOTT.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE BURMESE LANGUAGE[1].

It is generally stated by those who can speak with authority on the subject, that the Burmese derived their culture, religion, and letters from India through the Talaings, and that Burmese civilization dates from the conquest of Thatôn by Anôrat'âzò[2] (Pâli Anuruddha) in 1058 A.D. This statement appears to be vitiated to some extent by the fact of the existence in the Burmese language of a number of Sanskrit words, both derived and naturalized, importing not only terms in religion and mythology, but also those relating to social life. The language of Magadha, in which the *Tripiṭaka* and its commentaries are written, being the language of their religion, one would naturally expect that the Burmese would borrow from Pâli rather than from Sanskṛit. The appended list may, in some degree, serve to corroborate the above statement.

The following remarkable passage, extracted from the preface of Trenckner's edition of the *Milindapañho*, will be of interest in the present connection, as shewing the use by the Burmese of the Sanskrit, rather than the Pâli, spelling of certain Indian words :—

"It is, however, but fair to add that, on closer

[1] [In explanation of this note it must be remarked that in Burmese pronunciation consonants are seldom aspirated. Where they are the aspirate is shown by ' —. The consonants shown in brackets, as (*k*), (*t*), denote the common Burmese trick of barely sounding certain finals in syllables. In Burmese *ky*, *kr* are sounded *ch*: *gy*, *gr* as *j*. In every case in the table the pronunciation of *th* is as in *thin*. The Burmese *t* and *d* are practically the English sound of these consonants.—ED.]

[2] [*o* represents the sound of *aw*, as in *awful*.—ED.]

acquaintance, certain spellings (found in Burmese MSS.) are met with, which strike our attention by agreeing closer with Sanskṛit in etymology than the corresponding Sinhalese forms. Now the Burmese can scarcely be suspected of introducing Sanskritisms,[3] and it is rather to be presumed that, in such cases, they have been the sole preservers of the true and original Pâli form."

Burmese.		Sanskrit.	Pâli.
Spelling.	Pronunciation.		
1. Adhvan	Adun ₒ	Adhvan	Addhaniya
2. Amrôt[4]	Amyaik	Amṛita	Amata
3. Bhissik[5]	Bê(k)thêk	Abhishêka	Abhisêka
4. Chakrâ[6]	Se(t)châ	Chakra	Chakka
5. Chakravaḷâ	Se(t)chawalâ	Chakravâla	Chakkavâḷa
6. Chakravatê 8	Se(t)chawadê 8	Chakravartin	Chakkavatî
7. Chankram	Zinjan	Chankram	Chankama
8. Drap	Dya(t)	Dravya	Dabba
9. Groh	Jo	Graha .	Gaha
10. Kambhâ[7]	Kabâ	Kalpa	Kappa
11. Mrikkasô	Myê(k)katho	Mṛigaśiras	Migasira
12. Parissad	Payê(k)that	Parishad	Parisâ
13. Phusha	P'ô(k)thâ	Pushya	Phussa
14. Prakatê	Pyagadê ₒ	Prakati	Pakati
15. Prassad	Pya(t)that	Prâsâda	Pâsâda
16. Prittâ[8]	Pêktâ	Prêta	Pêta
17. Rasêₒ[9]	Yathê	Ṛishi	Isi
18. Samuddarâ[10]	Thamô(k)dayâ	Samudra	Samudda
19. Sâriputtarâ[11]	Thâyipô(k)tayâ	Śâriputra	Sâriputta
20. Sattavâ	Thadawâ	Sattva	Satta
21. Sikrâ 8[12]	Thajâ 8	Śakra	Sakka

TAW SEIN KO.

KALLIL, A FAMOUS SHRINE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

Kallil, which means literally 'a stone,' is the name of a famous pagoda situate in the Kannuthnaḍ Tâlukâ of North Travancore, about sixteen miles east by north of Tripontera, the residence of the Cochin royal family itself, and distant about six miles east of the British port of Cochin.

Members of the small colony of Baniâns (Jain Vaiśyas) settled in Native Cochin frequent

[3] [It is by no means yet proved, however, that the Burmese had no learned communications with India direct in days gone by.—ED.]

[4] This word being a synonym for Nirvâna, one would naturally expect a derivative from Pâli rather than from Sanskrit.

[5] The prefix *a* of Sanskrit and Pâli derivatives is generally elided in Burmese. *cf. sankhyê* for *asankhêyya*; *dhipati* for *adhipati*.

[6] The conjunct consonant *r* is sounded as *r* in the Arakanese dialect, but is always softened into *y* by the Burmese. The *ch* of Sanskrit and Pâli is always pronounced *s* by the Burmese.

[7] The conjunct consonant *l*, as in *sallâpa*, *allâpa* (pronounced *sanlâpa*, *anlâpa*), is always pronounced like *anusvâra* in Burmese. In ancient books the word *kambhâ* (for *kalpa*) is written *kaṁphâ*.

[8] The vowel *i* is pronounced as *ê* when followed by a consonant.

[9] It is a remarkable fact that the Talaings, through whom the Burmese are supposed to have derived their knowledge of Buddhism, have naturalized the Pâli word *isi*, in its proper form, while the Burmese have adopted a Sanskrit derivative from *ṛishi*.

[10] The pronunciation of *dra* is phonetically impossible to a Burman: hence the insertion of an augmentative *a* between *d* and *r*. See a similar augment in the cases of *tra* and *tva* in the two next words.

[11] The Sanskrit form of the name of the chief discipl of Gautama Buddha is worthy of notice.

[12] A fanciful etymology has been invented to derive Śakra from *thi*, to know, and *kyâ* 8, to hear: knowing and hearing of events that happen in the world of men being one of the attributes of the Recording Angel of Buddhism. [In Upper Burma I have known the word spelt (*satkya*) *the(t)cha*, though pronounced correctly *thajâ*, and the folk etymology of it given as *that*, to descend, and (*kya*) *cha*, to fall, *i.e.*, he who descends and falls, because the Burmese Recording Angel descends to the earth during the great annual festival of the New Year.—ED.]

this shrine, and believe that he who proceeds thither a sufficiently large number of times obtains salvation. The pagoda is on the top of a precipitous rock, a small portion of which alone touches the earth, affording a beautiful and wonderful scene to anyone who goes up. A Pisharôti (high-caste Śûdra temple-servant by profession), who lives close by, has the sole management of the pagoda, although he is looked down upon, because he has not a large family growing up round him. Śiva and Bhâgavatî are both enshrined here. Of recent years a figure of Brahmâ is said to have sprung up of itself on the top of the rock.

There is a superstition that if Bhâgavatî's image is not the first to be seen on going up to worship, the pilgrim is sure to die within eight days thereafter, generally by a sudden attack of fever. Several instances in point are cited by the villagers. Pilgrims, therefore, take the necessary precautions to avoid so sudden a termination of their earthly existence.

In Malabar the solar (or Tamil) New Year's Day (recurring on 12th April) is called Vishu, and is observed as a day of rejoicing and festivity. Early on the morning of this day it is the duty of every devout Hindu to see the village deity the first of all things. For this purpose many lie down to sleep the previous night within the pagoda precincts, and people, who sleep in their own houses in the neighbourhood, are escorted thither by those who have been the first to make their obeisance. The good or bad fortunes of the whole year appear to them to turn on this matter. Many go to see the image with their eyes shut, and sometimes bound with a cloth, — a common custom during visits to particular images.

The evening *pûjâ* to the goddess is offered at the Pisharôti's house, and not at the pagoda on the top of the hill, which is not approached by human beings in the afternoon, or after the midday service is over. The tradition is that the goddess was once coming from Muhambi (a celebrated shrine in the Western Ghâṭs in South Kanara) playing with two pieces of stone and tossing them up and down as she was moving along, with a worshipper in front of her. All of a sudden, as they came near this spot, the man, — according, it is said, to a vow the goddess had taken, — sat down. There are two rocks on the hill, which appear to touch the ground beneath them without actually doing so, and these are said to be the two stones used by the goddess.

Efforts are occasionally made to raise a wall round the pagoda to prevent crows, &c., from coming into it; but the rock always gradually rises, so as to throw down the building. The old men of the village are always willing to certify to this.

N. SUNKUNI WARIAR.

ANTIQUITIES OF MALABAR: PARAL.

Mr. R. Sewell, *Lists of Madras Antiquities* (Vol. I., p. 255), says —

" Five miles south by west of Trichûr — on a rock, here, is an inscription with some large foot-prints cut in bas-relief and other sculptures."

I beg to subjoin some notes on the place.

The small pagoda here is known as Pârola (*lit.* on a rock, as it actually is). It is dedicated to Vishnu. It belonged to Mayaya Mangalam Namburi (author of the *Naishada Champu*?), on the extinction of whose family the rights in it devolved on Tavananellurir Namburi. The pagoda was built about 1866 by the present Uaya Râja of Cochin.

On the northern side of the pagoda are five *tîrthams* or sacred pools, and one on the western side. These *tîrthams* are named after the Pâṇḍavas, who are said to have lived here for some time.

Dharmaputra's is circular in shape, That of Bhîmasêna is shaped like his *gada* (instrument). That of Arjuna is shaped like his bow. Those of Nakula and Sahadêva are smaller in size, and are the only ones in which there is no water during the hottest weather. The water in that of Pañchâlî (the consort of the Pâṇḍavas) is reddish, and said to be so because she bathed in it to purify herself after her courses.

On the rock may be traced lines drawn for playing at dice. Here is a small shrine dedicated to Gaṇapati.

About half a mile to the south is the celebrated pagoda of Ayyappan or Shasthavu, the village deity, nearly opposite which is the fifth milestone from Trichûr. It is owned by a large number of Namburi houses in the district.

The offerings most pleasing to the deity are cakes, *kadali* plantains, *rasayams*, *nei* (*ghî*) and *pal* (milk).

The god is noted for giving to dumb worshippers perfection in the art of letters, and there are traditions of several men having become famous after a continued worship here. The young Brâhmans of the neighbourhood make it a point, before starting in life, to worship here for terms varying from seven days to one year.

N. SUNKUNI WARIAR.

THE AMGACHHI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIGRAHAPALADEVA III.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THE plate which contains this inscription was found, in 1806, at **Âmgâchhî** in the Dinâjpur District of the Bengal Province, by a peasant, digging earth for the repair of a road near his cottage;[1] and it was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in whose Library it is still deposited. An account of the inscription was given by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 434-38, and republished in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 279-82. And a tentative reading of the text was first published by Dr. Hoernle, in the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part ii. pp. 210-13, and reprinted, after revision, *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 166 68. For my own account of this inscription I have used an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

The plate is a single one, measuring about 12¾″ broad by 14½″ high, and surmounted by a highly wrought ornament of brass, fixed on the upper part, and advanced some distance on the plate so as to occasion a considerable break in the upper lines. It contains 49 lines of writing, 33 of which are on the front, and 16 on the back of the plate.— The **writing** has suffered much from corrosion, especially on the proper right side of the front and on the corresponding part of the back, where many *akshara*s are more or less illegible.— The **size of the letters** is about ¼″.— The **characters** may be described as Nâgarî, of about the 11th century A.D., but as a special feature of the alphabet employed it may be pointed out that *r*, preceding another consonant, is often written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which it forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign, — a peculiarity which the inscription shares with others written in Eastern India.— The **language** is Sanskṛit. From about the middle of line 20 to the beginning of line 43 the inscription is in prose; the rest, excepting the introductory *ôṁ svasti*, is in verse.— As regards **orthography**, the imperfect state of the plate prevents me from saying more than that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata, or Buddha, the *Paramêśvara Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the illustrious **Vigrahapâladêva**, who meditated on the feet of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the illustrious **Nayapâladêva** (lines 23-24); and both in the arrangement of the matter and in its wording it follows closely the Bhâgalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâladêva, published *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 305-7. After the words *ôṁ svasti*, it contains (in lines 1-20) fourteen verses on the genealogy of Vigrahapâla, the text of which will be given in full below. In the prose portion which follows (lines 20-42) the king — from his camp of victory pitched at a place which was not Mudgagiri, but which is spoken of exactly as Mudgagiri is in the Bhâgalpur plate, — informs the people and officials concerned that, in order to please the holy Buddha (*bhagavantaṁ Vu(bu)ddha-bhaṭṭârakam* = *uddiśya*, line 36), after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of **a lunar eclipse** (line 40), he has granted to a Brâhmaṇ some land in the **Kôṭîvarsha** *vishaya* of the **Puṇḍravardhana** *bhukti* (line 24); and he directs the people to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him under this grant. This prose part closes (in line 42) with **the date**, probably 'the year 13[2] on the 9th day of Chaitra.' Lines 42-48 contain a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses. Another verse (in lines 48-49) gave the name of the *dûta*, appointed by Vigrahapâla for this grant. And the inscription (in line 49) closes with a verse according to which the plate was engraved by the artizan Saśidêva, a son of Mahîdharadêva[3], who, or whose ancestors, had come from the village of **Pôsalî**.

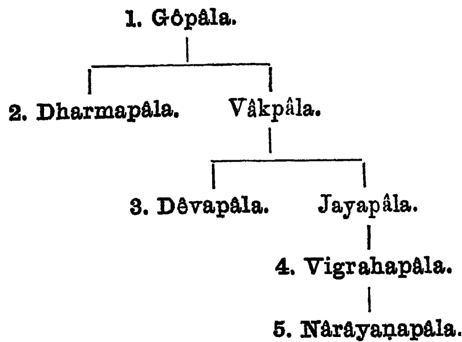
What is of real and, indeed, of very great value in this inscription, — the latest copper-plate grant hitherto discovered of the so-called Pâla dynasty of Bengal, — are **the fourteen verses with which it opens.** Of these, verses 1-5 are identical with the verses 1, 2, 4, 5

[1] See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 434.

[2] I am unable to make out with certainty from the ink-impression whether the year is 12 or 13.

[3] This Mahîdhara engraved the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâladêva which will be mentioned below.

and 7, and the sixth verse is only a slightly altered version of verse 10, of the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 305. And the genealogy, furnished by these six verses, undoubtedly is as Dr. Hultzsch, *ib.* p. 304, has put it :—



The verses 7-11 it would have been impossible to make out fully from this Âmgâchhî plate alone. But fortunately the very same verses also occur in a copper-plate grant of **Mahîpâladêva**, which a few years ago was discovered at Dinâjpur, and of which rubbings have been supplied to me by Dr. Hoernle.[4] And although in the Dinâjpur plate they are in general even less legible than in the Âmgâchhî plate, a continued study and comparison of both plates has enabled me to restore the text in a manner which I believe to be substantially correct. The Dinâjpur plate also contains verse 14 of the Âmgâchhî plate, but places it immediately before the verse referring to Mahîpâladêva, between verses 10 and 11 of the Âmgâchhî plate. For the decipherment of verses 12 and 13 (lines 16-19) of the present grant I have had no help beyond the ink-impression.

Now, having (in verse 6) brought the genealogy down to **Nârâyaṇa**, our inscription, according to my text, proceeds as follows :—

(Line 11). 'And his son was the protector of the middle world, the illustrious **Râjyapâla**, whose fame is proclaimed by tanks as deep as the sea, and by temples the walls of which equal the noblest mountains.

As the store of light proceeds from the eastern mountain, so sprang from that king of the east a son, born from **Bhâgyadêvî**, a daughter of the high-crowned **Tuṅga**,[5] the moon of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family, — the illustrious **Gôpâladêva**, who was long the sole lord of the earth, gaily clad by the four oceans, lustrous with many precious stones.

Him, richly endowed with the qualities of a king, the Fortune of regal power — energy, good counsel, and majesty, — worshipped as her lord, dear and attached to him, though he served[6] the earth like a fellow-wife.

From him sprang in the course of time, augmenting the innumerable blessings of his parent, **Vigrahapâladêva**, who, dear to all, stainless and versed in every art, when he arose, alleviated like the moon[7] the distress of the world.

From him sprang the protector of the earth, the illustrious **Mahîpâladêva**. Having in the pride of his arm slain in battle all opponents, and having obtained his father's kingdom which had been snatched away by people who had no claim to it, he put down his lotus-foot on the heads of princes.

[4] My reading of the text of this inscription will be published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*

[5] The words *bhâgyadêvî* and *tuṅga* of the original text need not, perhaps, necessarily be taken as proper names; but there can be no doubt that the author, by the words *tuṅgasy=ôttuṅga-maulêḥ*, wishes to suggest the name of the [illegible] king of whom he is speaking.

[6] The reading of the Dinâjpur plate is here slightly different.

[7] The epithets, applied to the king, would also be applicable to the moon,

From him, in consequence of his religious merits, was born the fortunate prince **Nayapâla.** Renouncing the attachment to sin, putting down his foot on the heads of princes, eagerly fulfilling all desires, free from mental blindness, beloved by his subjects, and the one home of affection, — he was like the sun which, when it rises from the eastern mountain, moves away from the night, touches with its rays the tops of mountains, opens up quickly all the quarters, drives away darkness, and is pleasant and red.

From him is born the illustrious prince **Vigrahapâladêva,** full of majesty, eagerly gazed at by the good, always anxious to worship Smara's enemy, expert in battle even more than Hari, a god of death for the clan of his enemies, and a supporter of the four castes who pleases the world with the abundance of his bright fame.[8]

When the huge elephants of his army had drunk pure water in the water-abounding eastern land, and had roamed about at will in the sandal-forests at the foot of the Malaya range, they like clouds settled down on the ridges of the snowy mountain, having cooled the trees with showers of drizzling rain.' [9]

Our Âmgâchhî plate, then, clearly furnishes the following line of the so-called Pâla kings :—

1. **Gôpâla I.**

2. His son **Dharmapâla.** (According to the Mungir plate he married a Râshṭrakûṭa princess.[10] And according to the Bhâgalpur plate he conquered Indrarâja of Mahôdaya or Kanauj, and gave the sovereignty of Kanauj to Chakrâyudha. See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 188.)

3. His nephew **Dêvapâla;** (in his Mungir plate, which is dated in the year 33 of his reign, described as the son of Dharmapâla.)

4. His nephew **Vigrahapâla I;** (married, according to the Bhâgalpur plate, Lajjâ, a Haihaya princess.)

5. His son **Nârâyaṇapâla.** (His Bhâgalpur plate is dated in the year 17 of his reign).

6. His son **Râjyapâla;** (married Bhâgyadêvî, a daughter of the Râshṭrakûṭa Tuṅga perhaps to be identified with Jagattuṅga II, who ruled in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D.)

7. His son **Gôpâla II.**

8. His son **Vigrahapâla II.**

9. His son **Mahîpâla.** (He issued the Dinâjpur copper-plate grant; and the Sârnâth inscription, published *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 140, furnishes for him the date V. 1083 = A. D. 1026).

10. His son **Nayapâla.** (A Cambridge MS. is dated in the 14th year and a Gayâ inscription in the 15th year of his reign. See Bendall's *Catalogue*, p. 175, and Introduction; p. iii. and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. III. Plate xxxvii.)

11. His son **Vigrahapâla III;** (issued this Âmgâchhî copper-plate grant which is dated in the 12th or 13th year of his reign).

As indicated above, this statement of the relationship of the Pâla kings does not, so far as regards Dêvapâla, agree with the account furnished by the Mungir copper-plate, which distinctly makes that king the son of Dharmapâla, and his queen a Râshṭrakûṭa princess. This difference I am unable to reconcile. For the rest, I have only to add that all these kings undoubtedly were Buddhists; and that the figures given under 9, 10, and 11, prove this Âmgâchhî plate of Vigrahapâla III. to have been issued after A. D. 1053.

[8] My translation very imperfectly expresses the meaning of this verse. It may be sufficient to say that the king is represented as the substratum of four colours (*châturvarnya*), inasmuch as he was yellow (*pîta*), red (*rakta*), green (*harita*), and black (*kâla*).

[9] *viz.*, with the water emitted from their trunks.

[10] Was she a daughter of Śrî-Vallabha ? *i. e.*, Gôvinda III. (who ruled in the first quarter of the 9th century A.D.)? The lithograph has *śrî-Paravalasya duhituḥ.*

TEXT, LINES 1-20.[11]

1 Ôṁ[12] svasti ‖ Maitrîṁ[13] kâ[ruṇya]-ratna-pramudita-hṛidayaḥ prêyasîṁ sandadhânaḥ

2 [sa]myak=samvô(mbô)[dhi-vi]dyâ-sarid-amala-[jala-kshâ]lit-âjñâna-pa-

3 ṅkaḥ । jitvâ yaḥ kâma-kâri-prabhavam=abhibhavaṁ śâśvatî[ṁ]

4 prâpa śânti[ṁ] sa śrîmâṁl=lôkanâthô jayati Da[śa]va(ba)lô ꞩnyaś=cha

5 [**Gôpâladê**]**vaḥ** ‖ Lakshmî[14]-janma-nikêtanaṁ samakarô vôḍhu[ṁ] kshamaḥ kshmâ-bharaṁ paksha-chchhêda-bhayâd=upasthitavatâm=êk-âśrayô bhûbhṛit[â]ṁ । [mary]âdâ-paripâlan-aika-nirataḥ sau(śau)ry[â]-

6 [layô ꞩsmâd=abhûd=du]gdh-âmbhôdhi-vilâsa-hâsi-mahimâ śrî-**Dharmapâlô** nṛipaḥ ‖ Râmasy=êva gṛihîta-satya-tapasas=tasy=ânurûpô guṇaiḥ Saumittrêr=udapâdi tulya-

7 [mahimâ **Vâkpâla**-]nâm=ânujaḥ । yaḥ śrîmân=naya-vikram-aika-vasatir=bhrâtuḥ sthitaḥ śâsanê śûnyâḥ śatru-patâkinîbhir=akarôd=ek-âtapattrâ diśaḥ [‖*] Tasmâd[15]=U-

8 [pêndra-charitair=jagatî]m=punânaḥ putrô va(ba)bhûva vijayî **Jayapâla**-nâmâ । dharma-dvishâ[ṁ] śamayitâ yudhi **Dêvapâlê** yaḥ pûrvajê[16] bhuvana-râjya-sukhâny=avai(nai)shît ‖ Śrîmâ-[17]

9 [n=**Vigra**]**hapâlas**=tat-sûnur=Ajâtaśatrur=iva jâtaḥ । śatru-vanitâ-prasâdhana-vilôpi-vimal-âsi-jala-dhâraḥ ‖ Dikpâlaiḥ[18] kshiti-pâlanâya dadhataṁ dêh[ê] vibha-

10 [ktân=gu]ṇân[19] śrîmantaṁ janayâmva(mba)bhûva tanayaṁ **Nârâyaṇaṁ** sa prabhuṁ । yaḥ kshôṇîpatibhiḥ śirômaṇi-ruch=âślishṭ-âṁgh[r]i-pîṭh-ôpala[ṁ] nyây-ôpâttam=alaṁchakâra charitaiḥ

11 [svai]r=êva dharm-âsanaṁ ‖ Tôyâśayair[20]=jaladhi-mûla-gabhîra-garbhair=d[ê]vâlayaiś=cha kulabhûva(dha)ra-tulya-kakshaiḥ । vikhyâta-kîrttir=abhavat=tanayaś=cha tasya śrî-**Râjyapâla** i-

12 ti [madhya]ma-lôka-pâlaḥ ‖ Tasmât[21]=pûrva-kshitidhrân=nidhir=iva mahasâ[ṁ] **Râsh-ṭrakûṭ**-ânvay-êndôs=**Tuṅgasy**=ôttuṅga-maulêr=duhitari tanayô **Bhâgyadêvyâṁ** prasûtaḥ [।*] śrîmâ-

13 [n=**Gôpâla**]**dêvaś**=chiratarам=avanêr=êkapatnyâ iv=aikô bhartt=âbhûn=naika-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuḥ-sindhu-chitr-âṁśukâyâḥ ‖ Ya[ṁ][22] svâmina[ṁ] râja-guṇair=anûnam=âsêvatê chha-

14 [ruta]r=ânuraktâ । utsâha-mantra-prabhu-śakti-lakshmîḥ pṛithvîṁ sapatnîm=iva śîla-yanta[ṁ] ‖ Tasmâd[23]=va(ba)bhûva savitur=vasu-kôṭi-vardhî kâlêna chandra iva **Vigrahapâladêva-**

15 [ḥ । viśva?]-priyêṇa vimalêna kalâmayêna yên=ôditêna dalitô bhuvanasya tâpaḥ ‖ Hata[24]-sakala-vipakshaḥ saṅgarê vâ(bâ)hu-darpâd=anadhikṛita-viluptaṁ râjyam=âsâdya pitryaṁ [।*]

16 [nihita]-charaṇa-padmô bhûbhṛitâṁ mûrdhni tasmâd=abhavad=avanipâlaḥ śrî-**Mahî-pâladêvaḥ** ‖ Tyajan[25]=dôshâsaṅga[ṁ] śirasi kṛita-pâdaḥ kshitibhṛitâṁ vitan-van sarvv-âśâḥ prasabha-

17 [m=uda]yâdrêr=iva raviḥ [।*] hata-dhvântaḥ snigdha-prakṛitir=anurâg-ai(?)ka-vasatis=tatô dhanyaḥ puṇyair=ajani **Nayapâlô** narapatiḥ ‖ Pîtaḥ[26] sajjana-lê(lô)chanaiḥ Smara-ripôḥ pûj-â-

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[11] From an impression supplied by Mr. Fleet.

[12] Expressed by a symbol. This symbol for *ôṁ* is apparently preceded by the *akshara ni*, which is also put in the upper proper left corner of the plate. In the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla the same *akshara ni* is engraved in the upper right and left corners of the plate, above the first line. And in the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâla it stands at the beginning and end of the first line. I am unable to explain the meaning of this *akshara*.

[13] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[14] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[15] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[16] Originally *pûrvajô*, but altered to *pûrvajê*.

[17] Metre, Âryâ.

[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[19] Read *guṇâñ=śrîmantaṁ*. The Bhâgalpur plate has *vibhaktâḥ śriyaḥ*.

[20] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[21] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[22] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[23] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[24] Metre, Mâlinî.

[25] Metre, Śikhariṇî.

[26] Metre, Sragdharâ.

18 [nuraktaḥ sadâ]।[27] saṁgrâmê [chaturô] ऽdhika[ñ=cha] Haritaḥ kâla[ḥ*] kulê vidvishâṁ । châturvvarṇya-samâśrayaḥ sitayasa(śa)[ḥ-puñjai]r=jjagad=rañjayan ।[27] śrîmad-Vigrahapâladêva-nṛipati-

19 [r=jajñê tatô dhâma-bhṛit?] ॥ Dêśê[28] prâchi prachura-payasi svachchham=âpîya tôyaṁ svairaṁ bhrântvâ tad=anu Malay-ôpatyakâ-chandanêshu । kṛitvâ sândrais=tarushu jaḍatâṁ śîkarair=a-

20 [bhra-tulyâḥ Prâlê]y-âdrêḥ kaṭakam=abhajan=yasya sênâ-gajêndrâḥ ॥

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from page 92.*)

2. — INFLEXION.

(a). — Gender.

I do not mention here the use of the nominative in *ê* for the neuter, although, strictly speaking, it should, I consider, be dealt with under this head (cf. at Kh., VI, 9, *kataviyaṁ lôkahitê*, &c.).

KHÂLSI. — *chat(u)li* (nom. masc), XIII, 5; *hathini* (nom. plur.), IV, 10; *yutâni* (acc. plur. masc.), III, 8. Also note the use of *iyaṁ* for the nom. sing. neut. (IV, 12, al.).

DHAULI. — *yutâni*, III, 11; *hathîni*, IV, 13; *iyaṁ* in the neuter, passim; *êsa . . . hêdisaṁ*, IX, 8; *dhaṁmachalanaṁ imaṁ*, IV, 16. To the masculine *imê jâtâ*, Dh., det. I. 12, corresponds, at Jaugada, the neuter *êtâni jatâni*, Dh., det. I, 15, *mahâapâyê* is in agreement with the feminine *asaṁpaṭipati*.

DEHLI. — *anusathini*, VII-VIII, 20, 1; *pulisâni*, IV, 6; *êsa* (III, 19, 21, al.) and *iyaṁ* (III, 17, 18, al.), in the neuter; *nigôhâni*, VII-VIII, 2.

BHABRA. — *paliyâyâni*, 6; *ê* (nom. sing. neuter), 2.

SAHASARÂM. — *iyaṁ* for the neuter, 4, 6, and the masculine, 5.

RÛPNÂTH. — *Kâla* employed in the feminine: *imâya kâlâya*, locative, 2; *iyaṁ* in the masculine, 3, 4.

(b). — Declension of Consonantal Bases.

Here again we only find fragmentary remains.

Bases in AN. — Kh.: *lâjâ*, passim; *lâjinê*; *lâjinâ*; nom. plur. *lâjânê*, XIII, 5, al.; *lâjânô* (?), II, 5. — Dh.: *lâjâ*, *lâjinê*, *lâjinâ*, passim; nom. plur. *lâjânê*, II, 6; VIII, 3; *atânaṁ*, det. II, 7; *atanê*, det. I, 25; *kaṁmanê*, III, 10 (by the side of the nom. *kaṁmê*, and of the gen. *kaṁmasa*). — D.: *lâjâ*, passim; nom. plur. *lâjânê*, VII-VIII, 12, 15, by the side of *lâjîhi*, VII-VIII, 3, with transition into the *i*-declension; *atanâ*, VI, 8.

Bases in ANT. — Kh.: the noms. sing. *saṁtê*, VIII, 22; *kulaṁtê*, XII, 33, have passed over into the vocalic declension; of the consonantal declension there only remains the nom. plur. *tiṭhaṁtê*, IV, 12. — Dh.: *mahaṁtê* (nom. sing.) has passed over into the declension in *a*. — D.: the nom. plur. *saṁtaṁ* (°*tâ*), IV, 13, is surely to be referred to the vocalic declension, which is doubtful for *anupaṭîpajaṁtaṁ*, VII-VIII, 10. — Bh.: *bhagavatâ*, 3, 6.

Bases in AR(ṚI). — At Kh., except in the nominative plural *natâlê*, IV, 11; V, 13, all have passed over into the declension in *i*: *bhâtinâ*, IX, 25; *bhâtinaṁ*, V, 16; *pitinâ*, IX, 25; *pitisu*, III, 8; IV, 11. — Dh.: nom. sing. *pitâ*, det. II. 7; the nom. plur. *nâti*, V, 21, must be referred to the declension in *i*, like all the other forms: *bhâtinâ*, IX, 9; *bhâtinaṁ*, V, 25; *pitinâ*, IX, 9; *pitisu*, III, 10, al. But, along with the base *mâti*, IV, 15, we find the base *pitu*, IV, 15. — At D., the one example which we possess, *pitisu*, VII-VIII, 8, shews the change into the *i*-declension. The nom. *apahaṭâ*, VI, 3, is at least very doubtful.

Bases in AS. — Kh.: *yasô* (acc. sing.), X, 27, 28. On the other hand, VIII, 23, we have *bhuyê*. — Dh.: *yasô*, X, 13, and *bhuyê*, VII-VIII, 9.

[27] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[28] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

Bases in IN. — At Kh., we have both the consonantal form *piyadasinê, piyadasinâ,* and the vocalic form *piyadasisâ,* I, 2, 3, &c. — At Dh., along with the nom. *piyadasî* (never °*si*), we only find the consonantal declension *piyadasinê, piyadasinâ.* — At D., we have only the nom. *piyadasi,* written always with the short final vowel, while A has usually *piyadasî.* — Bh. : *piyadasi,* 1.

(c). — Declension of vocalic bases.

Bases in A. — **Masculines.** — Nom. sing. everywhere *ê.* Kh. has two noms. in *ô* : *kêlaputô* and *sâtiyaputô,* II, 4. — Dat. sing. in *âyê,* everywhere except at R., which has only the two datives *êtâya aṭhâya,* and once at M. in *aṭhâya,* corresponding to D., II, 15. — Loc. sing. in *asi. Aṁnê bhâgê* (Kh., VIII, 23; Dh., VIII, 5) and *pajôpadâyê* (Kh., IX, 24; Dh., IX, 6) appear to be locs. in *ê* ; at Jaug , det. II, 16, *khanôkhanasi* of Dh. is represented by *khanê saṁ'aṁ,* which can hardly be taken as anything but a double locative, *saṁtaṁ* being equivalent to *saṁtê* (?) ; Kh. appears to read *vijayaṁsi,* XII, 11. — Abl. sing. in *â* in *mahatatâ,* R., II, 5, 3. — The acc. plur. would be in *â* in *bahukâ dôsâ,* Kh., I, 2, if comparison with G. and J. did not lead us to consider that this spelling represents the singular *bahukaṁ posaṁ.* In Dh. det. I, 18 ; Dr. Bühler appears to take *tise* (which is his reading for my *tisena*) as an acc. plur.

Neuters. — Nominatives singular everywhere in *ê.* Kh., however, has the following nominatives in *aṁ* : *aṁ,* IV, 12 ; XII, 31 ; *anusâsanaṁ,* IV, 12 ; *bâḍhaṁ,* VII, 22 ; XII, 32 ; XIII, 36 ; *dânaṁ,* III, 8 ; *galumatatalaṁ,* XIII, 36 ; *kaṭaviyaṁ* (*lôkahitê*), VI, 19 ; *lêkhitaṁ,* IV, 13 ; *madavaṁ,* (?), XIII, 2 ; *nityaṁ,* (?), XIV, 19 ; *palaṁ,* V, 14 ; *yaṁ,* VIII, 23. — Dh.: *bâḍhaṁ,* VII, 2 ; *duvâlâ* (= °*laṁ* ?), det. II, 2 ; (Jaug., I, 2, *duvâlaṁ* ; II, 2, *duvâlê*) ; *vutaṁ,* IX, 10 ; *hêdisaṁ,* IX, 10 ; det. I, 29. — In det. I, 14, I doubt very much the nom. *saṁpaṭipâda* = °*daṁ* of Dr. Bühler. — D. : *bâḍhaṁ,* III, 21 ; VII-VIII, 1. — S. : *bâḍhaṁ,* 1. — Acc. sing. in *aṁ* everywhere. But at Kh. : *satabhâgê,*'*sahasabhâgê,* XIII ; 39 ; *dânê,* XII, 31 ; *viyasanê,* XII, 38 ; *nichê,* VIII, 22. — Nom. and acc. plur. in *âni.* But at Kh. : *dasanâ,* IV, 9 ; *hâlâpitâ, lôpâpitâ,* II, 6 ; *savâ,* XII, 31 ; at Dh. : *hâlâpitâ,* II, 7.

Feminines. — Dative sing. in *âyê* ; D. : *vihiṁsâyê,* V, 10 ; VII-VIII, 9, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh. : *madhuliyâyê,* XIV, 20 ; *pujâyê,* XII, 31; *vividhaya,* XII, 31 (read *vividhâyê*) ; Dh. : *dav(â)yê,* det. I, 9 ; *isâya,* det. I, 10 ; *tûlanâya,* det. I, 11 (Jaug. in *âyê*) ; D. : *agâyâ,* I, 3 (RM °*ya*); *agâya,* I, 4 (M °*yaṁ*); *anulupâyâ,* VII-VIII, 13, 16, 18 ; *avihiṁsâyê,* VII-VIII, 9 ; *kâmutâyâ,* I, 3 (ARM °*ya*); *palîkhâyâ*- I, 4 (ARM °*ya*) ; *pûjâyâ,* VI, 8 (RM °*ya*) ; *vividhâya,* VI, 8 ; *vividhâyâ,* VII-VIII, 3 ; *susûsâyâ,* I, 4 (RM °*ya*). — Abl. sing., D. : *vihiṁsâyê,* II, 13. — Loc. sing., Kh. : *saṁtilanâyê, pujâyê,* VI, 19 ; Dh. : *saṁtîlanâya,* VI, 31 (Jaug. has *saṁtilanîyâ,* which should probably be read : °*nâyâ*) ; *palisâya,* VI, 30. D. : *aṁtalikâyê,* V, 20 ; *aṭhamîpakhâyê,* V, 15, 18 ; *châvudasâyê,* V, 15, &c. ; *tisâyaṁ,* V, 11 (*tisâyê,* V, 15, 18). — Nom. plur., Dh. : *pajâ,* V, 17 ; *janâô,* IX, 24 ; Bh. : *gâthâ,* 5 ; *upâsikâ,* 8.

Bases in I. — **Neuters.** — Nom. plur., Dh. ; *hathîni,* IV, 3. D. : *âsinavagâmîni,* III, 20 ; *anusathini,* VII-VIII, 20, 1.

Feminines. — Nom. sing., Kh. : in *i* ; D h. ; in *î,* except *ahîni,* IV, 18 ; *âladhi,* det. I, 15, 16 ; *anusathi,* I, 4, 14 ; VIII, 5 ; *apaviyati,* III, 11 ; *asaṁpaṭipati,* IV, 12 ; det. I, 5 ; *lipi,* I, 1, 4; det. I, 19 ; det. II, 9, 10 (Jaug. °*pî*) ; *dhiti,* det. II, 6 ; D. : in *î,* except *âladhi,* VII-VIII, 10 ; *libi,* VII-VIII, 10, 11 ; *lipi,* I, 2 ; II, 15 ; IV, 2 ; *dhâti,* IV, 11 ; *paṭipati,* VII-VIII, 7 ; *vaḍhi,* VII-VIII, 8, 9 ; *vidhi,* I, 9. — Dative sing., Kh. : *vadhiyâ,* V, 15. D., in *iyê* : *anupaṭipatiyê,* VII-VIII, 7, &c. — Instr. sing., Kh. : in *iyâ* ; but *anusathiyê,* IV, 10. Dh. in *iyâ* ; but *anâvûtiya,* det. I, 11 (Jaug. °*tiyê*). D., *iyâ,* as *anusathiyâ,* I, 5 (RM °*ya*), &c. — Abl. sing., Kh. : *taṁbapaṁniyâ,* XIII, 6. Dh. : *niphatiyâ,* IX, 10. — Loc. sing., Dh. : *puthaviyaṁ,* V, 26 ; *tôsaliyaṁ,* det. I, 1 ; II, 1. D. : *châtuṁmâsiyê,* V, 15 ; *puṁnamâsiyaṁ,* V, 11. — Nom. plur., Bh. : *bhikhuniyê,* 7. — Gen. plur., Kh. : *nâtinaṁ,* IV, 9, 10 ; *bhagininaṁ,* V, 10. Dh., *bhagininaṁ,* V, 25 ; *nâtinaṁ* (?), V, 26. D. : *dêvinaṁ,* VII-VIII, 6. — Loc. plur., Dh. : *nâtisu,* IV, 11, al. D. : *nâtisu,* VI, 5 ; *châtuṁmâsîsu,* V, 11, 16.

Bases in U. — **Masculines.** — Nom. sing., D. : *sâdhû,* II, 12 (ARM °*dhu*). — Gen. plur., Kh. : *gulunaṁ,* IX, 25. Dh. : *gulûnaṁ,* IX, 9,

— Loc. plur., D.: *gulusu*, VII-VIII, 8; *bahûsu*, IV, 3. — Nom. plur., D.: *bahunê*, VII-VIII, 1.

Neuters. — Nom. acc. sing., Kh.: *bahu*, IX, 24, al.; *sâdhu*, III, 8, al. Dh.: *sâdhu*, III, 11, al. — Nom. plur., Kh.: *bahuni*, IV, 9, al. Dh.: *bahûni*, IV, 12; *bahuni*, I, 3. D.: *bahûni*, II, 14 (R °*hu*°). — Abl. plur., Kh.: *bahuhi*, IV, 10. Dh.: *bahûhi*, IV, 14.— Loc. plur., Dh.: *bahûsu*, det. I, 4. D.: *bahûsu*, IV, 3.

Feminines. — Nom. sing., Kh.: *sâdhu*, III, 7, 8; IV, 12. Dh. III, 10, 11; IV, 18. — Loc. sing., D.: *punâvasunê*, V, 16.

(d). — Declension of Pronouns.

Demonstratives, &c.

anya. — Kh.: *aṁnê*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 11, al.; *aṁnamanasâ*, gen. sing., XII, 33; *aṁnâyê*, dative sing., IX, 24, al.; *aṁnê*, loc. sing., VIII, 23; *aṁnê*, nom. plur. masc., II, 5, al.; *aṁnâni*, nom. plur. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *aṁnê*, nom. masc. sing., det. I, 9; *aṁnê*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 9; *aṁnê*, loc. sing., VIII, 5; *aṁnê*, nom. plur. masc., V, 23; *aṁnêsu*, loc, plur., V, 26. — D. *aṁnê*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 6, al.; *aṁnâni*, neuter, V, 14, al.; *aṁnânaṁ*, gen. plur., VII-VIII, 6.

ima. — Kh.: *iyaṁ*, nom. masc., V, 16; *iyaṁ*, nom. fem., passim; *iyaṁ*, nom. neuter, IV, 12; III, 7; VI, 21; IX, 25, 26; XII, 31, 35; XIII. 36; *imaṁ*, nom. neuter (?), IX, 26; *imaṁ*, acc. sing., IV, 11, 12; *imasâ*, gen. sing., IV, 13; *imisâ*, gen. masc., IV, 12; *imâyê*, dative; *imê*, nom. plur. masc., XIII, 38; fem. (*pajâ*), V, 17, — Dh.: *iyaṁ*, nom. masc., V, 26; det. I, 7, 8 (?); *iyaṁ*, nom. fem., passim; *iyaṁ*, nom. neuter, III, 6; IV, 8; VI, 32, 34; *imaṁ*, acc., IV, 16; V, 17; *imasa*, gen. masc., IV, 18; *imâyê*, dative masc., V, 26; fem., III, 16; *imêna*, instr., IX, 12; *imê*, nom. plur. masc., V, 26; *imêhi*, instr. plur., det. I, 10. — D.: *iyaṁ*, nom. masc. II, 11 (?); nom. fem., I, 15, al.; neuter, III, 17, 18, 21, 22; VI, 8, 9, 10; VII-VIII, 7; *imaṁ*, acc., VII-VIII, 3; *imâni*, nom. plur. neuter, VII-VIII, 9, al. — S.: *iyaṁ*, nom. sing. masc. (*aṭhê*), 5; neuter (*savam, phalê*), 3, 4, 6. — R.: *iyaṁ*, nom. sing. masc. (*athê, pakamê*), 3, 4; *imâya*, loc. fem. sing., 2.

êkatya. — Kh.: *êkatiyâ*, nom. plur. masc., I, 2. — Dh.: *êkachâ* (?), nom. plur. masc., I, 2.

êta. — Kh.: *êsa*, nom. masc. sing., XIII, 38; *êsê*, VI, 19, al.; *êsê*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 12; IX, 25; XIII, 38; *êtasa*, gen.; *êtâyê*, dat., passim; *êtânaṁ*, gen. plur., XIII, 38, — Dh.: *êsa*, nom. sing. masc. (?), IV, 15; VIII, 5, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 9; det. I, 3; det. II, 2; *êta*, acc. sing. neuter, IX, 7; *êtaṁ*, acc. sing. masc. and neuter, det. I, 15, 16, 22, 25; *êtasa, êtasi. êtâyê*, passim; *êtê*, nom. plur. masc., det. I, 11, — D.: *êsa*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 3, 7, 9; fem. I, 5, 9 (ARM °*sâ*); neuter, III, 19, 21; VII-VIII, 4, 11, 14, 20; *êsâ*, nom. sing. neuter, IV, 14 (RM °*sa*); *êtaṁ*, acc. sing. neuter, passim; *êtâyê, êtêna; êtê; êtâni; êtêsu*. — S.: *êtâyê*, 4; *êtêna*, 2. — R.: *êsa* (*phalê*), 2; *êtâya*, dative masc., 3; *êtinâ*, instr. masc., 5.

ka. — Kh.: *kêchi*, nom. sing. masc., XII, 32; *kichhi*, nom. sing. neuter, passim. — Dh.: *kêchha*, nom. sing. masc., det. I, 7 (Jaug., *kêchâ, i. e. kêchi*); *kichhi*, nom. neuter, VI, 30, al. — D.: *kina* (°*nâ*), instr. sing., VII-VIII, 17, 18.

ta. — Kh.: *sa*, nom. masc. sing., XII, 33; XIII, 3; *sê*, ibid., passim; *sâ*, nom. fem. sing., XIII, 11, 12; *tâ*, ibid., VIII, 4; *sê*, nom. sing. neuter, IX, 26, employed as *tad*, used as a conjunction passim (to *sê* of Dh., det. I, 14, corresponds *taṁ* at Jaug.); *ta*, nom. sing. neuter, X, 28; *taṁ*, id., IX, 25; *tâ*, id., used as conjunction, V, 13; *taṁ*, acc.; *tâyê*, VI, 19; *têna*; *tê*, nom. plur. masc.; *tânaṁ*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *têsa*(*ṁ*), ibid., XIII, 4, 37; *têhi*. — Dh.: *sê*, nom. sing. masc., V, 21; det. I, 13, al.; neuter, IX, 8, 10 (conjunction); IX, 9; *taṁ* (conjunction), V, 20; *tâ*, nom. sing. fem., VIII, 4; *taṁ*, acc. sing. neuter, det. I, 2, al.; *tasa, têna, tasi; tê*, nom. plur. masc.; *sê*, id., V, 24, 25; *tâni*, neuter; *têsa* (read *têsaṁ*)), gen. plur., det. II, 8, 10; *tinaṁ* (read *tânaṁ*), id , VIII, 3. — D.: *sê*, nom. sing. masc., VII-VIII, 9, al.; neuter (conjunction) VI, 13; VII-VIII, 10, 17; *tâ*, nom. sing neuter (conjunction), VII-VIII, 3; *taṁ*, acc., VI, 3, al.; *têna*, VII-VIII, 7; *tê*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII, 1, al.; *sê*, id., VII-VIII, 4, 6; *tânaṁ*, gen. plur., IV, 17; *têsaṁ*, id., IV, 3 (RM °*sâṁ*); *têsu*, VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *sa*, nom. sing. masc., 3. — S.: *sê*, nom. sing. neuter (conjunction), 4.— R.: *tê*, nom. plur. masc., 2.

ya. — Kh.: *ê*, nom. sing. masc., V. 16, al. (*yê*, V, 14); neuter, X, 28; XIII, 36; *yê*, nom. sing. neuter, VI, 18; XIII, 35; *a*, XII, 31; *aṁ*, IV, 12; X, 28; *yaṁ*, VI, 18, 20; XII, 35: *asâ*,

gen. sing. masc., VII, 21; *yêna*, XIII, 38; *yê*, nom. plur. masc., IX, 25; *yâ*, id., XII, 34; *yêsaṁ*, gen. plur., XIII, 38; *yêsu*, loc, XIII, 37. — Dh.: *ê*, nom. sing. masc., V, 2, al.; *yê*, V, 21; det. I, 8; *â*, fem., det. II, 6; *ê*, neuter, det. II, 5, al.; *aṁ*, VI, 30, 32, al.; *yâ* (neut.), IV, 17; *asa*, gen. masc., VII, 2; *êna*, instr., det. II, 9, al,; *yê*, nom. plur. masc., V, 20; *ê*, V, 23, al.; *âni*, neuter, II, 7. — D.: *ê*, nom. plur. masc., VI, 8; *yê*, II, 16, al.; *yâ*, fem., I, 9, al.; *yê*, neuter, VII-VIII, 9; *yâ* (neuter), VII-VIII, 7; *yêna*, instr., IV, 12, al.; *êna*, VII-VIII, 11; *yê*, nom. plur. masc., VII-VIII. 11; *yâni*, neuter, VII-VIII, 7, al. — Bh.: *ê*, nom. sing. masc., 5; neuter, 2. — S.: *aṁ*, sing. neuter, 1, 2. — B.: *ya*, sing. neuter, 2; *aṁ*, 3,

sarva. — Kh.: *savê*, nom. sing. neuter, XIV, 18; *savaṁ*, acc. masc. and neuter, passim; *savê*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 21; *savêsu*, loc., V, 16. — Dh.: *savê*, nom. sing. masc. det. 1, 4; neuter, XIV, 17; *savaṁ*, acc.; *savasa*, *savêna*, passim; *savê*, nom. plur. masc., VII, 1; *savêsu*. — D.: *savasi*, loc. sing., VII-VIII, 6; *savêsu*, loc. plur., VII-VIII, 5. — Bh.: *savê*, nom. sing. neuter, 3.

Personal Pronouns.

1st person. — Kh.: *hakaṁ*, nom., VI, 18, 20; *mama*, gen., passim; *mê*, gen., passim; *mamayâ*, instr., V, 13, 14; VI, 7, 19; *mê*, instr., III. 7; *mi*, the same, XIV, 19. — Dh.: *hakaṁ*, nom., VI, 29, 32, al.; *mama*, gen., passim; *mê*, the same, V, 10, al.; *mamayâ*, instr., VI, 28; *mamâyê*, the same, det. II, 4 (Jaug.: *mamiyâyê*); *mayê*, nom. plur., det. II, 8; *majhaṁ*, the same, det. I, 10; *aphê*, acc. det. II, 7 (Jaug.: *aphêni*); *nê*, II, 5; *aphâkaṁ*, gen. det. II. 5, 7 (Jaug.: *nê*); *aphêsu*, loc., det. II, 4. — D.; *hakaṁ*, III, 21; *maṁ*, acc., IV, 8, 9; *mama*, gen., VII-VIII, 6, al.; *mê*, I, 7, al.; *mamayâ*, instr., VII-VIII, 3; *mamiyâ*, VII-VIII, 7. — Bh.: *hakaṁ*, 4; *humâ*, gen., 2; *hamiyâyê*, instr, 3.

2nd person. — Dh.: *tuphê*, nom. acc. plur., det. I, 4, al.; Jaug., det. II, 8 (twice) 11, reads not *tuphê*, but *tuphêni*; *tuphâka(ṁ)*, gen. det. I. 13; *tuphêhi*, instr., det. I, 3, 10; *tuphêsu*. loc., det. II, 2. — Bh.: *vê*, instr. plur., 2. — R.: *tupaka* (read *tuphâkaṁ*), gen. plur., 5.

(e). — Declension of Numerals.

KHÂLSI. — *duvê*, nom. masc., I, 4; II, 5; *tini*, nom. neuter, I, 3, 4; *chatali* (read °*tu*°), nom. masc., XIII, 5; *paṁchasu*, loc., III, 7.

DHAULI. — *êkêna*, det. I, 18; det. II, 10; *tiṁni*, nom. neuter, det. I, 4, 24; *paṁchasu*, det. 1, 21.

DEHLI. — *duvêhi*, instr., VII-VIII. 8; *tîsu*, loc. fem., V, 11, 16; *tiṁni*, nom. neuter, IV, 16; V, 12.

SAHASARÂM. — *duvê*, nom. 6.

3. — CONJUGATION.

(a). — Verbal Bases.

I only note modifications, which, as compared with Sanskṛit, are not of a purely phonetical and mechanical character.

KHÂLSI. — Simple bases: *kalêti* V, 13, al.; *apakalêti*, *upakalêti*, XIII, 32; *chhanati*, XII, 32; *dakhati*, I, 2, al.; *pâpunâti*, XIII, 38; *upahaṁti*, XII, 33, is the only example of the preservation of the consonantal conjugation; *vijinamanê*, XIII, 36; *vijinitu*, ibid.; *pajôhitaviyê*, I, 1; *punâti*, X, 32, seems to me to be very doubtful. — Causals: *vaḍhiyati*, XII, 32; *vaḍhiyisati*, IV, 11, for °*ḍha*°; *ayi*, contracted to *ê* in *lêkhâpêsâmi*, XIV, 19; the formative *aya* is retained in the participle, in *ânapayitê*, VI, 19; weakening of the vowel of the base: *likhâpitâ*, XIV, 19. — Passives; *âlabhiyaṁti*, *âlabhiyisaṁti*, *âlabhiyisu*, 1, 3, 4.

DHAULI. — Simple bases: *anusâsâmi*, det. II, 6; *chiṭhitu* (**tishṭhitvâ*), III, 7; *dakhati*, det. I, 2, al. and *dêkhati*, det. I, 7, al.; *kalêti*, V, 20, al.; *kalâmi*, VI, 29; *kalati*, det. 1, 23; *kalaṁti*, det. I, 26; *pâpunâtha*, det. I, 6, al.; *pajô-[hitaviyê]*, I, 1. — Causals: *vêditu* (= *vêdayitu*), det. II, 6. — Passives: *âlabhiyisaṁti*, I, 4.

DELHI. — Simple bases: *anugahinêvu*, IV, 6; *anusisâmi*, VII-VIII, 21; *upadahêvû*, VI, 5; *vidahâmi*, VI, 6; participle retaining the formative: *sukhayitê*, VII-VIII, 3. — Causals: *ê* for *ayi* in *jhâpêtaviyê*, V, 10 (RM °*payi*°); weakening of the base vowel in *ânapitâni*, VIII, 1; *nijhapayati*, IV, 7; *likhâpitâ*, passim; *likhâpâpitâ*, VII-VIII, 10; *manâti*, for *mânayati*, det. I, 7, is to me very doubtful. — Passives: *khâdiyati*, V, 7.

BHABRA. — Causals: *likhâpayâmi*, 8.

SAHASARÂM. — Causals: *likhâpayatha*, 8, 7.

RÛPNÂTH. — Simple bases: *pâpôtavê*, 2. — Causals: *lêkhâpêtaviyê*, 4.

BAIRÂṬ. — Causal: *âl(â)ḍhêtayê*, 6.

(b). — Terminations.

Present. — The only trace of the medial termination occurs in Dh., X, 13, if the reading *mamnatê* is really certain; even in the passive we have *âlabhiyamti*, &c., Kh., I, 3. — I note at S. and R., the form *sumi* of the 1st person of *as*. — It is a question if at Dh., det. I, 23, 26, the forms *kalati*, *kalamti* (cf. *kalâmi*, VI, 29) do not represent the subjunctive.

Imperative. — No medial terminations. The second person plural ends in *ta* in *dekhata*, Dh., det. I, 7 (Jaug. *dêkhatha*), 14; in *tha* in *chaghatha*, Dh., det. I, 19; det. II, 11; in *paliyôvadâtha*, D., VII-VIII, 1; *likhâpayatha*, S., 7, 8.

Potential. — 1st pers. sing. in *êham*, at Kh., Dh., D., *êyam*, at Bh. (*disêyam*, 3). — 3rd pers. sing., Kh.: *paṭipajêyâ*, XIV, 20; *siyâ*, passim, perhaps *siyâti* (?), X, 28. Dh.: *paṭipajêya*, XIV, 19; *ugachh(ê)*, det. I, 13 (Jaug. *uthi(hê)*, *uthâyê* according to Dr. Bühler); *huvêya*, X, 15; *siyâ*, passim. D.: *anupaṭipajêyâ*, VII-VIII, 17, *vaḍhêyâ*, VII-VIII, 3, 16, 18; *pâpôvâ*, VII, 3; *siyâ*, VII-VIII, 11; *siya*, IV, 15. R.: *siyâ*, 3. — 1st pers. plur. in *êma*. Kh., Dh. — 3rd pers. plur., Kh.: *havêyu*, XII, 34; *susuśêyu*, XII, 33; *vasêvu*, VII, 21. Jaugada, except in *nikhamâvû*, III, 11, and perhaps *va(s)ê(v)u* VII, 1, which is mutilated, forms on the contrary everywhere the 3rd pers. plur. in *êyu*: *yujêyû-(ti)*, det. I, 3; det. II, 4, 14; *hêyû(ti)*, det. I, 6; det. II, 6; *pâpunêyu*, det. II, 5, 9; *asvasêyu*, det. II, 6; *lahêyu*, det. II, 6. Dh.: in *êvu*: *âlâdha yêvû(ti)*, det. II, 6; *vasêvu*, VII, 1, &c.; III, 10, *nikhamâvû*. D.: in *êvu*: *anugahinêvu*, IV, 6, &c., Bh.: *upadhâlayêyu*, 7; *sunêyu*, 7.

Past. — The perfect remains unchanged in *âha* (Kh. always *âhâ*, except III, 6; Dh. always *âhâ*; D. 3 times *âha*; Bh. *âhâ*). The imperfect has survived in the 3rd pers. plur. *huvam*, Dh., VIII, 3. — Aorist, 3rd pers. sing., *nikhamithâ*, Kh., VIII, 22; *nikhami*; Dh., VIII, 4; *huthâ*, D., VII-VIII, 15, 20; *vaḍhithâ*, VII-VIII, 14, 17. 3rd pers. plur. in *isu* (Kh., Dh., D.), except *humsu*, Kh. VIII, 22; *husu*, D., VII-VIII, 12.

Future. — No 1st pers. in *am*. Forms, such as *kachhâmi*, have been previously quoted. It is the same with futures in which the formative *sy* is changed to *h*: *êhatha*, Dh. det. 1, 17; det. II, 9 (Jaug. *êsatha*); *dâhamti*, D., IV, 18; *hôhamti*, VII-VIII, 4, 5, 6. It only remains to mention the forms *hôsâmi*, det. II. 8; *hôsati*, det. I, 22, at Dh.; *hôsamti* (by the side of *hôhamti*), at D., VII-VIII, 2; *hôsati* at Bh., 4.

Absolutive. — Kh. in *tu*: *dasayitu*, IV, 10, &c.; in *ya* in *samkhayê*, XIV, 21; — Dh. in *tu*: *anusâsitu*, det. II, 6, 8; *chiṭhitu*, IV, 17; *kaṭu*, det. II, 7, &c.; — D. in *tu*: *nisijitu*, IV, 10; *sutu*, VII-VIII, 21; in *ya* in *apahaṭâ* = *apahṛitya* (?), VI, 3; — Bh.: in *ya* in *adhigichya* = *adhikṛitya*, 6.

Infinitive. — Dh.: *âlâdhayitavê*, IX, 12; *sampaṭipâdayitavê*, det. 1, 19; det. II, 11, — D.: *âlâdhayitavê*, IV, 10; *palihaṭavê*, IV, 11; *paṭichalitavê*, IV, 8; *samâdapayitavê*, I, 8.

Participles. — Participle present. — Kh. The medial form in *adamânasâ*, VI, 17 and *vijinamanê*, XIII, 36; *kalamtê*, XII, 33. — Dh. The medial form in *sampaṭipajaminê*, det. I, 16; *vipaṭipâdayaminêhi*, det. I, 15 (at J.: *vipaṭipâtayamlam*), al., in which °*mi*° in the place of °*mâ*° is curious; but cf. *pâyaminâ*, D., V, 8. — D. has the medial form in *anuvêkhamânê*, VII-VIII, 2, in the passive of the causal *pâyaminâ*, V, 8. — Bh. Participle present passive of the causal: *abhivâdêmânam*. — S. The medial form in *palakamimêna*, 3. — R.: *pakamamânênâ*. These two last forms appear to be incorrect.

Participle past passive. — I note the forms *ânapayitê*, Kh. VI, 19; Dh., III, 9; *nijhapayitâ*, D., IV, 18; *sukhayitê*, VII-VIII, 3. *Anusaṭhê*, Dh., VI, 31, J., VI, 4, seems, as remarked by Dr. Bühler, to be a wrong formation for *anusiṭhê*.

Participle future passive. — Kh. in *taviya*; in *iya* in *supadâlayê* (?), V, 14. — Dh. in *taviya* in *ichhitaviyê*, det. I, 9, 11; *pajô(hitaviyê)*, I, 1; in *iya* in *dakhiyê*, det. I, 13; *vadhiyê*, V, 23; *supadâlayê* (?), V, 22. — D. in *taviya*: *ichhitaviyê*, IV, 14; *hamtaviyâni*, V, 15; in *iya* in *dêkhiyê*, III, 19; *dusampaṭipâdayê*, I, 3. — R. in *taviya*: *vivasêtaviyê*, 5. — B. in *taya*, if we are to judge from *âlâdhêtayê*, 6; but the reading may well be incorrect.

The short inscriptions of Barâbar, of Kauśâmbî, and of Allahâbâd (Queen's Edict)

are connected, so far as we can judge, with the orthographic series of the edicts which we have just considered: *î-û* and *i-u*, respectively, do not appear to be distinguished in them; the *r* changes into *l*; the initial *y* disappears; neither *ñ* nor *ṇ* have any particular signs; the nominative singular of masculine bases in *a*, ends in *ê*, &c. As for special points, all I see to quote are the forms *âdivikêhi* (for *âjîvikêhi*) Bar., I, 2; II, 4; *kubhâ* (= *guhâ*), ibid., I, 2; II, 3; III, 3; *nigôha*, Bar., I, 2, as at Dehli.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from page 23*).

[426] The third group of the texts of the Siddhânta is formed by the ten **païnnas' prakîrṇas.**

It is as yet undetermined how old is the position of the païnnas, prakîrṇas as the third part of the Siddhânta and what caused their location there. In Âvi. there follow upon the uvaṁgas first the chhêaggaṁthas and then the païnnas. In Svi. and V. the païnnas come directly after the uvaṁgas, but the chêda texts (with the exception of mahânisîha which is reached after the païnnas are done with) have been placed before (between aṅgas 4 and 5), as if their position at that point belonged to them. Is the mere fact that the païnnas are more numerous the reason that in the *present* arrangement of the parts of the Siddhânta (see p. 226) they have been placed before the chhêasuttas? They are certainly very much inferior to the chhêasuttas both as regards inner worth and external extent.[37] The joint name païnna, by which they are united, does not occur in any other place in the Siddhânta, except in their own text, so far as I have been able to observe. The word païnna is found, it is true, in the Nandî as saṁjnâ, but in another, far more universal signification, *viz.*, as a means of denoting all those texts not contained in the aṅgas. In the passage of the Nandî 84,000 or even 8,400,000 païnnagas are spoken of!

The texts now extant called païnnas in the pregnant sense of the word, bear a name, which, denoting "scattered," "hastily sketched" pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic pariśishṭas. Like the pariśishṭas they are, with a few exceptions, composed in metre; [427] and in fact in âryâ, the metre which is usual in the kârikâ insertions in the aṅgas, etc. They are different from the texts, which we have considered up to this point, in that the nom. sing. masc. first decl. regularly ends in *o* and not in *e* (for exceptions see on 5 and 7). This is a proof of their later origin.

In the usual enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts in Nandî, Pâkshikas. and in the three Sâmâyârî we meet with but six of the ten separate titles of the present païnna group. In the works just mentioned, the titles of 1, 3, 4, 10 are lacking, texts which bear a decidedly secondary stamp. (The scholiast on the Nandî appears also in the case of No. 2 to have had before him quite a different text from the one we possess.)

These ten texts did not originally enjoy the distinction of being the representatives of the païnna group; and that they arrived but gradually at this honor is attested by manifold testimony going to prove that considerable dissent at present exists in regard to the representative position claimed by them.

In Âvi. the enumeration on this point is in three very imperfect gâthâ: saṁpaï païnnagâ, naṁdî 1, aṇuôgadâra 2, âurapachchakkhâṇa (2) 3, mahâpachchakkhâṇa (9) 4, dêviṁdatthaa (7) 5, taṁḍulavêyâliyaṁ (5) 6, saṁthâra (4) 7, ‖ 1 ‖ bhattaparinnâ (3) 8, râhaṇapaḍâga 9, gaṇavijjâ (8) 10, aṁgavijjâ 11, ya । chaüsaraṇa (1) 12, dîvasâgarapannattî 13, jôisakaraṁḍaṁ 14 ‖ 2 ‖ maraṇasamâhî 15, titthôgâlî 16, taha siddhapâhuḍapaïnnaṁ 17 । ṇarayavibhattî 18, chaṁdâvijjhâya (! 6) 19, paṁchakappa 20 ‖ 3 ‖.

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[37] Their collective extent is only about 1,900 granthas.

Here then are twenty names, with but one exception (10 vîratthaa) all belonging to the present group. There are five names which recur elsewhere in the Siddhânta — (1, 2, 13, 17, 20) —; [428] two names which at least were mentioned in connection with the Siddh. — 14, 15, —; and finally there are four names found nowhere else except here — 9, 11, 16, 18. It is of especial interest to observe the ascribing of Nandî and Aṇuôga to the païnna group as being placed before them. This reference recurs in similar fashion in Svi., where the enumeration is but fragmentary and limited to the mention of: naṁdi 1, aṇuôgadârâ 2, dêviṁdatthaü (7) 3, taṁḍulavêyâliyam (5) 4, chaṁdâvivviyâî (! 6) 5, âurapachchakkhâṇa (2) 6, gaṇivijjâi (8) 7; païnnagânam. It then speaks of sêsâṇi but does not enumerate them. In V. the païnna texts are treated of on two occasions. In the first case we find, for some reason inexplicable to me, in the discussion in reference to the 15th book of aṅga 5, an enumeration of ten texts, which are not stated to be païnnas, though the titles of six are found among the titles of the 10 païnnas. At the head (the action in question is called nandî-m-âîṇaṁ vaṁdaṇaya) we again find naṁdi and aṇuôga; then follow dêviṁda (7) 3, taṁḍula (5) 4, chaṁdâvêjjha (! 6) 5, gaṇivijjâ (8) 6, maraṇa 7, jhâṇavibhatti 8, âura (2) 9, mahâpachchakkhâṇa (9) 10. Of these No. 7 is doubtless identical[38] with maraṇasamâhî in Âvi. and No. 8 corresponds to a section in 2. See below. The second passage in V. is that in which the païnnas are directly discussed; [429] and in this passage they appear in the forefront together with nandi and aṇuôga.[39] Fifteen names are there mentioned, among which are all the ten members of the present list, though arranged differently, but at the end they are called only ichch-âi: saṁpayaṁ païnnagâ : naṁdî 1, aṇuôgadârâiṁ 2 . . . , dêviṁdatthaya (7) 3, taṁḍulaveyâliya (5) 4, maraṇasamâhi 5, mahâpachchakkhâṇa (9) 6, âurapachchakkhâṇa (2) 7, saṁthâraya (4) 8, chaṁdâvijjhaya (6) 9, bhattaparinnâ (3) 10, chaüsaraṇa (1) 11 vîratthaya (10) 12, gaṇivijjâ (8) 13, dîvasâgarapannattisaṁgahaṇî 14, gachhâyâra 15 ichch-âi païnnagâṇi. Of the three additional texts mentioned here No. 5 is mentioned in Âvi. and elsewhere — see p. 428 — as belonging to the païnnas; the case is similar with No. 15. No. 14 belongs to the text referred to as No. 13 in Âvi., a text which possesses a considerable antiquity — pp. 268, 389. Is the saṁgahaṇî on it mentioned here identical with the Jaṁbudvîpasaṁgrahaṇî of Haribhadra mentioned p. 413 (on upâṅga 6)? In connection with the above discussion V. treats of the isibhâsiyâiṁ (see pp. 259, 281, 402), and allots to them 50[40] ajjhayaṇas. We have already observed that Haribhadra on Âv. 2, 6 identifies the isibh., quoted there, with the "dêvêndrastava etc.," but on another occasion identifies the isibh with the uttarajjhayaṇa. We read therefore in V. that the isibh. were regarded by some as belonging to the uttarajjh. [430] uttarajjhayaṇêsu êyâiṁ aṁtabbhavaṁti, to which the mahânisîhajôgavihi is joined in V.

In the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha (see p. 355) as in the three sâmâyârî there is an enumeration of the païnnagas, which begins with Nandî and Aṇuôga. Nineteen and not 10 païnnas are here enumerated, but of these only the first three are given a name. The passage, which is interesting for other reasons, reads in the very corrupt MSS.: aṁga 11, upâṁga 12, chhêdasaṁgha 5 (!) mûlagraṁtha 4 pramukhâḥ, pratiniyatâ êva graṁthâḥ kalpabhâshyâdyuktasûtralakshaṇôpêtâḥ, yataḥ kvâ 'pi yôgavidhau dṛiśyamânêshu naṁdy-anuyôgadvârâ-"turapratyâkhyânâdy-êkônaviṅśatiprakîrṇakêshu kêshâṁ chid êva jîtakalpa-paṁchakalpâdînâm virachayitârô jnâyaṁtê nâmagrâhaṁ, na sarvêshâṁ, yêshâṁ kartârô na jnâyaṁtê tâni gaṇadharakṛitâni. Here then, âturapratyâkhyânam (2), and not dêvêṁdrastava (7), comes after nandi and anuy°, at the head of the remaining païnnas. Here as in Âvi., the paṁchakalpa and, in connection with it, the jîtakalpa seem to be counted among the païnnas, whereas — see below — they are generally held to belong to the chhêdasûtra.[41]

[38] The maraṇasamâhi is also mentioned elsewhere. See pp. 429, 431. We might well recall the maraṇavibhatti in connection with the maraṇa, or the maraṇavisôhi in the enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha-, or aṅgabâhira texts in Nandî etc. All these texts refer without doubt to euthanasy; cf. painna 2.

[39] The connection with both is, however, very slight, for in v. 61 of the jôgavihâṇa we find the express statement: dêviṁdatthaya-m-âi painnagâ, the connection of nandi and aṇuôga being ignored.

[40] in aṅga 4, 44 only 44 ajjh. are allotted to them in conjunction with the dêvalôgachuyabhâsiya.

[41] Either the paṁch. or the jîtak. appears as No. 6. The Vichârâm., however, recognizes only five chhêdasaṁghas. See above.

I have been able to discover no further information that would prove the connection of nandi and aṇuôga with the païnna group. The lists and MSS. of the païnna group, which I possess, pay no attention to these two texts, [431] and limit the païnnas to a smaller number, generally to ten.

The enumeration in the Ratnasâgara (Calc. 1880) is as follows: — chaüsaraṇa (1) 1, saṁthâra (4) 2, taṁḍula (5) 3, chaṁdâvijjiyâ (! 6) 4, gaṇavijjiya (! 8) 5, dêvavijjiyâ 6, vîrathuva (10) 7, gachhâyâra 8, j(y)ôtishkaraṁḍa 9, mahâpachchakkhâṇa (9) 10. Three names found in Bühler's list (2, 3, 7) do not occur here. To compensate for this omission there are 3 texts mentioned, of which one, No. 6, is quite unknown; the second, No. 8, is found in the V., and the third, No. 9, is referred to even in Âvi. among the païnnas.

In the enumeration of Râjendra Lâla Mitra and of Kashinath, see pp. 226, 227, we find the list of Bühler (arranged 1, 2, 3, 9, 5, 6, 8, 7, 4). No. 10 is omitted and replaced by maraṇasamâhi, the acquaintance with which name we had already made in Âvi. and V., and which here occupies the eighth position (between 8 and 7).

I possess a MS. of the dasapaïnnas which contains a recension varying from that given in Bühler's list. The first page having disappeared, a page which does not belong there has been inserted in its place. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the first part is chaüsaraṇam (1) or not.[42] The arrangement of the following parts is (2, 3, 4, 8, 6, 9,[43] 5. Instead of 7 we have the gachhâyâra, [432] which we find in V. (see p. 429) and Ratnasâgara (p. 431); but there is nothing to compensate for the omission of 10.

The foregoing considerations prove conclusively that it is a matter involved in uncertainty what texts really belong to the païnna group, a fact that must be held to render this secondary character a matter of great probability. All that can be drawn from the contents of the present 10 païnnas makes for the same conclusion.

A considerable portion of the 10 païnnas refers to the proper sort of euthanasy, the confession necessary for this end and the abjuration of everything evil. Several portions, however, treat of different subjects, viz.: — 5 physiology, 7 mythology, 8 astrology, 10 hymns. That portion which is of mythological content recalls the Atharvapariśishṭa, though the Atharvapariśishṭa must precede the païnnas in order of time, since the latter contains the Greek terms hôrâ and dikkâṇa.

It is difficult to give a review of the contents of most of these small tests, since we possess no commentary. The character of some portions (1, 5, 6—8) is very dissimilar from that of others; 6—8 are of a similar type, which marks them out as a separate inter-dependent group. A peculiar characteristic of this group is that the author speaks of himself in the first person, and addresses his listeners in the plural or singular. In No. 7 a woman is the object of his instruction; and this païnna has a special claim to antiquity since it is said to be identical with the isibhâsiyâiṁ mentioned in aṅgas 3 10 4, 44! See p. 429. It is, however, possible that another text [433] of the same name is there referred to. In the summary which I now give I follow the extant usual list of the 10 païnnas which is found in Bühler.

XXV. The **first païnnam, chaüsaraṇaṁ, chatuḥśaraṇam**; in 63 vv. The first seven verses[44] refer to the shaḍâvaśyakam, the six daily duties necessary for the purification of life. See above pp. 161 n, 244.

[42] Though the extent of the chaüsaraṇa with its 63 gâthâs, appears to be very large for one leaf, it is, nevertheless possible that the missing leaf may have contained this part, since this MS. has upon each page 19 lines of 74 aksharas so that the 2,800 aksharas of the front and reverse side would be entirely sufficient for these 63 gâthâs.

[43] No. 9 has here not 86 but 31 verses.

[44] The first verse reads: sâvajjajôgaviraî ukkittaṇâ guṇavaô ya paḍivattî | khaliyassa niṁdaṇâ vaṇatigichchhâ guṇadhâraṇâ chêva || 1 || It recurs in similar form in the Anuyôgadvâras, etc.

1. The sâmâiam, sâmâyikam, explained in the text itself by sâvajjajôgaviraî, desistance from all evil.[45] Cf. the use of this word to denote the first aṅga also in up. 1, 57 (*ib.* 123, 125 sâvajjajôgavahiya).

2. chaüvîsaïthaa, chaturviṁśatistava, explained *ibid.* by: ukkittaṇâ, praise of the virtues of the 24 Jinas.

3. vaṁdaṇaa, explained by guṇavaô paḍivatti, honor of the guru.

4. paḍikkamaṇaṁ, pratikramaṇaṁ confession (to the guru), explained by khaliyassa niṁdaṇâ, censure of past misdeeds, conjoined with the intention of not committing the offence again.[46]

5. kâussagga, kâyotsarga, expiation, explained by: vaṇatigichhâ, healing of wounds, further purification of those who have been absolved by confession.

[434] 6. pachchakkhâṇaṁ, pratyâkhyânam, explained by: guṇadhâraṇâ, the observance of all virtues, or really the casting off of all evil.

The following must be noticed as regards the six âvaśyakas, which we will discuss later on when treating of Nandî, Anuyôgadv., Âvaśy. It was to be expected that the explanations given for 1 and 6 should have changed their respective positions, *i. e.* sâmâiya should have been explained by guṇadhâraṇâ and pachchakkhâṇa by sâvajjajôgaviraî. Had this been the case a better logical arrangement would have been effected, viz.: — 1. good action, 2. confession of the commission of misdeeds, 5. compensation for the misdeeds committed, 6. desistance from all further sins. Do not these very names seem to indicate that this was the original arrangement? The two âvaśyakas, cited in the second and third place, interrupt the connection between 1 and 4—6, and are consequently probably to be regarded as secondary additions.

In v. 8[47] the fourteen dreams are enumerated which the mother of a tîrthakṛit dreams before his birth, an enumeration which is tantamount to a list of his fourteen excellencies or virtues.

With verse 9 the text *per se* begins (the preceding portion is doubtless a secondary addition) by the author announcing his purpose: . . . vaṁdiuṁ Mahâvîraṁ | kusalâṇubaṁdhibaṁdhuraṁ ajjhayaṇaṁ kittaïssâmi || 9 || Here we have the older name of the text, since the chaüsaraṇaṁ, as will soon be shown, forms but a part of its contents. [435] In a MS, which contains all the 10 païnnas and which is preceded by an introduction in reference to the sacred number four, the name of this païnna is stated to be kusalâṇubaṁdhajjhayaṇaṁ and not chaüsaraṇaṁ.

In v. 10 is described the three-fold contents of the following portions, and an explanation given for this division that refers to the name adduced in v. 9: êsa gaṇô aṇavarayaṁ kâyavvô kusalahêu tti || 10 || At the head stands 1. the chaüsaraṇagamaṇam (from which the customary title of this païnna has been borrowed), *i. e.* the prayers by means of which four-fold protection can be obtained: the arihaṁta (arhant, v. 13—23), the siddha (v. 23—29), the sâhu (sâdhu, v. 30—40) and the dhamma (v. 41—48). Then follows 2. dukkaḍagarihâ, a penitential system (v. 49—54) of confession to the guru, and 3. sukaḍâṇumôaṇa, the joy arising from a good deed (v. 55—57). Then come promises of reward and a verse (62) which has compassion on him, through whom chaüraṁgô Jiṇadhammô na kaô, chüraṁgaṁ saraṇam avi na kayaṁ. The concluding verse contains the summons iya . . vîra! bhaddaṁtam êam ajjhayaṇam jhâêsu (dhyâya).

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[45] sahâ 'vadyêna pâpêna vartaṁta iti sâvadyâḥ, yôgâ manôvâkkâyavyâpârâs, têshâṁ viratir nivṛittiḥ.

[46] na punaḥ karishyâmî 'ty abhyupagamanam; hence the name, the meeting, pratîpaṁ kramanaṁ. The pratikramaṇam is (see Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 117) divided into five parts; 1. daivasikam (we must accept this and not dêvaśikam as the reading in Jacobi's text) *i. e.* to be done daily; 2. râtrikam nightly; 3. pâkshikam semi-monthly; 4. every four months; 5. annually.

[47] Âvaśy. 2, 276, see Jacobi on Kalpasûtra Jin. §.4.

The commentary considers that this implies also a reference to the name of the author Vîrabhadra, presumably a sâdhu, one of the 14,000 who joined Vîra.[48]

[436] There is a **commentary** by Sômasuṁdara from the Tapâgachha; according to the Gurvâvalî of this gachha (see Kl. 256) born saṁv. 1430, died 1499, A. D. 1374—1443.

In contradistinction to the triad of the Buddhists buddha, dharma and saṁgha, we find here a quadripartite arrangement. The saṁgha is divided into two parts, the earlier and the present saints, the siddha and the sâdhu. The Buddhistic saṁgha, as is expressly stated in that of the Avesta, has reference merely to the pious of the present, who, it may be remarked, are divided in the Avesta according to sex: yêṅhê hâtãm . . yâoṅhãm châ tãś châ tâôś châ yazamaidê. The "Holy Ghost" of the Christian trinity, the origin of which we ascribed (Ind. Streifen 3, 534) to gnostic connection either with the trinity of the Parsees or with that of the Buddhists, embraces all time.

XXVI. The **second païnnam, âurapachchakkhâṇam, âturapraty°**, c. 70 vv. with an insertion in prose after v. 10 treats[6] of the *renunciatio* of the *moribundus*, the paṇḍiyamaraṅam, the genuine euthanasy, cf. Bhagav. 2, 1, 48, 76 (my treatise, 2, 266—7, 299). The introduction consists of enumerations of the five aṇuvvayas (pâṇivahavêramaṇa etc.), and of the guṇavvayas and sikkhâs.[49] In v. 8 there is a citation from the third païnna :jô bhattaparinnâê (bhaktaprakîrṇakê) uvakkamô vittharêṇa nidditthô |[50] sô chê 'va bâlapaṁḍiya maraṇê nêô jahâjuggam || 8 || In v. 10 the proclamation of the [437] real intention of the author: ittô paṁḍiya! paṁḍiyamaraṇaṁ[51] vuchchhaṁ samâsêṇaṁ || 10 ||

The prose paragraph which follows contains a general formula for confession and renunciation, beginning with the words: ichhâmi bhaṁtê uttamaṭṭham (! uttamârtham pâpânâṁ prakâram, gloss) pratikramâmi, and closes with 63 jhâṇa, dhyâna, formulas, beginning: annâṇaṁ jhâṇê.[52] Joined to these are corresponding formulas composed in gâthâs. The methods of counting the verses vary greatly in the different MSS., since in some the prose part is counted in as 13 verses, so that the total sum is 84 verses; and differences of another nature are also apparent. The scholiast on the Nandî, it may be remarked in passing,[53] in his enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts, held another text than the present one to be the âurapachchakkhâṇaṁ!

[438] XXVII. **Third païnnam, the bhattaparinnâ, bhaktaparijnâ,** in 172 vv., treats of the bâlapaṁḍiyamaraṇam. Cf. the citation just made from v. 8 of the second païnna. This païnna contains ethical precepts[54] which refer constantly to the Jinasâsaṇam, Jinavayaṇam, the Jiṇapaṇîya(praṇîta) doctrines, while at the same time it cites its own title; cf. (v. 9—11, 14, 18, 35, 169, 171). In the verse before the last, this païnna is said like païnna 1 to refer back to (the

[48] yô 'sau Vîrabhadrasâdhuḥ śrî Vîrasaktah chaturdaśasahasramadhyavartî tasyê 'dam êtad adhyayanam, êvaṁ śâstrakartuḥ samâsâgarbham abhidhânam uktaṁ; asya châ 'dhyayanasya Vîrabhadrasâdhukṛitatvajnâpanêna yasya jinasya yâvantaḥ sâdhavah pratyêkabudhâ (see pp. 265, 334) api tâvaṁta êva prakîrṇâny api tâvaṁti bhavaṁtî 'ti jnâpitaṁ bhavati (! see below on the Nandî).

[49] In the Vichârâmritasaṁgah — see p. 430 — the âurap.° is placed after nandi and anuyôga, at the head of the païnnas.

[50] See Windisch in *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* 28, 226 (1874).

[51] itaḥ paṁḍitânâṁ viśêshatô 'pi pa °ṇaṁ prochyatê saṁkshêpatah.

[52] jhâṇê is always construed here with the accus., *i. e.* probably as 1 p. sing. âtm. of a denominative (dhyânay)? — A collection of examples of these dhyânas is to be found in the introduction of Harshakuśala's commentary on the fourth païnna: dhyânabhêdâs tu likhyaṁtê: annâṇajhâṇê, atra mâsatusadrishṭâṁtaḥ. Harshakuśala recognizes the number of these formulas as 64. The words before jhâṇê appear in thematic form, as pûrvapadâni, and not as accus. Cf. the jhâṇavibhatti above, p. 428.

[53] The scholiast has here: châritrasya vidhiḥ; gilâṇakiraṇâtîyaṁ gîyatthâ pachchakkhâviṁti diṇê 2 davvahâsaṁ karettâ aṁtê a savvadâ paṇayâê bhattathêragaṁ | jâṇattâ ṇittinhassa bhavacharimapachchakkhâṇaṁ kâravê(ṁ)ti tti ityâdi yatra varṇyatê; mahatpratyâkhyânaṁ yatrô 'ktaṁ. Even if the name âturapratyâkhyânaṁ is not directly mentioned, the meaning and the position of these words between the explanations of the titles: charanavihî and mahâpachchakkhâṇam makes most decidedly for the conclusion that this very corrupt statement of contents, the metre of which cannot be restored, belongs to the title âura° which in the text is between these two titles. On gîyatthâ see below (pp. 450, 464, 478), on the chhêdasutta.

[54] Directions as to how a man should abstain from food, Kash.

doctrines of) Vîrabhadda, though it is perhaps better to assume that Mahâvîra himself is referred to in this verse :—ia jo îsara-jiṇa-vî-rabhaddabhaṇiyâṇusâriṇîm (!) iṇam-ô | bhattaparinnaṁ dhannô paḍhaṁti nisuṇaṁti bhâvaṁti || 171 || sattarisayaṁ Jiṇâṇa va gâhâṇaṁ samayakhittapannattaṁ | ârâhaṁtô vihiṇâ sâsayasukkhaṁ lahaï mukkhaṁ || 172 || According to this concluding verse the text should contain only 170 verses, but perhaps the two concluding verses are a secondary addition. The plural of the verbs in v. 171 in opposition to those in the singular jô . . . dhannô is at least very peculiar. Instead of the Sanskrit °sâriṇîm (°sâriṇâm B! both times with *m*) °sâriṇiṁ is doubtless the better reading.

XXVIII. **Fourth païnnam, saṁthâra, saṁstâra,** in 122 vv., treats of the bed upon straw. Cf. Bhagav. 2, 1, 70, 74 (my treatise 2, 293, 297) as a preparation for the paṁḍiyamaraṇam, the proper euthanasy. The title saṁthâra is frequently referred to throughout the text; cf. v. 1, 3, 4, 15, 21, 27, 30 etc.), thus *e. g.*: saṁthârammi nibaṁdham guṇaparivâḍiṁ nisâmêha || 1 ||. This was the case with païnna 3.

[439] In v. 32 — 44 the qualities of the man are described who intends to ascend the saṁthâra, the second hemistich recurring throughout as a refrain; . . âruhaï jô saṁthâraṁ suvisuddhô tassa saṁthârô. In v. 56 fg. there are cited all manner of instances of those who died saṁthâram âruḍhâ. Thus, the flower-gatherer (? pupphachûlâ) Ajjâ in Pôyaṇapura v. 56, Sukôsalarisi v. 63, examples from Ujjêṇî v. 65, Rôhîdagaṁ nayaram v. 68, Pâḍaliputta vv. 70. 73, Kôsaṁbî v. 78, Kuṇâlanagara v. 80, the names Kurudatta v. 84, Gayasukumâla v. 85, Chilâiputta v. 86, Maṁkhali v. 87. It concludes: êva(ṁ) maê abhithuyâ saṁthâragaïmdakhaṁdham ârûḍhâ | susamaṇanariṁdachaṁdâ suhasaṁkamaṇaṁ sayâ diṁtu || 122 ||.

XXIX. **Fifth païnnaṁ, taṁḍulavêyâliyam,**[55] in verse, prose, and again in verse. The contents are of an anthropological and physiological nature, and are briefly stated in the introduction :—

vochchhaṁ païnnagam iṇaṁ taṁḍulavêâliyaṁ nâma || 1 ||

suṇaha gaṇiê[56] dasa dasâ (disâ A) vâsasayâussa jaha vibhajjaṁti | saṁkaliê vôgasiê jaṁ châ "yuṁ sêsayaṁ hôi || 2 ||

jattiyamittê divasê jattiyâ râî muhuttam ussâsô | gabbhammi vâsaï jîvô âhâravihiṁ ya vochchhâmi || 3 ||

Then follows the statement that the jîva [440] remained in the womb 277 full ahôrattas and one-half of an ahôratta (cf. Aup. § 104) — (26 verses + 3). The prose treats especially of the life and development of the embryo in the womb, striking parallels to which are found in the statements in Nirukti 14, 6, 7, and in the Garbhôpanishad (*Ind. Stud.* 2, 65). The subject is treated in the form of a dialogue, in antique form, between Mahâvîra and Gôyama. The nominative often ends in *e* and not in *o*, so that we may suppose an older source is the base of this recital. Then follows an enumeration of the dasa dasâô (disâô A), ten "ages of man" (cf. Ath. 3, 4, 7): bâlâ, kiṭṭâ (A, kiḍâ B, viḍḍâ C), maṁdâ, balâ, pannâ, hâyaṇi, pavaṁchâ, pabbhârâ, mummuhî (A, ma° B, su° C), mâyaṇî. These are then treated separately in metre. The text then returns to prose, and treats, in connection with the âyus, of the divisions of time: âvaliyâ, khaṇa up to the kôḍâkôḍîu, *i. e.* millions of years, after which it discusses the multiplicity of bodily relations and of the nature of the body in general. Next come the dry measures based upon the mâgahaô patthô, cf. Ath. par. 35, 8 (my treatise on the Jyôt. p. 80; Aupap. § 80, 98), measures of length, of time, the number of the bones, sinews and other parts of the body, of all manner of diseases, of women, &c. Here and there we find verses inserted though they are not counted in continuously with the rest. At the conclusion we find 18 verses :—

êyaṁ sôuṁ sarîrassa (metre!) vâsâṇaṁ gaṇiyapâgaḍamahattham | mokkhapaümassa ihat

[55] It is uncertain how we are to translate or explain this. In aṅgas 2, 1, 2 vêyâliya is = vaidârika, in dasavêâlia = vaikâlika. In ms. or fol. 1075 the title is translated by taṁḍulavaitâlikam; and also in Kashinath (the state of a child in the womb, its birth, &c.).

[56] jyotiḥśâstrê, gloss.

(metre !) samattaṁ sahassapattassa (metre !) ‖ 17 ‖ êyaṁ sagaḍasarîraṁ jâi-jarâ[441]maraṇa-vêyaṇâbahulaṁ । taha pattaha[57] kâuṁ jê[58] jaha muchchaha savvadukkhâṇam ‖ 18 ‖

XXX. Sixth païnnaṁ, chaṁdâvijjhayaṁ,[59] in 174 vv. In the introduction, a dâragâhâ (v. 3), with a conspectus of the contents. Vv. 4 — 19 treat of vinaya in general, vv. 20 — 35 of the qualities of a teacher, âyariyaguṇa, vv. 36 — 51 of the scholar, sîsaguṇa, vv. 52 — 65 of the impediments (?), niggahaguṇa,[60] in the way of the viṇaya, vv. 66 — 98 of perception, nâṇaguṇa, vv. 99 — 114 of the conduct of life, charaṇaguṇa, v. 115 fg. of death, maraṇaguṇa. All these sections are clearly separated by a verse which marks the end of one and the beginning of another (20, 35, 52, 66, 98, 115). Thus, *e. g.* v. 20: viṇayassa guṇavisêsâ êê mâê vaṇṇiâ samâsêṇaṁ । âyariyâṇaṁ cha guṇê êgamaṇâ mê nisâmêha ‖ 20 ‖ In v. 173 the contents is repeated or recapitulated as in the dâragâhâ; and the concluding verse is closely connected with that of païnna 6:

tahapattaha kâuṁ jê jaha muchchaha gabbhavâsavasahîṇaṁ । maraṇapuṇabbhavajammaṇa-duggaïviṇivâyagamaṇâṇaṁ ‖ 174 ‖

XXXI. Seventh païnnaṁ, dêviṁdatthaa, dêveṁdrastava; in 300 vv. A systematic enumeration of the 32 dêviṁdas, and of all the gods according to their [442] groups, dwelling places, &c.[61] The Nom. Sing. M. of Decl. I ends frequently in *e*, perhaps because the contents partially follows the statements in the aṅgas and upâṅgas. The divisions are here, as in the case of païnna 6, distinctly separated; and the author here, too, speaks of himself in the first person, and addresses not unfrequently (cf. p. 458) a suṁdarî, suaṇu, as the one for whom his work is intended.[62]

A patent contradiction to this secular method of treatment is found in Haribhadra on Âvaśy. 2, 6, where the author proclaims himself to be the composer of a nijjutti: isibhâsiâṇaṁ, and explains this word by dêveṁdrastavâdinâm. We have seen above (pp. 259, 281, 429) that on 8, 4 he referred it to the uttarajjhaṇa. That our text should be so honoured as to be brought into connection with a work of such an important title as the isibhâsiya (cf. aṅgas 3, 10. 4, 44) and to have been thought worthy of a nijjutti at the hands of the author of the Âvaśyaniryukti (whoever this may have been), seems utterly impossible if we take into consideration the secondary character of this small mythological manual (see above, pp. 280, 432). It is, however, worth our attention to note the fact that also in Svi. V. (see above, p. 428 fg.) the païnnas are frequently said to begin with a text of this name.

[443] The table of contents in v. 7 ff. reads: kayarê tê vattîsaṁ dêviṁdâ? kô va kattha parivasaï? kêvaiyâ kassa ṭhiî? kô bhavaṇapariggahô kassa? ‖ 8 ‖ kêvaïyâ nu vimâṇâ? bhavaṇâ nagarâ cha huṁti kêvaïyâ? puḍhavîṇa cha vâhuttam uyyattavimâṇa vinnô (?) vâ ‖ 9 ‖ kâraṁti cha kâlêṇá (!) ukkôsaṁ majjhimaṁ jahannaṁ cha । ussâsô nissâsô uḍḍhî (?) visaô va kô kêsiṁ? ‖ 10 ‖ and closes: dêviṁdanikâyâṇaṁ thaô (iha) samattô aparisêsô ‖ 300 ‖

XXXII. Eighth païnnaṁ, gaṇiviyyâ, gaṇividyâ, in 86 vv. The contents is of an astrological character.[63] It begins: vuchchhaṁ balâbalavihiṁ navabalavihisuttasaṁchiu pasatthaṁ । jiṇava-

[57] Cf. pattihi in Hâla. [58] See Hêm. 2, 217, Hâla 524 in Bhuv. (p. 189).

[59] The name is obscure; viyyaya in A, but vijjhaya in B, Nandî, Pâkshika and in the three sâmâchârî; once in Âvi. °vijjhâya, in Svi. °vivviyaî (a poor MS.) and °vejjha in V; Kashinath has: chandâvijaya, an account of witchcraft, magic and mysticism (!). — The right Sanskrit equivalent of the title is *Caṇdraka-vêdhya* which, as Ogha-niryukti 1142 shows, is the same as *rādhūvêdhya* 'aim-striking.' — L.

[60] niggayaguṇa vv. 3, niggahaguṇê in vv. 52 and 173.

[61] Panegyrics on the Tirthakara's by Dêva and Indra (!), Kashinath.

[62] The introduction states the situation in explicit terms: kôi (kôî ?) paḍhamapaüsammi sâvaü samayanichchiya-viphahaṇû (? metre !) | vannêi vayam uyâram jiyamâṇê Vaddhamâṇammi ‖ 3 ‖ tassa thuṇaṁṭassa (√stu, Cl. 9) jiṇaṁ sâmâiyakaḍâ piyâsu hanisannâ | paṁjaliuḍâ abhimuhî suṇaï vayaṁ Vaddhamâṇassa ‖ 3 ‖ Likewise in v. 7: sâ piyaṁ bhaṇai, and in v. 11: padipuchhiô piyâê bhaṇaï: suaṇu! ṭaṁ nisâmêha. Further on frequently: vaṇṇihimi or vaṇṇêhiṁ (! varṇayishyâmi), vuchhaṁ, vuchhâmi, &c.

[63] The avachûri on the Nandî explains as follows: gaṇividyâ jyôtishkanimittâdiparijnânarûpâ, sâ hi samyak parijnâyamânâ pravrâjanasâmâyikârôpanôpasthâpaṇâśrutoddêśanujnâguṇârôpaṇâdiśânujnâvihârâdiprayôjanêshu upa-yôginî.

yaṇabhâsiyam iṇaṁ pavayaṇasatthammi jahadiṭṭhaṁ ‖ 1 ‖, and treats according to the dâragâhâ (v. 2): 1. of the days, divasa, vv. 3—8, — 2 of the lunar days, tihi, vv. 9, 10, — 3 of the nakshatra, vv. 11—41, — 4. of the karaṇa, vv. 42—46 — 5. of the planets, gahadivasa, vv. 47, 48, — 6. of the hours, muhutta, vv. 49—58, — 7. of the omens, saüṇabalam, vv. 59—63, — 8 of the horoscope, laggabalam, vv. 64—72, — and 9. of the signs, nimitta, vv. 73—85. — The context corresponds in character with the statements of the Atharvapariśishṭa. The names of the nakshatras represent a secondary stage[64] as upâṅgas 5—7. The karaṇas are, however, recognized here as in up. 6, though the fourth [444] is called, as in up. 6, not taitila, but thîlôaṇa. In the discussion in reference to the lagna the word hôrâ is found (v. 66) and, as it appears (the passage is corrupt), also the word dikkâṇa (vv. 67, 69), so that we have a patent instance of Greek influence.

The second collection of the dasapaïnna (see above, p. 431) allots only 31 vv. to the gaṇiviyyâ. Of the verses here only the following recur there: 1 — 14, 21 — 32, 35, 37, 74, 82; §§ 4 — 8 are entirely wanting, § 3 has instead of 31 vv. only 14, and § 9 instead of 13 only 2.

XXXIII. **Ninth païnnaṁ, mahâpachchakkhâṇam,** in 143 vv. A general formula designed for confession and renunciation. It begins: êsa karêmi paṇâmaṁ titthayarâṇaṁ aṇuttaragaîṇaṁ । . . ‖ 1 ‖ . . । saddahĕ jinapannattam pachchakkhâêmi (a) pâvagaṁ ‖ 2 ‖ jaṁ kiṁ chî duchchariyaṁ tam ahaṁ niṁdâmi savvabhâêṇaṁ । sâmâiyaṁ cha tivihiṁ karêmi savvaṁ nirâgâraṁ ‖ 3 ‖ The verses frequently close as groups with the same refrain; *e. g.* paṁḍiyamaraṇam marîhâmi (future) vv. 41 — 48, pâuvagaô marîhâmi v. 50, rakkhâmi mahavvâê paṁcha vv. 68 — 76, sâhaṁtî (or sâhêuṁ) appaṇô attham vv. 80 — 84, vôsirâmi, tti pâvagaṁ vv. 116 — 120. The formula uses the first person alone: nimdâmi, garihâmi, vôsirâmi, vôsirê, khâmêmi, pachchaïkkhâmi (!). It concludes: êyaṁ pachchakkhâṇaṁ aṇupâlêûṇa suvihiô sammaṁ । vêmâṇiya vva dêvô haviyya ahavâ visiyyiyya ‖ 143 ‖. It, therefore, opens up as the prospect of the reward of correct performance of confession, entrance among the vêmâṇiya gods or complete dissolution (viśîryêta).

PARSI AND GUJARATI HINDU NUPTIAL SONGS.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

(Continued from Vol XIX. page 378).

PART II.

TRANSLATION.

No. 6.

Song sung when the wedding presents are being carried for the bride or the bridegroom.

Five sets of presents for the bride and five for the bridegroom:
(Even) the king has admired them from the balcony (of his palace).
Five sets of presents for the bride and five for the bridegroom,
The wedding guests have been brought from the country of Jasâ.[1]
5 Their praises have been sung in good words. . . . .[2]
Joy, joy to him by whose side the pipes are being played.
Let us make an ovation with a tray full of pearls.
Come forth, mother of the bridegroom, his aunts, his sisters all:
The petted bridegroom will now mount his horse,
10 And he will have a splendid following.
Graceful flower girl, tripping gracefully along,
Who will buy thy daisies?
His father,[3] Mêharwânjî, will be sure to buy them;
For he is in pressing need of them.

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[64] The name jiṭṭhamûla (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 286) is found here (v. 11); see p. 380.
[1] It is not plain what country is meant.
[2] The meaning is not quite clear.
[3] The bridegroom's.

15 His father is overjoyed and spends money (freely)
In order to keep up his prestige.
The bridegroom's mother has caused a beautiful sâḍî to be woven for herself,
And a bodice of cloth of gold.
Father, what shall we admire most in this procession ?
20 I bring my procession (of guests) from the city of Bombay (Mumbâi).
Send for jewellers from Surat,
Send for boxes full of *jhâl*[4] and *jhumrâṅ*[4]
And adorn the bride and the bridegroom with them.
Brother, what shall we admire most in this procession ?
25 I bring my procession (of guests) from the City of Sûrat.
Send for goldsmiths from Sûrat,
And get boxes full of bangles and bracelets.
Indulge every desire of the marrying couple.
Now, father, you who are a man of influence,[5]
30 Get together good wedding guests.
The flower girl enters the narrow street,
And brings garlands of buds.
Flower girl, we shall buy what you bring.
We married[6] women shall unite in buying (your flowers).
35 Get married women to sing songs,
And indulge every desire of the marrying couple.
Sôrâbjî will now ride his horse,
And by his side (will walk) his brother who is a *dêśâi*[7].
Let me scatter mustard seeds under the horse's feet,
40 And wish the rider every blessing.
Let me sprinkle some *jîraṅ*[8] under the horse's feet :
I would not entrust any one with the rider even for a moment.
Let me place (some) *damnô*[9] under the horse's feet,
Sôrâbjî will mount his horse with his face to the East.
45 Let me sprinkle some salt[10] under the horse's feet.
This is the first time in my life that I do such a (meritorious) thing.
Let me break (some) eggs[11] under the horse's feet.
May the rider be as (prosperous as) his ancestors.
Now my Sôrâbjî has mounted his horse,
And has bowed his head to Dâdâr Hôrmajda.

[4] Ornaments for the ear.

[5] The meaning is not quite clear.

[6] Women under coverture, as distinguished from widows.

[7] The headman of a community invested with certain magisterial powers.

[8] Seeds resembling fennel seeds.

[9] *Damnô* is a sweet smelling herb.

[10] Mustard seeds *damnô*, and *jîraṅ*, are not, so far as I know, considered auspicious, but salt is believed to carry prosperity with it.

[11] Eggs play an important part in Pârsî festive ceremonies : whenever a person is to be welcomed, a tray is prepared with a good many things, which are believed to be auspicious. These are : a cocoanut, an egg, a handful of rice, a little water, and some sugar made up into little cakes. As soon as the guest steps up to the door the mistress of the house, or if she happens to be a widow, some relative of hers, goes forth with the tray in her hand, and first taking up the egg waves it over the head of her guest, and breaks it against the steps or the pavement ; then she does the same with the cocoanut, and finally sprinkles the rice and sugar cakes over the favoured head. This done, she waves her hands over her guest's head, and uttering some blessings cracks her finger joints against her own temples (*vide ante*, Vol. XIX. page 375, note 18, part I), and bids the guest step in with the right foot foremost. The cocoanut, egg, &c., are believed to carry off all evil with them ; and they make it a point to break the egg and the cocoanut, from which it appears that some sacrifice is meant, and the egg does duty for a live offering, which latter the Pârsîs cannot admit into their nuptial rites, out of respect for the feelings of the Hindus whose customs they have largely adopted.

No. 7.

Another Song sung when the mother-in-law welcomes her son-in-law.

The mother-in-law welcomes her son-in-law, ornaments adorning her head;
Seizing upon an auspicious moment, she welcomes the bridegroom and adorns his neck with a garland (of flowers).
With an oblation of flowers and cocoanuts and rings[12] is the bridegroom received, and is made to sit under the *mâṇḍav.*
Sîrînbâi, thy husband has come, and wants some place to put up at.
Give him an orchard to put up at, and his mother's heart will rejoice.
5 Give him a garden to put up at, and his father's heart will rejoice.
Give him a palace to put up in, and his sister's heart will rejoice.
Give him (a place near) a small well to put up at, and his paternal aunt's heart will rejoice.
Give him (a place near) a sacred river[13] to put up at, and his maternal aunt's heart will rejoice
Give him a yard to put up in, and his paternal uncle's heart will rejoice.
10 Give him a mango plantation to put up at, and his maternal uncle will rejoice.
Let us bestow upon the bridegroom mango and tamarind plantations,
And let us bestow towns and villages on him.
Let us give him eighty-four market places, and let us give him extensive forests.
(But the bridegroom says) "I care not for your mango and tamarind plantations, nor do I wish to have your towns and villages;
15 I need not your eighty-four market places nor your extensive forests;
I am come only to take away Pharâmjî's daughter, for then only will my life be worth living."
The bridegroom is being decorated with twist[14] and has been brought down to marry a virgin.
Sprinkle showers of rose-water and hand packets of *pâṇ* round (to the guests).
Sprinkle showers of saffron on, and hand bouquets of flowers round (to the guests).
20 The guests are welcome, guests of her who has been waiting (for them).

TEXT.

गीत ६.

वरणीनुं गीत.

पांचे वरणी ने पांचे आदरणी.
जठरा[15] परथी राजाए वखाणी.
पांचे वरणी ने पांचे कलीआणी.
जसा देशथी ते जाण आणी.
5 एरे वखाणी शबदो वाणी अवल पालव जाणीए.[16]
धन धन रे कुखे वांसली वागे.
भरी मोतीनी ठाळे वधावीए.
वरनी माए रे मासी, बेन फुइ चालो आपणे जइए.
लाडकरो[17] सपरसजी[18] घोडे चडशे.
10 शाहाबोलो तेनो खुब सोभशे;

[12] The mother-in-law receives her son-in-law when he comes down to marry her daughter in the following manner:— She goes forth with a tray in her hand, in which are placed a diamond or any other kind of ring, or some other ornament for the bridegroom along with *kaṅkû*, some grains of rice, some dry dates and almonds, cocoanuts, and a cone-shaped packet of sugar. The mother-in-law makes a mark with the *kaṅkû* on the bridegroom's forehead, and presses some grains of rice on to it. Then she puts a garland of flowers round his neck, and puts the ring on his finger. This done, she throws a few grains of rice over his head and passing her hands over his face or his head cracks her finger joints against her temples (*vide* the preceding note).

[13] कासा is the word used in the text and is made to rhyme with मासी, a mother's sister.

[14] During the marriage ceremony the bride and bridegroom are made to sit opposite each other, and twist is wrapped round and round both their persons by the priests, who continue repeating prayers and burning incense on a fire. This practice is now being gradually dropped by the Pârsîs, but is still prevalent among the Hindus.

[15] जठरा I interpret this word झरूखा balcony.

[16] This last phrase is unintelligible, separately अवल means first or best, पालव an embroidered border, and जाणीए we know.

[17] See ante, note 38, part I.

[18] सपरसजी is the common name by which all bridegrooms are called before they are married.

लटकारी रे मालन लटके चाले,
कोण लेशे रे तारो मोघरो.
लेशे लेशे रे एना मेहरवानजी बावा,
तेने छे गरजो उतावली.
15 एनो बावो रे हरखे दलामां खरचे,
नाम पोतानां राखशे.
वरनी माए ते सोभत साडी वणावी,
कसबी अलेचानी कांचली.
बावा साजणमां शुं रे वखाणुं.
20 मारुं साजण मुम्बाइ शेहेरनुं आणुं.
सुरत शेहेरना झवेरी बोलावो.
दाबडा भरी भरी झाल झुमरां लावो.
मारां वहुवरने ते जोरे पेहरावो.
वीरा साजणमां शुं रे वखाणुं,
25 मारुं साजण सुरत शेहेरनुं आणुं.
सुरत शेहेरना सोनीरा बोलावो.
दाबडा भरी भरी चुरा वारा लावो.
मारां परणतांना कोड पोंहचरावो.
हवे बावाजी बळवंतवाळो,[19]
30 तमे सारा साजणीआ मेलवावो.
सांकडी शेरीमां मालणरी[20] आवे.
काचा कळीओना हारो लइ आवे.
मालण तमे लावो ते अमे लइशुं.
अमो सोवासणो मळीने लइशुं.
35 सोवासण लोक कण गीत गवडावो.
मारा परणतांना कोड पोंहचरावो.
घोडे चडशेरे सोराबजी भाइ.
तेनी आगळ वीरो देशाइ.
घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे राइ.
40 घोडाना चडताने भरुं भलाइ.
घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे जीरुं.
घोडेना चडताने घडीओ नहीं धीरुं.
घोडाना पगतले मेलुं रे दमनो.
घोडे चडशे सोराबजी उगमनो.
45 घोडाना पगतले छांटुं रे मीठां.[21]
मारी जणमारे ए कामो रे दीठां.
घोडाना पगतले भांझुं रे इंडां.
घोडेना चडताने वराबोनां मीहणां.
घोडे चडीओरे मारो सोराबजी.
50 ते दादार होरमजदने लागो रे पाये.

गीत ७.

सासु जमाइने हरगवा नीसरे ते वेळा गावानुं गीत.

वर सासु ते हरगवा नीसर्यां, मस्तके बांध्या मोड रे.
वेळा ते जोइ वर हरगीओ, गळे सोभाव्यो हारडो.
फुल नारल वीटीए वर हरगीओ, मांडव मांहे बेसाड्यो.
वर आव्यो रे शीरीनबाइ तारो मांगे उतारा ठार रे.
5 उतारा आपो वारीना मन हशे ते वरनी माडीनां.
उतारा आपो बागना मन हशे ते वरना बापनां.
उतारा आपो मेहेलना मन हशे ते वरनी बहेननां.
उतारा आपो कुइना मन हशे ते वरनी फुइनां.
उतारा आपो काशीना मन हशे ते वरनी मासीनां.
10 उतारा आपो झांपाना मन हशे ते वरना काकानां.
उतारा आपो आंबांना मन हशे ते वरना मामानां.
आपो ते आंबां आमळी आपो ते नगर गाम रे.
आपो चोरीआसी चौटडां, आपो ते बोहोळां रान रे.
नहीं लेउं ते आंबां आमळी नहीं लेउं ते नगर गाम रे.
15 नहीं लेउं चोरीआसी चौटडां नहीं लेउं ते बोहोळां रान रे.
लेश लेश ते फरामजीनी दीकरी मारां ते जीव्यां परमाण रे.
वरने काचां सुतरे सणगार्यां, कुमारीसे परणवा उतार्यां.
छांटो छांटो ते गोलाबनां छांटणां पाण ते बीरां आपो हाथमां.
छांटो छांटो रे केसरनां छांटणां फूल तोरा ते आपो हाथमां.
20 मारा साजणीआ रे भले आव्या, ना जोती ते वाटी रे.[22]

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE TRIBES INHABITING THE SHAN STATES[1]

The natives of the Shân States belong to the following tribes :—

(i) Shâns, who belong to the great Tai family, and occupy generally the valleys of the Shân plateau.
(ii) Palaungs, who occupy the highlands.
(iii) Kachins, a hill tribe.
(iv) Karens in very small numbers.
(v) A few Panthays.
(vi) Lâs and Wâs, who occupy a tract of country to the east of the Salween river.

The descendants of the great Tai family of Shâns are the main occupants of the country and

[19] This phrase is rather ambiguous.

[20] Poetical form of मालन.

[21] मीठां is the plural form of मीठुं salt, but it is grammatically incorrect.

[22] ना जोती ते वाटी This phrase is grammatically incorrect, it should be वाट जोतीना.

[1] [Printed originally as a Government paper, by Mr. W. R. Hillier, but as the vernacular words were then given only in Shân characters, this is practically the first useful publication of these very valuable, though somewhat unskilfully written, notes.—ED.]

rule the States. Their language is both spoken and written, and, like Chinese, is a tonal language. They are Buddhists in religion. Agriculture is their main occupation, and rice the staple crop. It grows luxuriantly both in puddled land and on the hill slopes, yielding good crops.

The Shâns are divided in the Northern Shân States into Northern Shâns or Tainü, and Southern Shâns or Taitaü. Northern Shâns are again divided into Tainü (Northern Shâns) and Tainamk'am (Namkham Shâns) or Taik'è (Chinese Shâns). The Tainü proper and the Taitaü dress alike. The Taitaü are often also called Taileng (Red Shâns). The Tainamk'am and the Taik'è dress mostly in dark blue (both men and women). The mode of living and habits of all classes are alike, the only difference between them being in dress and accent.

At birth no particular ceremonies are performed. The mother is not secluded. No rules of diet are enforced on the woman during pregnancy; but the mother is for one month after the birth of a child forbidden the following,—

(1) *sâmbhar* flesh,
(2) barking deer's flesh,
(3) fish called *pumûng*,
(5) oranges,
(5) vermicelli,
(6) sessamum oil,
(7) *p'akkût* (an edible fern),
(8) *p'akmî* (onion),
(9) *makk'usôm* (tomato).

The above articles of food are said not to agree with a newly-born infant. Immediately after child-birth, the mother has her stomach bandaged, and sits with her back exposed to a fire made of any wood, which, when punctured, does not exude any milk or gum. The woods generally used are,—

(1) *mainim* (oak),
(2) *maikôt*,
(3) *maik'ôk* (tree fern),
(4) *maimeut*,
(5) *maikà*[2] (chestnut).

The mother is considered unclean for seven days, and before entering upon the duties of the household has to bathe and put on clean garments. Pine-wood (*maipêk*) is burnt and the mother inhales the smoke, and also inhales *samôngnâk*,[3] which is said to prevent a rising of blood to the head, and so to prevent bleeding from the nose and mouth. Should the mother bleed from the mouth or nose, she is given a decoction of turmeric or some monkey's blood. The husband observes no special diet during the pregnancy of his wife, or after her delivery, but it is considered undesirable that he should,—

(1) drive pigs.
(2) carry the dead.
(3) bore holes.
(4) fill in holes in the ground.
(5) mock others.

After a month the child is bathed in water, into which, if the child is a boy, have been put silver, gold, precious stones, a 10-*tôlâ* weight, a 5-*tôlâ* weight, a 2-*tôlâ* weight, and other standard weights down to ⅛ of a *tôlâ*. If the child is a girl, silver, gold, and all the ornaments of the female sex are put in the bath water. If the child is of well-to-do parents 1½ *tôlâs* weight of gold is tied as a pendant round the child's neck, and if of poor people four annas weight of silver. The child is now named by one of the elders, who ties a cord, consisting of seven threads, round the wrist.

The name is given in the following order:—

If a boy (son);—
1st son = Ai.
2nd son = Ai Yi.
3rd son = Ai S'am.
4th son = Ai S'ai.
5th son = Ai Ngo.
6th son = Ai Nôk.
7th son = Ai Nu.
8th son = Ai Nai.

If a girl (daughter);—
1st daughter = Nang Yê.
2nd daughter = Nang Yi.
3rd daughter = Nang Am.
4th daughter = Nang Ai.
5th daughter = Nang O.
6th daughter = Nang Ôk.
7th daughter = Nang It.[4]

These names are kept by both boys and girls, unless changed under the following conditions:—

(1) If the boy enters a *kyaung* (Buddhist monastery).
(2) If after three or four years the child (boy or girl) is renamed with a name indicating the day of birth.
(3) If illness supervenes, when the name is changed in the following manner;—

A ceremony is performed by which the child is supposed to be exchanged for—

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[2] *ă* = *aw* in *law*.
[3] Burmese *samôngnet* = *nigella sativa*.
[4] [The Burmese naming customs are simply those of the Hindus borrowed direct from India, hence these primitive customs of the Shâns are peculiarly interesting.—ED.]

(*a*) A piece of coarse cloth, and is then called Master (or Miss) Coarse Cloth, Ai Man or Nang Man;

(*b*) A portion of silver, when the name becomes Master (or Miss) Silver, Ai Ngeun or Nang Ngeun;

(*c*) A pair of scales, when, if the child weighs more than a viss (Rs. 100 in weight),[5] the name becomes Ai (or Nang) Swoi[6] S'a, Master (or Miss) More-than-one-viss; or,

(*d*) The child is put into a roaster and a pretence is made of roasting it, after which it is called Master (or Miss) Roast, Ai Kä or Nang Kä; or,

(*e*) The child is thrown away, and picked up again by some member of the family, and after a little time given back to the parents and called Master (or Miss) Picked-up, Ai (or Nang) Kip; or,

(*f*) If there is a visitor in the house the child is given to him, and then taken back and called Ai (or Nang) K'ek, Master (or Miss) Visitor; or,

(*g*) If it be full moon day, the child is called Ai (or Nang) Môn, Master (or Miss) Full Moon; or,

(*h*) If the child have birth marks, it is called Ai (or Nang) Mai, Master (or Miss) Marks.

The above changes of name are made to restore the child to health, and if they fail to do so, the child is then taken to the *kyaung* (Buddhist monastery) with some offerings and called Ai (or Nang) Lû, Master (or Miss) Offering.

All the names under head (3) are subject to further change under heads (1) and (2).

A boy, when old enough to talk and learn, is sent to a *kyaung* (in this case a monastic school), which he attends till he learns off the first prayer, when he is made to repeat it thrice in the presence of the head *pôngyî*, (Buddhist monk and teacher), exchanging his ordinary clothes for those of a *pôngyî*, and remaining in the *kyaung* under a name given by the pôngyî. This name begins or ends with one of the following letters, according to the day of his birth.,—

Sunday = *a*, *á*, or *ä*, as *Sanà*,[6] &c.
Monday = *ka*, *k'a*, *nga*, or *ka*, as Kâltya, &c.
Tuesday = *sa*, *s'a*, or *ña*, as Santa, &c.
Wednesday = *ya*, *la*, or *wa*, as Wiläs'a, &c.
Thursday = *pa*, *p'a*, or *ma*, as Pansikta, &c.
Friday = *s'a*, or *ha*, as S'ána, &c.
Saturday = *ta*, *t'a*, or *na*, as Nanta, &c.

The name thus given is retained for life. In the case of girls the name is given by an elder of the village, and not by a *pôngyî*.

Adoption is practised, but is followed by no special ceremony. If the adopting father have no issue, then the adopted son gets all the property. If there be issue, either before or after the adoption, the adopted son gets half the share of the rightful issue or issues, who get equal shares. The same rule is followed with regard to the property of the real father of the child adopted.

No ceremonies are performed at **Puberty**, either in the case of boys or girls.

Marriage is permissible with any caste or creed. If a person of either sex dies without marrying, the body, before burial, is banged against a tree-stump, which is, for the time being, considered to represent the husband or wife. This ceremony is performed in the belief that, if omitted, the person would, in his or her next existence, again die unmarried.

A young man, taking a fancy to a young woman, visits the latter's house and woos her, and, if the liking be mutual, she accompanies him to his house as his wife. On the following morning the parents of the young man visit the parents of the young woman with an offering of salt and tea, make known to them the fact of the union of their respective children, beg that their own child may be forgiven for the intrusion, and request the fixing of a day for the marriage ceremony. This request being granted and the day fixed, the young woman returns to her parents. Sometimes the young man on proposing to the girl is referred to her parents, in which case he sends his parents with an offering of salt and sugar to propose for the girl and obtain the sanction of her parents to fix a day for their wedding.

On the day appointed the relatives of both parties, and the parties themselves, collect in the house of the girl.

The bridegroom, taking with him a bundle of tea (one viss) and a bundle of salt (one viss) tied together, and in them as much money as he can afford to give the parents of the girl as compensation, places his presents before them, and proposes for their daughter. The two bundles are then untied by the parents and the money extracted,

[5] [The regulation viss 3·65 lbs. (avoirdupois); but this viss must be about 2½ lbs. only.—ED.]

[6] ai as in aisle.

[6] *San* is a qualifying prefix and not part of the name proper. [In the above we have the ordinary Brahmanical system of nomenclature. The remaining customs previously indicated have many parallels among non-Brahmanical natives in India.—ED.]

after which one of the elders of the village takes the tea and the salt out into the main road, and holding them above his head calls on heaven, earth and sun to witness the union of the two parties. He then re-enters the house, and ties a cord of seven threads round the left wrist of the bride and one round the right wrist of the bridegroom. This is called the matrimonial bond.

The bridegroom next distributes money to the elders of the village and all sit down to a feast.

The bride with all her worldly goods now accompanies the bridegroom to his house, but they are stopped on the road by bachelor friends of the bridegroom, who has to pay his way through them.

Formal marriage is, however, dying away, and marriage now often means cohabitation by mutual consent.

Divorce is by mutual consent of both parties, who give each other letters[7] of freedom to re-marry, &c.

If the wife claims a divorce and the husband is not willing, the wife has to pay Rs. 30 to be divorced. If the husband claims a divorce, he forfeits all his household property to his wife.

The forbidden degrees of consanguinity may be thus stated. A man shall not marry his,—

(1) mother,
(2) grandmother,
(3) sister,
(4) aunt,
(5) wife's mother,
(6) wife's grandmother,
(7) wife's aunt.

And *vice versâ* with a woman. All other ties are allowed.

A man may have several wives. A woman cannot have more than one husband. Polygamy is sanctioned, as man is believed to be the superior and master of woman. A man obtains a wife by wooing and with her consent; sometimes by purchase; and in case of rulers, as an offering of peace, friendship, &c.

A man is prohibited from cohabiting with his wife,—

(1) during menstruation,
(2) while she is in the act of suckling her child,
(3) when she is ill,
(4) on new moon and full moon days,
(5) in the open, or in a *kyaung* or *zayàt*,[8]

A widow is free to marry again and act as she pleases, no one in particular having any claim to her.

The causes of disease are held to be,—

(1) irregularities of diet,
(2) change of water and climate (air),
(3) evil spirits.

Diseases from (1) and (2) are treated by medicines (mostly herbs) and shampooing, from (3) by applying irritants, such as chilles to the eye. Children are never killed. Abortion is brought on by shampooing.

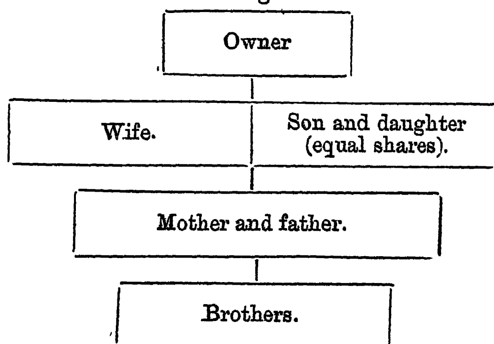
Death is considered to be the result of disease and the dead are buried. The corpse is dressed in new clothes. Clothes with a burn in them are never used under any circumstances for burial purposes, the body being buried naked rather than in such clothes. There is no belief in ghosts.[9] The grave diggers, before getting out of the newly dug grave, sweep it out with brambles or thorns to prevent the *nàts* (spirits) from remaining in the grave.

Persons who have handled a corpse are required to bathe before re-entering the village.

No mourning garb is worn by a widow.

The officials (Säbwâs, Myôzâs, Tamôns and Myôkhams) decide all cases of murder. The murderer has to pay the following compensation. To the next kin of the victim, Rs. 333; to the official deciding the case, Rs. 333; to the *amats*, Rs. $\frac{333}{2}$; to the *sarès*, Rs. $\frac{333}{4}$; to the bailiff and messengers, Rs. $\frac{333}{6}$. If he cannot pay these sums his relations have to do so; if his relations cannot, his village; if his village cannot, his circle. If he belong to another clan or state, and refuse to pay the fine, then war is declared between the two states. If two brothers fight and one is killed the whole family are made to forfeit their worldly goods (household). When a murderer pays the compensation he is set free and no slur or stain is attached to him.

Individual property is recognized and inheritance takes the following course:—



[7] [On this Lieut. Henry Daly remarks that the letter is only given by the man, not by the woman. Lieut. Daly is the Superintendent of the Northern Shân States.—ED].

[8] This equals the Indian *dharmśâlâ*.

[9] [Lieut. Daly says that "this statement is, I believe, incorrect."—ED.]

It will be thus seen that property descends to the children and wife, the wife taking 50 per cent. and the children equal shares of the remainder. The eldest son gets the household property, arms, and precious stones. If there be no children the wife is heir; if no wife, the parents; and if the parents are dead, the deceased's brothers divide.

A title or seat (Sàbwaship, &c.) descends to the sons in order of birth.[10] If there be no sons to the daughter's husband, if she be married; if not, to the brothers.

Everything is eaten, only human flesh being forbidden. Men, women and children all eat together. Cannibalism is practised very seldom, and only by the Bo, or leader of an army. If he be tattoed in a peculiar manner, he eats the flesh of an enemy who has been shot. This is said to render the charm of the tattooing stronger and more permanent.

The ground is tilled with a crude plough. The first produce (a portion) is prepared and taken as an offering to a *kyaung* before any is eaten by the household.

Each man is said to tell his prayers before setting out on a warlike expedition. The wife of the warrior,—

(1) rests and does no work on every fifth day;
(2) fills an earthen goblet with water up to the brim and puts some flowers into it every day. A decrease of the water or the withering of the flowers is looked upon as an evil sign (death);
(3) sweeps clean, and lays out, her husband's bedding every night;
(4) is prohibited from sleeping in his bed during his absence.

Mutilation of enemies is carried on to a great extent. The heads are always cut off and brought to the Chief, who gives a reward for every head, according as the head is that of an important or ordinary man.

The country is governed by Chiefs whose office is supposed to be hereditary and not elective, and descends as above explained.

The following story is told of the origin of the Shâns and of their government. A man, aged 5,000 years, started from the east in search of a wife, and at about the same time a woman, aged 5,000 years, started from the west in search of a husband. These two met in the middle of the Shân States and then became man and wife. They had eight sons and seven daughters, who multiplied in their turn and gave rise to a large population. The eight sons and their respective children clamoured for the rulership over the descendants of the daughters, when their language became confused and they then separated and went their respective ways, with their children and clans. The names of the eight sons were—

(1) Ai.
(2) Ai Yi.
(3) Ai S'am.
(4) Ai S'ai.
(5) Ai Ngo.
(6) Ai Nu.
(7) Ai Nôk.
(8) Ai Nai.[11]

Not being able to agree as to who should be the Chief, and quarrelling amongst themselves, the eldest two sons and their children heard of the existence of two kings to the north, and went there to invite them to come and rule the Shân country. These two kings are said to be the sons of K'un Sang, the Chief of the Heavens, who sent them to deliver the Shân country. The emigrant Shâns invited them to come and rule their country, and promised to supply and give them every comfort, and to obey and follow their commands.

On the way home the party met a man called Sang P'an,[12] who expressed a desire to follow the two kings, and they in turn promised to provide for him.

After a short distance they met another man, who called himself Tûriya, and was a songster. He also joined the party, and they all arrived at Sanpûralit, now in the south-east.

The eight essentials of a city (*angkâmôngpit pông*) were attended to, namely,—

(1) Market.
(2) Water-supply.
(3) Palace buildings.
(4) [?]
(5) Fields.
(6) Monastic buildings.
(7) Heads of armies (*bôs*).
(8) Roads.

The names of the two first rulers are—

(1) Mahâ-K'attiya Yâza.
(2) Mahâ-S'amp'engna Yâza.[13]

The first improved agriculture and the second introduced weapons.

[10] [See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 422, as to the Maṇipûrî rule of descent.—ED.]

[11] [Compare the male nomenclature above.—ED.]

[12] This man and his generations represent the Amat class, and the two "kings" the Sabwâ class.

[13] [For (1) read Mahâ-Kshatriya-Râja and for (2) read (?) Mahâ-Sampuṇṇa-Râja. However, compare these names and that of Sanpûralit with the following from the *Mahâyâzawin* (*Mahârâjavaṁsa*), or Chronicle of the Burmese kings:—"Gautama Buddha, in the fifth year

On arrival they found an engraved stone, with inscriptions said to have been written by the deities to guide them in ruling the country.

All Sabwâs are said to be descendants of the two first rulers and the officials of Sang P'an and Tûriya.

The earth is supposed to have been brought from the depths by a species of white-ant. The depth is 84,000 *yûsanâs*,[14] the height 84,000, and the shape square. Nine spirits from above came down and then established earth, water, heavens, and religion. They divided the world into 16 divisions. The story of the division is as follows:—

A lotus with four leaves flowered between three stones. Then the Myinmo mountain, which was 84,000 *yûsanâs* within the waters, and 84,000 *yûsanâs* above, then appeared. It was surrounded by seven mountains, namely, (1) Wikant'o, (2) Yôkkantala, (3) Êks'engdala, (4) Nêmengdala, (5) S'udatsana, (6) As'ana, (7) Gandama. These are the world, which was divided into four great islands, namely, (1) Pôp'a Widêha, or the Eastern Island; (2) Amyagawya, or the Western Island; (3) Guru-Utang, or the Northern Island; (4) Sampudîpa, or the Southern Island. This last was subdivided into 16 countries. These having been formed, nine Brahmans came down from heaven and created man, animals, trees, flowers, fruits, grain, and water.[15]

MATERIALS FOR CALCULATING THE DATE OF SUNDARA-PANDYA.

The island of Śrîraṅgam near Trichinopoly bears two ancient temples, one of Vishnu which is called Raṅganâtha, and one of Śiva which is called Jambukêśvara in Sanskṛit and Tiruvâṇaikkôyil in Tamiḻ. Within the second of these two temples, my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, discovered an inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya, which promises to settle the date of this king within narrow limits. The inscription is engraved on the south wall of the second *prâkâra* which I was not permitted to enter. The subjoined transcript of its first lines is made with the help of another identical inscription, the date of which is lost, on the west wall of the third *prâkâra*.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrîḥ ௐ Svasti Samasta-jagad-âdhâra Sômakula-tilaka Madhurâpura-Mâdhava Kêraḷa-vaṁśa-nirmmûlana Laṁkâdvîpa-luṇṭana-dvitîya-Râma Chôḷakula-śaila-kuliśa Karṇṇâṭarâja-vidrâvaṇa Kâṭhaka-kari-kûṭapâkala vividha-ripu-durgga-marddana Vîra-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla-vipina-dâvadahana Kâñchi-puravar-âdhîśvara-Gaṇapati-hari-

2 na-śârddûla Nellûrapura-virachita-vîrâbhishêka praṇata-râja-pratishṭhâpaka mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara ௐ Kô=Chchaḍaipanmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravarttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṉ=koṇḍ-aruḷiya śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiya-dêvaṟ[ku] yâṇḍu 10vadu pattâvadu Ṛishabha-nâyaṟṟu apara-[pa]kshattu Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum prathamaiyum peṟṟa A[ṉi]-

3 ḻattu-nâḷ.

TRANSLATION.

A.— Sanskṛit portion.

Hail! Prosperity!

Hail! The support of the whole world, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the Mâdhava (Kṛishna) of the city of Madhurâ, the uprooter of the Kêraḷa race, a second Râma in plundering the island of Lankâ, the thunderbolt to the mountain (*which was*) the Chôla race, the dispeller of the Karṇâṭa king, the fever to the elephant (*which was*) the Kâṭhaka (*king*), the destroyer of the strongholds of various enemies, the jungle-fire to the forest (*which was*) Vîra-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla, the tiger to the deer (*which was*) Gaṇapati (*who was*) the lord of Kâñchî the best of cities, he who was anointed as a hero in the town of Nellûr, who re-established those kings who prostrated themselves before him, the *mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara*:—

B. — Tamiḻ portion.

In the 10th—tenth—year (*of the reign*) of (*this*) king (*kô*) Jaṭâvarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva, who was pleased to conquer every country,—on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Anurâdhâ, which corresponded to Wednesday, the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha.

Among the enemies of whose conquest the king boasts in the Sanskṛit preamble of his inscription, there are two names of individuals, *viz.* Ganapati, the lord of Kâñchî, and Vîra-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla. The dates of each of these are known from other sources. An inscription of the

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of his Buddhahood, was presented by the two brothers Mahâpuṇṇa and Chûḷapuṇṇa with a sandalwood monastery situated at Vâṇijjagâma, otherwise called Lêgaing, in Sunâparanta." Lêgaing is in the Minbu District of Upper Burma. Mahâpuṇṇa and Chûḷapuṇṇa are otherwise known as Mahâsambhava and Chuḷasambhava, sons of Lahaduka, adopted son of Thadonâganaing, first mythological king of Tagaung. The legends given, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 272ff. and Vol. XIX. p. 437ff, read with this one go far towards settling the origin of these garbled Shân tales. Sanpûralit is possibly the Chandapurî on the Mêkong of Yule and other writers.—Ed.]

[14] A *yûsanâ* (*yôjana*) is the measure of the distance the eye can reach.

[15] [The Indian origin, probably through Buddhist tradition, of the above folktales is obvious.—Ed.]

Kâkatîya king **Gaṇapati** of **Orugallu** (Worangal) which is found in the Êkâmranâtha temple at Kâñchîpura, and which I shall shortly publish in this *Journal*, is dated on Tuesday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyaishṭha of Śâka 1172, the cyclic year Saumya, which corresponds to Tuesday, the 8th June 1249 A. D. According to a Telugu chronicle (Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 483) and an inscription of his successor (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xx), king Gaṇapati died in Śaka 1180. Vîra-Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla is very probably identical with **Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêva**, whose date is established by three other Kâñchî inscriptions, the beginnings of which are subjoined:—

No. I.

On the south wall of the so-called "rock" (malai) *in the Aruḷâla-Perumâḷ temple.*

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuvaṇa-chchakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-vijaya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla-dêvarkku** yâṇḍu 15vadu Miduṇa-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rôśaṇi-nâḷ.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious and victorious **Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêva**, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Rôhinî, which corresponded to Saturday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna.

No. II.

On the north wall of the second prâkâra of the Êkâmranâtha temple.

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 1187 peṟṟa Tiribuva-ṇachchakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvar[k*]ku** yâṇḍu 1[6]vadu Siṁha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻa-maiyum peṟṟa Uttirâḍattu-nâḷ.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6]th year of *etc.*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1187,— on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttarâshâḍhâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.

No. III.

On the same wall as No. I.

Svasti śrî Śakara-yâṇḍu 118[7] peṟṟa Tiri-buvaṇaśakkarava[r]ttigaḷ śrî-viśaiya-**Kaṇḍa-Gôpâladêvaṟkku** yâ[ṇ*]ḍu 1[6vadu] Siṁha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Śaṇi-kkiḻa-maiyum peṟṟa Uttiraṭṭâdi-nâḷ.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 1[6th] year of *etc.*, which corresponded to the Śaka year 118[7],— on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to Saturday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Siṁha.

According to an inscription of the Dharmêś-vara temple at Manimangalam in the Chingleput district, **Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla** bore the surname **Madhurântaka-Pottappi-Chôḷa.** A comparison of the dates of Nos. I. and II. shews that his accession must have taken place between the months of Mithuna and Siṁha in the Śaka year 1172. The units of the two dates of No. III. are not absolutely certain. If the published reading is correct, thedetails would be identical with those of No. II, with the exception of the *nakshatra*. In this case either Uttirâḍam or Uttiraṭṭâdi might be a mistake for the other.

The manner in which the year of the accession of **Sundara-Pâṇḍya** might be fixed on the basis of these new data, will be as follows:—The upper limit for the date of the inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya is Śaka 1172, as the fight between him and Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla might have taken place in his 10th year, in which his inscription is dated, and also in Śaka 1172, the year of the accession of Kaṇḍa-Gôpâla. The lower limit is Śaka 1190, as the fight between him and Gaṇapati might have taken place in his first year, and also in Śaka 1180, the year of the death of Gaṇapati. The details of the date of the inscription must accordingly be applied to each of the Śaka years 1172 to 1190, and the year of the accession of Sundara-Pâṇḍya will fall between Śaka 1162 and 1180.

The **Sundara-Pâṇḍya** of the Jambukêśvara inscription may, accordingly, be identical with Marco Polo's "**Sender Bandi**," who was reigning in A. D. 1292, and with that "**Sundar Bandi**," who, according to the Muḥammadan historians, died in A. D. 1293 (Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 141; *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 33). The "Pâṇḍya king Sundara," who is mentioned in a Siṁhalese chronical (*J. As Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XLI. Part I. p. 200) as a contemporary of Parâkramabâhu of Ceylon (1153 to 1186 A. D.), does not appear to have been a reigning king, but a mere prince and general of a Pândya king Kulaśêkhara, whose predecessor was a Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya, and whose successor was a Vîra-Pâṇḍya. That there was at least *one* still earlier Sundara, may be gathered from the inscriptions of Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who boasts to have conquered "the crown of Sundara" (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 99; Vol. II. p. 108).

E. HULTZSCH.

After the above note was in type, I received a letter from Mr S. B. Dikshit, dated Dhulia, 11th March, in which he states that **Saka 1182 expired** is the only year that answers for the details of the inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya.

E. H.

Nundidroog, 16th March 1892.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ECLIPSE-CUSTOMS IN MADRAS.

A peculiar sanctity is attributed to eclipses in general. Among the Brâhmaṇs it is considered most sacrilegious to take food during the period of the eclipse. The food should be taken generally fully eight hours before the first contact, and at first contact everybody, including children, should bathe. A bath in the sea or a river is considered the most efficacious. Previous to bathing, the family priest generally goes through certain rites with a view to washing away all the sins of the party. After the bath, alms are freely distributed to the poor, and when the last contact is over, or after the clearance of the eclipse, there is a second bath, and then the worshippers may take their food.

A peculiar feature in eclipse customs is, that when the eclipse falls on a day, the presiding *nakshatra* of which is the same as that of a person's horoscope, there is fear of its having an evil influence on his futurity. To ward off this the priest has to perform counteracting ceremonies, and to distribute alms freely to the poor, or break a few of both ash-coloured and white gourds. The person influenced for evil as above is also advised to tie round his forehead a small palmyra leaf, on which are written a few Sanskrit verses, in expiation of his or her sins, as the case may be.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

GLIMPSES INTO A BHIL'S LIFE.

I once purchased a quiver, filled with arrows, which had been in the possession of a Bhîl of some standing. In a pocket in the quiver were found three documents in the vernacular, of which I now give a partial rendering. They are very characteristic of the people to whom the owner belonged.

First came a scrap of a letter to the following effect: — "In the Jêrâ (? जेरा) District, Jamnâ Bhanbhûjî's son is charged with theft from the house of Manśâ Mînâ. She states that so far her son has never stolen anything. If she has lied to her uncle, let her be convicted before the *pañchâyat*. Convey our welfare. *Kâtak badî pañchamî, St.* 1934 (Oct. 1877). Witnesses to the good conduct of Jamnâ Bhaṇbhûjî's son :— Ṭhâkursî Paṭêl, Baldêvâ Paṭêl, Dungarsî Paṭêl, Bhagwânâ Patêl. Signed by Channâ Paṭwârî: the above statement of Jamnâ Bhaṇbhûjî is correct."

Next comes a small scrap of paper giving the name of eighteen persons, all Hindus, who owed the writer Rs. 40-4-0 between them, in sums varying from 12 annas to Rs. 5.

Lastly is a short daily " account of expenditure with one Alî Bakhsh from *Asauj* (Sept.) *sudî* 13*mî, St.* 1934 (1877)." It is in five columns, headed respectively flour (*âṭâ*), pulse (*dâl*), *ghî* molasses (*guṛ*) and tobacco, with an occasional note of cash borrowed, and extends from *Asauj sudî* 13*mî* to *Kâṭak badî* 8*mî*, or 11 days.

On *Asauj sudî* 13*mî* the owner must have laid in a stock, for we find him procuring:— *âṭâ*, 10 *sêrs : dâl*, 1 *sêr : ghî*, 1 *sêr : guṛ*, 1 *sêr : tamâkhû*, 6 *pâî : paisâ*, 3 *pâî*. He bought his *âṭâ, dâl*, and *ghî* regularly every day thereafter, and his *guṛ* and tobacco occasionally only. Money he seems to have borrowed in very small quantities. He bought his *âṭâ* alternately 1 *sêr* 8 *chitâks*, and 12 *chitâks* : his *dâl* nearly always 6 *chitâks* : and his *guṛ* nearly always 3 *chitâks*. Including his stock on *Asauj sudî* 13*mî*, he purchased altogether *âṭâ*, 35 *sêrs*, 2 *chitâks : dâl*, 6 *sêrs*, 12 *chitâks : ghî* 4 *sêrs*, 3 *chitâks : guṛ*, 2 *sêrs*, 10 *chitâks*. He also bought 6 *chitâks* of sugarcane. The ruling rates for these articles were *âṭâ*, 16 *sêrs : dâl*, 10 *sêrs : ghî*, 3 *sêrs : guṛ*, 10 *sêrs*. His total expenditure was Rs. 4-14-6, including 1 anna and 3 pies borrowed in cash, in these eleven days, of which nearly one-fourth was on the first day for some reason, leaving an expenditure of Rs. 3-12-0 in ten days, or (say) Rs. 11-4-0 in a month; wherefrom it is to be assumed that our unknown friend was a man of substance in his village.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

HANDBOOK OF THE HAKA OR BAUNGSHE DIALECT OF THE CHIN LANGUAGE, by LIEUT. D. J. C. MACNABB, B. S. C., Political Officer, Haka.[1]

That the wild Chins and other mountaineers on the Burman Frontier are at present receiving an especial measure of attention is due to the possession by them of no peculiarly interesting qualities, but solely to their persistent and inveterate habit of raiding. These raids have taken place with entire impartiality, both against other hill-men living without the pale, and against the more civilised inhabitants of the plains. As has been pointed out by Mr. McCabe with reference to the cognate Nâgâ tribes, each

[1] Rangoon, printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1891.

village is frequently foreign country to its neighbours, and raid and counter-raid are carried on with little intermission and in the most bloodthirsty manner. This state of things could not, of course, be permitted to continue in the presence of a civilised power, and as nothing short of annexation was shown to have the slightest effect on these wild hill-men, their country has been received into the British Empire, and measures have been taken to establish in the hill country the *Pax Britannica*, which already prevails in the neighbouring plains. This has, of course, necessitated the presence amongst the wild Chins of British officers, who, in accordance with the wise foresight of the Government, have been encouraged to make themselves familiar with the language of the people whose destinies they control. The present manual, which is designed for the use of military and other officers in Hâkà and its vicinity, is the work of Mr. Macnabb, the Political Officer stationed at that place, and is one of the first results of the new *régime*. The language is that known as the Baungshê or Hâkà Chin, which language we are told in the Preface is spoken over a considerable tract of country. Slight dialectic variations, it is true, occur in different parts, but these do not appear to be so important as one might be lead *à priori* to suppose.

One direct result, indeed, of the internecine warfare referred to is the creation of many petty dialects, which, in the case of the Manipûrîs, have caused travellers to state that the language spoken in certain villages is unintelligible to their neighbours twenty or thirty miles away. Whilst, however, admitting that the conditions of life in the wild forest-covered mountains of the Arakan Yômà are favourable to the propagation of petty dialectic changes, it may reasonably be doubted whether there is much real divergence in the language spoken by different villages of the same tribe. Slight variations in the pronunciation of certain vowels, or in the retention or elision of final consonants, will frequently make alterations in words, which, though sufficiently small in a written language, will often render sentences unintelligible to obtuse savages, and even to educated Europeans, who are not well versed in the language.[2] Of course, also, the absence hitherto of books or writings amongst these savages is eminently conducive to the growth of different dialects, but again there is a strong counteracting tendency in the pertinacity with which the Mongoloid races retain intact the root words of their languages.[3]

In the present case it may be taken that we have before us the language spoken by a large and important body of these hill-men, and the information concerning it, now for the first time brought to the public eye, cannot fail to throw an interesting light on the ethnic relations generally of the Chins and their cognate races. Before however examining the philological aspects of the Baungshê or Hâkà Chin Language it may be well to point out a few apparent errors in the book before us. I shall do so in no cavilling spirit, being well aware of the difficulties and pitfalls which await him who for the first time reduces a foreign language to writing; but without laying claim to any knowledge of the language itself, a comparison of the sentences and vocabulary in this book with those already published of Lushai and its cognate dialects will show, that there are a few mistakes, which may with advantage be corrected in a second edition.

Mr. Macnabb has, in writing Chin, wisely chosen the Roman character in preference to the Burmese one, and has selected with slight alteration the Government system of vowel transliteration. This is a most fortunate circumstance, as it both facilitates comparison of the language with others, and enables the learner to grasp at once the various sounds used in speaking. It is to be hoped that the same course will be followed by pioneers in the other hill languages and dialects, and that the error of the American Missionaries in using a garbled version of the Burmese alphabet (itself drawn from Aryan sources), in writing Karen, will not be repeated.

Objection may be taken to two divergences from the Government system, namely the transliteration of short *o* as in 'upon' by *ô*, and of short *a*, as *u* in 'full,' by *ŭ*. In the former case it would obviously be preferable to write the *o* without any mark at all, since the sound in 'upon' is simply that of the ordinary short *o*, (not found in Burmese.)[4]

The transliteration of the undefined vowel by *ŭ* is unquestionably wrong and misleading. This vowel is etymologically *a*, as is shown, for instance, by the words for 'rupee' (*tŭnkā*), 'reward' (*lŭk--saung*), and 'path' (*lŭmb*), which are the derivatives respectively of the Hindustânî word *ṭaṅkâ*, the Burmese *lak-s'aung* (*let-s'aung*), and the

[2] [*e. g.*, the Hindî *bântnâ* is the Pañjâbî *vanḍnâ*, words instantly recognizable as the same on paper, but not so in speech.—ED.]

[3] [The experience of British officers in the Chin Hills is clearly that of those who have to deal with savage languages generally. *E. g.*, the remarks of the late Bishop Pattison on the languages of the Pacific Islands, and the experience of Mr. Man in the Andamans.—ED.]

[4] [The representation of *o* in 'upon' by *ô* is, of course, clearly misleading, but I think it requires a diacritical mark nevertheless. "Ordinary short *o*" is usually understood to have the sound of *o* in 'opaque,' found

Tibeto-Burman root *lam*. If it is considered necessary in writing to distinguish this vowel from that in the word 'man' some simple diacritical mark such as ˘[5] would probably suffice, or perhaps Mr. Sweet's Anglo-Saxon *æh* might do

Again, is it correct to talk of *t* preceding *s* or *z* as an aspirate? The latter expression is usually applied to a breathing of some kind, and indeed the sounds referred to are simply inchoate palatals and not aspirated sibilants.

It is doubtless through an oversight that such pre-Hunterian words as '*a-leen*,' 'warm,' '*a-keek*,' 'cool,' '*tlike*,' 'to catch,' occur in the book These should apparently be written *alīn*, *akīk*, and *tlaik*.

On examining the vocabularies in the book, one of the first things to strike the eye is the prefixing of k' to all verbal roots, which seems at first strange, as no known cognate language possesses this peculiarity. A comparison, however, with Lushai, (which will be shown to be the language most nearly related to Baungshê Chin), shows that this *k'* or *ka* is in reality the shortened or reduplicated form of the first personal pronoun *kèmī*. This particle is, of course, a distinct word, and has nothing to do with the verbal root; and it is, therefore, unfortunate that it should have been confused with the latter. The error has doubtless arisen from the difficulty, which has been pointed out by Professor Sayce,[6] in "getting a savage or barbarian to give the name of an object without incorporating it into a sentence or bringing it into relation with something else." It is, indeed, demonstrable that Mr. Hodgson, though aware[7] of a precisely similar construction existing in Gyarung and other languages, has, in the case of vocabularies of dialects cognate to Baungshê Chin, been misled by this very particle *ka*, which he has mistaken for the well known *ka* prefix, found throughout the Tibeto-Burman family. In the present case the confusing of the pronoun *ka* with the root has led to several mistakes in the sentences; *e. g*, on page 6 —" Have you ever met me" should be *kèmā na mū-bal-maw*, and not *k'mū*: and on page 22:—" You are lying" should be *nangma na hlen* or *na hlen*, and not *na k'hlen*.

The word for 'fowl' is given throughout as arr, but *primâ facie* it would seem somewhat doubtful whether there is any *r* sound in this word, which is obviously a corruption of the wide-spread root wâ, meaning a bird or fowl. In no cognate language has this root a final *r*, nor is there anything to show that the *ra* suffix which has been pointed out by Mr. Hodgson in Tibetan and other languages occurs in Baungshê Chin. Without, therefore, presuming to lay down how these people pronounce the word, we would suggest that it is possibly *ā* pronounced in the 'heavy tone,' as it is called in Burmese. The fact also of its being a shortened or cut down form of the original root *wa* lends probability to its being pronounced in this tone.

It may here be remarked that no mention is made of tones in this book, but this can hardly be because they do not exist in Baungshê Chin. It would, indeed, be scarcely credible that this language, surrounded as it is on all sides by those using tones, should be destitute of these adjuncts, which are indeed universal amongst the South-Eastern Mongoloids. At the same time the subject of tones presents unusual difficulties to the European, whose ear can frequently scarcely distinguish between words in different tones, unless the fact of that difference is specially brought to his notice. Moreover, little has been done as yet towards solving the question of the best method of rendering tones when using the Hunterian system of spelling; so that in a hand-book like the present one it was perhaps as well to avoid the subject. At the same time we should have been glad to be informed positively as to the existence of tones in Baungshê Chin, and if so, how many could be distinguished. Similarly, it would be interesting to know whether these Chins ever modify their vowels similarly to the German *umlaut*. The use of modified vowels is very common amongst the Mongoloid hill-men, not to speak of the Tibetans, and *à priori* it would seem probable that they exist in the Baungshê dialect. In their case no difficulty exists in writing, since the forms *ä*, *ë*, *ï*, *ö* and *ü* are universally understood. Possibly the word *shert* 'to build,' (a stockade), should be written

in Burmese, and not the sound of *o* in 'upon,' The late Mr. A. J. Ellis in his report on the Andamanese Language (*Presidential Address*, *Philological Society*, 1882) denoted *o* in 'upon' by *ò*.—Ed.]

[5] [Mr. Ellis used *á* in writing Andamanese. But the Andamanese have five *a* sounds, and unless Chins are blessed with an equal number I would suggest *à* for *a* in 'man.'—Ed.]

[6] *The Science of Language*, Vol. I. [I can endorse this from personal experience. It took Mr. Man and myself about a year to discover the peculiar pronominal prefixes of Andamanese, owing to this very cause. The savage will always say 'my leg,' 'your leg,' 'his leg' in preference to 'leg,' and when he speaks, as the Andamanese do, of *darchâgda*, *ngarchâgda*, and *archâgda* for the above expressions, and then proceeds to drop the final *da* in composition, the unassisted learner is apt to be puzzled; more especially when, as in Andamanese, there are seven varieties of these prefixes, having but little in common with each other and the ordinary words for 'I, you and he.'—Ed.]

[7] *Mongolian Affinities of the Circassians.*

shöt, for it is very unusual, if not quite unknown, in this class of languages, to find an *r* prefixed to a final consonant. Similarly it may be surmised that *swark*, 'to come out' should be written *swāk*[8].

In the list of the first ten numerals given at the end of the book the prefix *pa* occurs before each number. A reference to the text, however, shows that this pa is, as in Lushai, merely a numeral co-efficient, the Chins and Lushais placing it between the noun and the number, instead of last of all, as is the case in Burmese. The prefix fan before *kûl* or *kwē*, 'twenty,' is apparently a numeral co-efficient for some special class of nouns, as on page 25 there occurs the expression *mi-pa-kwē* for 'twenty men.' It would seem not improbable there are other numeral co-efficients in Baungshê Chin besides *pa* and *fan*. The suffixing of these particles immediately to the noun is, it may be remarked, a favorable example for Dr. Bleek's theory of the origin of grammatical gender.

To pass to particular words, the translation of *kūt* as 'arm' is apparently wrong, since in Lushai and other cognate dialects it means 'hand,' and, in fact, in the Vocabulary at the end of the book the word *abān* is given for 'forearm.' Similarly on the same analogy it seems open to doubt whether the Baungshê Chins do not possess a distinct word for 'leg' apart from *ke*, 'foot.'

The word *pā* which properly means 'father' is given for 'man,' both on page 3 and in the Vocabulary, but a reference to the Sentences shows the word used for 'man' is *mi*, an extremely widespread root. Pā is possibly used, as in other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family, as a suffix meaning 'male.'

The word *ngā*, given in the Vocabulary on page 15, evidently means 'to know' and not 'to say,' and in practical use it would seem to correspond with the Burmese *tàt*. Burmese and Chin, are, of course, far from being the only languages, which use the verb 'to know' in the same sense as 'to be able.'

Exception may be taken to the giving of different adjectives (such as those of colour, 'deep,' &c.) in the form of nouns, *i. e.*, with short *a* prefixed. In the Tibeto-Burman family there are no such things as true adjectives, their place being taken by verbs; and the fact that in certain languages they are suffixed to the noun makes no difference.

The words given respectively for 'brother' and 'sister' probably denote either 'elder or younger brother or sister,' as it would be difficult to point to any language in the remotest degree cognate to Chin, in which these relations are not distinguished by separate words, according as they are older or younger than the speaker.

Before leaving the subject it may be as well to point out that in a few cases the Chin sentence, as given in the manual, does not correspond with the English, even according to the freest translation. Thus, on page 20:— *Hi byè hi tā-tēmaw* obviously means "Is this word (or saying) true," and has nothing to do with the English sentence "I wish to get true information about this." Similarly in the next line · — *Nangma pakat-tè byé-sin kan-dū* should apparently be translated "I wish to speak to you alone," and not "Do you think your information is true?"

With regard to the place of Baungshê Chin in the Tibeto-Burman family, it must plainly be grouped with those of the other hill-men inhabiting the Arakan Yômà Mountains from Maṇipûr to their southern extremity. The principal languages or dialects comprised in this group are Maṇipûrî, Lushai (Dzo), Kami, Shandu, and the languages of the Wild and the Tame (or Southern) Chins.

Professor Sayce in his *Science of Language* has, it is true, adopted another classification, making two groups of them and including Burmese and Karen in the second group. A comparison, however, of the vocabularies and grammar of these hill tongues shows them to possess many special points of resemblance, which differentiate them, as a whole, from the Burmese.

These tribes are, in fact, in all probability a later immigration than the dwellers in the plains, and are more closely connected with Sub-Himalayan tribes, such as the Limbu, than is the case with the Burmans. The Maṇipûrîs, having for some time past masqueraded as Hindus, have altered their lânguage more than is the case with the hill-tribes south of them, but they nevertheless belong to the same group. Of the different languages spoken in it Baungshê Chin has a markedly close affinity with Lushai, as the following list of words identical in both proves:—

Bear	*vōm*	Day	*tsūn*
Beat	*vel*	Dog	*ū-i*
Before	*'mai*	Door	*in-kā*
Behind	*'nū*	Eye	*myit*
Bird	*vā*	Fall	*tlā*
Bite	*shī*	Fire	*mē*
Blood	*t'i*	Fish	*ngā*
Boar (wild)	*ngāl*	Fly	*tō*
Burn	*kang*	Fowl	*ā*
Cold	*shik*	Go	*kal* (*kûl*)
Come	*hūn*	Good	*atā*
Daughter	*fānū*	Hand	*kūt*

[8] Compare also *mark*, 'to divorce' with the Lushai *māk*.

Head	*lū*	Seed	*asi*
High	*asang*	Sit	*t'â*
House	*in*	Slave	*shal (shâl)*
Inside	*asūn*	Snake	*râl*
Iron	*tır*	Son	*afā*
Looking-glass	*kla-lūng*	Stone	*lung*
Make	*ti*	Sweet	*aklūm*
Many	*tam* (*tûm*)	Thatch	*ài*
Near	*anai*	This	*hi*
Necklace	*t'i*	Tooth	*hā*
Nose	*ngā*	Weep	*tap*
Old	*ali*	Well (be)	*dam*
Pumpkin	*mai*	Which	*koi*
Rain	*rwa shūr*	Widow	*nū-'mè*
Reap	*ā*	Wish	*dū*
Red	*shen*	Yellow	*eng*
Ripe	*'min*	You	*nangmā*
See	*mū*		

In addition to the above list, which is taken almost at random and is very far from being exhaustive, there are many other words, such as *kaima* and *kèmā*, 'I,' which differ very slightly. Both from the number and nature of the allied words and from the character of their resemblances, it is apparent that **the Baungshê Chins and Lushais must at no distant period have formed one race.**[9] Words like those for 'brass,' 'gong,' 'looking glass,' &c., which are the same in Lushai and Baungshê Chin, can only have been incorporated into these languages recently, whilst the fact that the Chin word for 'rupee,' *tankā*, is derived, like the Lushai, direct from the Hindustânî and not through Burmese, points to the inference that when first introduced to this coin these Chins were probably living to the west of their present habitat; *i. e*, in the Chittagong Hill-Tracts, where the Lushais still reside. At the same time it may be inferred, from the words for 'gun' in Chin and Lushai being different, that they had already separated when fire-arms were brought to these hills. It is noteworthy, also, that these Chins have an indigenous word for 'sea,' which would hardly be the case if they had resided long where they now are.

One of the points, in which Baungshê Chin agrees with Lushai, is in the use of the sound of f in certain words, this being a somewhat rare sound in Tibeto-Burman phonology. The sound of *f* is also used in Kami, which language together with Lushai, possesses the peculiar guttural breathing known in Arabic as *'ain*. No mention of this latter sound is made in Mr. McNabb's work, so it may be that it is not found in Baungshê Chin.[10] The sound *f* would seem to correspond with the *varga ch, ts* and *s* in the other Tibeto-Burman languages.[11] Both the *f* and *'ain* sounds are very sparingly used, and it is possible that they are foreign sounds introduced into the dialects, in which they occur by contact with some Muhammadan race

The terminals *l*, *r*, and *p* still exist in Baungshê Chin, as in Lushai, though it is curious to note that, amongst the former, final *l* is not unfrequently elided. The example of the Chinese and Burmans shows that, with increasing laziness of pronunciation, these letters as terminals are apt to disappear.

One of the most noticeable points in the grammar of Baungshê Chin is that **the present tense of the verb consists of the naked root** without even a euphonical suffix[12] It is, of course, open to doubt whether this omission is due to a really primitive method of conjugation, as in Chinese, or whether there was formerly some suffix, which has come to be elided. Perhaps the latter hypothesis is on the whole the more probable, as no other case apparently exists in the Tibeto-Burman family of this want of a suffix, and it can scarcely be contended that Baungshê Chin has alone retained the earliest form of conjugation.

The future particle is *lai*, which is, curiously enough, almost the same as that (*laih*) used in Southern Chin to denote compulsion, — 'must' The latter is, however, compounded of the verb *lá* 'must' and *aih*, the future particle, in the same way as the Burmese *ra-mañ* (*yà-mî*). In one sentence, indeed, on page 19, *na ngai-lai* is given for 'you must obey,' but it can hardly be supposed that the particle of the future of compulsion has been given throughout in mistake for the simple future. The termination in Lushai is, it may be remarked, *ang*. **The negative interrogative particles** are respectively *lo* and *maw*, as in Lushai. The latter of these is evidently the Chinese *mo*, but the only analogy to the former outside this special family of languages is apparently the Dravidian *illei* or *alla*.

The present participle *lyo* in Baungshê Chin is probably allied with the Burmese *lyak* (*lyet*). It does not seem to have analogies in the other hill languages.

9 [I would, however, be cautious as to this assumption on philological grounds only.—ED.]

10 [It should be remembered, however, that the sound of ع is seldom properly taught in India, with the result that the ears of the majority of Anglo-Indians are not so attuned as to catch it in learning a new language.—ED.]

11 The Kami *afâ* 'tooth' is probably identifiable with the Tibetan *sò*, Burmese *swâ*.

12 It is curious to note that the use of the pronouns with the noun and verb is the same in Baungshê Chin as in ancient Egyptian: though in the latter language they were suffixed and not prefixed. [But is this a remarkable peculiarity?—ED.]

The suffix ā (the same as the old Burmese postposition ā) seems to have a wide range of meaning. Thus, after a noun it means 'by,' 'at' or 'to.' On page 16 after a verb it is used for 'in order to.' On page 29 it is similarly used for 'when.' In the examples in this latter case, under the head of "Imperfect Tense," there would, however, appear to be some confusion in the use of the ā particle, unless indeed we are to understand that Baungshê Chin is destitute of a particle to express conditions of time. In this case, the sentence —"When I saw him he was running away," would read literally in Chin "I saw him, he was running away:"—a sufficiently primitive method of expression.

On page 36 the form given as a perfect tense *passive*, 'I have been brought,' is, if correct, a very remarkable one; since the passive meaning is given by infixing a particle *di* between the root and the ordinary perfect suffix *sang*. The formation of a passive in this manner is, however, so contrary to the genius of the Tibeto-Burman languages,[13] that we may be excused in doubting the correctness of this form, which apparently does not occur in the Chin sentences.

No example is given of the relative participle which presumedly exists in Baungshê Chin, but on page 20 there is an example of a curious construction instead of it, the expression 'the men who come and go' being translated *mi-klūng, mikûl*, literally 'man-arrive, man-go.'

In conclusion, a few words in Baungshê Chin may be selected for notice. Amongst those specially allied to Manipûrî are *lamb* 'a path' and *arāl* 'to fight,' which correspond with the Manipûrî *lambê* and *lâl*. The retention of the *b* suffix is especially noticeable, since although the root *lam* is widely diffused in the Tibeto-Burman family, there are apparently no other examples in it of this particle being suffixed to it.

Baungshê Chin has, like Magar and Karen, the form *ti* for water, as compared with the Lushai *tū-i*. It seems, however, unreasonable to regard this, with Captain Forbes, as a separate root, for a simple throwing forward of the accent in the word *tū-i* would probably suffice to alter it into *ti*. Further we have a precisely analogous alteration in the word for 'to laugh,' which in Lushai is *nū-i*, but in Baungshê Chin *ni*, and in this case there can be no doubt that the root is the same. Generally speaking it would seem very extraordinary that the Baungshê Chins, who probably at no distant epoch formed one tribe with the Lushais, should yet have retained a different root from the latter for so common a word as 'water.'

In the matter of prefixes we have, in the word *rūl* for 'snake,' an example of the throwing off the *pa* prefix (*cf.* Tibetan *brûl* or *prûl*), and, in that for 'butterfly,' *plip*, an example of its addition, (*Cf* Burmese *lip-pya*, (*lêk-pyà*.)

In '*rūk*, 'mad,' we see the simple root *ru*, (*yú*), (as in Burmese), altered first by the aspiration of the initial semi-consonant, and secondly by the addition of the *k* suffix. An example of the *t* suffix is seen in *rit* 'heavy' compared with the Burmese *lê*. If *kleng* 'to exchange' be the same as the Burmese *lê*, we have in one word both the *k* prefix and a nasal suffix, which alterations, however, as Mr. Hodgson has so ably pointed out, are common enough in this family of languages '*Ren*, "to bind," may be identified with the Burmese *k'ran* (*chan*), and is a good example of the close relation between *h* and *k* or *kh* (*k'*) in these languages: as also is *klá*, 'to release' or 'to send,' *cf.* Burmese '*lwat* ('*lut*) with the same meanings.[14] In the word for 'pony' (*rang*) the Baungshê Chins have dropped the initial nasal of the Burmese *mrang* (*myin*); and the same is seen with the word for 'elephant' *wi*, as compared with the Akyab Chin *mwi*. An example of vowel change is the Baungshê Chin *byè* (Kami *bê*), 'speech' compared with the Burmese *pyaw*, whilst the word *rwā* for 'bamboo' shows that the Burmese *wá* possessed formerly an initial semi-vowel *r*.

It is easily seen from a comparison of words that **Baungshê Chin in many cases prefers k where Lushai has t,** and indeed it would appear from other cases that these mountaineers generally are as prone to confuse these sounds together as the South Sea Islanders.

In comparing the Baungshê *klang-var* with the Lushai *tlang-val* 'a bachelor' we find, in addition to the above interchange of *k*, one of the semi-vowels *r* into *l*. A further instance of the latter appears in the Baungshê *ri* and the Lushai *lé*, 'again.' In the Chin *k'ök* as compared with the Lushai *k'up* 'a knee,' we see that a phonetic corruption has taken place precisely similar to that in colloquial Burmese.

R. HOUGHTON, C. S.

[13] This construction is, however, used in Turkish, *e. g.*, *sev-il-mek* 'to be loved.'

[14] Compare also Baungshê Chin *klan* (to lose) with Lushai *lo*, and *te* 'to fear' with the Limbu *ke*. The Manipûrî *hum* 'three' is probably connected with the Baungshê *tūn*, through a lost *kûn*; since, though the equation *t*=*k*=*h* holds good in these languages, there is no example of *t* changing directly into *h*.

ANOTHER INSTALMENT OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

THE first instalment of the Bower Manuscript was published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1891. The portion which I now publish I have chosen for the second instalment, because it represents another of the subjects which are treated of in the several treatises comprising the Bower Manuscript. So far as I can make out at present, these treatises deal with three different subjects, *viz.*, medicine, divination and conjuration. On medicine there are (apparently) two distinct treatises; a long and a short one. The latter I have published in the *Journal A. S. B.*, as a specimen of medicine. On divination or fortune-telling there are two short treatises; one of these I publish in the present paper. On conjuration, or the use of magic spells, there is one short treatise. This I hope to publish as my next instalment of the Manuscript.

The portion now published consists of five leaves. Their shape and size are exactly like those of the portion previously published; that is, the leaves are a narrow oblong, measuring 11½ by 2½ inches. A specimen, being the obverse of the second leaf, is published in the lower part (No. II.) of Plate I., issued with the *April Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The treatise to which it belongs is referred to in my paper "On the Date of the Bower Manuscript" (*ante*, p. 29)[1] as the "second portion, called B." I have there ascribed the writing of this portion, which is in a fine, ornate hand, to a scribe distinct from him who wrote the portion given in my first instalment. The most striking differences are the two following. In the first place, the palatal *ś* is made in the form of a square with a circular loop at the lower left-hand corner, exactly like the modern Nâgarî *m* (म), while in the portion given in the first instalment that letter has a rounded top, and no circular loop, but a minute forked tail. The latter is the older Gupta form, while the former already closely approaches the form shown in the Horiuzi MS. and in the Sâradâ alphabet, in which the letter is also square, but the loop is replaced by a dot. Both forms may be seen on Plate I, above referred to. In the second place, some letters, (especially *a, k, g, r*, and occasionally *t, bh*), are provided with a very distinct hook at the bottom of the main perpendicular. This hook looks exactly like the mark of the vowel *u*, as attached to other letters, such as *m, s, p*, &c. Accordingly, when the vowel *u* is to be joined to those hooked letters, it assumes a different shape, — that of a more or less large curve, turned to the left. Examples may be seen on the same plate.

Though written on five distinct leaves, the work inscribed on them only occupies eight pages. The obverse of the first leaf contains, as I have already stated elsewhere[2], the concluding portion of a medical treatise, but whether of the long one, or of some other, I am not, as yet, quite certain. At the bottom of this obverse page, there is the remark *ity=atra śvêtê śvêtasy=âdhipatyê śatasy=âdhikaranê svâhâ*, the meaning of which I do not understand. It is in large cursive letters, in a hand distinct from that which wrote the medical treatise, as well as from that which wrote the treatise on divination; which commences on the reverse of the leaf. It seems to be, however, the same handwriting as that which is seen in some other portions of the manuscript. The most natural conclusion that one can draw is, that the treatise on divination was written after the treatise on medicine, as it commences on the back of the latter.

The fourth leaf is inscribed only on the obverse. It consists of no less than four layers of bark, but they are all so thin and flimsy, that a considerable portion is broken and frayed. Even the obverse is only partially inscribed, and the reverse is probably thought by the scribe to be unfit for writing on. In any case nothing of the text is lost. That part of it which commences on the obverse of the fifth leaf, follows immediately after that which is written on the obverse of the fourth. In fact, the material used for this portion of the manuscript

[1] Also in *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX., Part I., pp. 80, 81.

[2] See *Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for April 1891, p. 5J.

is of the same (if not more) inferior description as that employed in the first portion, previously published.[3] This also explains why only one half of the reverse side of the second leaf is inscribed. For here, too, no material portion of the text is lost.

The leaves are of varying thickness. None of them consists of less than four layers; but the second is of extraordinary thickness. It is difficult to count its layers; but there certainly do not seem to be less than twelve.

The part of the manuscript which I now publish is practically complete. The entire treatise which it contains must have consisted (as I shall show later on) of sixty-four verses. Of these the manuscript gives fifty-nine. Three of the missing verses should have been on the reverse of the second and the obverse of the third leaves. On the former page a "vahula," numbered 234, is omitted; on the latter page two "bhadrâs," numbered 412 and 124 are missing. There should be altogether six "vahulas" and six "bhadrâs"; but there are extant only five "vahulas" and four "bhadrâs." However, the numeral mark 412 is given in the manuscript (see fl. 3a^2),[4] though the corresponding "bhadrâ" verse is missing. It seems quite clear from these circumstances, that the omission is merely an error chargeable to the scribe of the manuscript. The two other missing verses should have been at the end of the manuscript. They should have been the two "kharîs," numbered 211 and 121. If they ever existed in the present copy, they must have been written on the obverse of a sixth leaf; for the extant "kharî" verse 112 closes the reverse of the fifth leaf. In that case, one leaf of the manuscript is lost, and this leaf might have contained the usual colophon, giving the names of the work and its author. But it seems to me doubtful whether a little work of this kind would have contained the usual colophon; and it is not improbable that the manuscript is complete, and that the omission of the two last verses is chargeable to the scribe, in the same way as the loss of the other three verses. The last words on the reverse of the fifth leaf are written in the middle of the line, leaving sufficient blank space to write more matter, if the scribe had intended to write any more. Moreover the whole is followed by a scroll, apparently indicative of the end. All this seems rather to suggest the alternative of the omission being due to the scribe; probably the original, from which he copied, was already incomplete.

There are many other points to show that the manuscript was not written with much care. Thus on fl. 2a^4 and 2a^5 the words *prathamâ mâlî* and *tritîyâ mâlî* are omitted; on fl. 5a^1 and 5a^3 we have *dvitîya* for *tritîya*; on fl. 5b^4 the scribe has cancelled the words *tritîyâ pañchî* 212, though they were correct, and repeated them on fl. 5b^5, where they are out of place; another blundered case occurs on fl. 1b^6. Not unfrequently there occur pâdas, or quarter-verses, which are short by one syllable. Generally it is the 3rd pâda (5 times: fl. 2a^1, 2a^6, 3a^6, 4a^3, 5b^4): twice it is the 4th pâda (fl. 2a^4 and 3a^3); once each it is the 1st (fl. 5a^5) and 2nd pâdas (fl. 5b^3.) In most of these cases the fault is certainly due to the carelessness of the scribe. Thus in fl. 3a^6 probably *kâlêna* should be read for *kâlê*, in fl. 5a^5 *vipula* for *pula*. But one or two cases are doubtful: in them the fault may be due to the anomalous nature of the language. Thus in fl. 2a^6 *chaiva artha* should be read for (sandhi) *chaivârtha*; again in fl. 2a^4 the synonymous *nityataḥ* should be read for *nityât*. Occasionally the opposite case occurs, of a pâda having one syllable in excess. This always occurs in the 4th pâda, and in all probability is one of the anomalies of the language; (see below). There is only one exception; it is in fl. 5b^5, where the excess occurs in the 3rd pâda, and is undoubtedly only a blunder of the scribe; as the sense of the verse shows that he should have written *aśubha* instead of *śubhâśubha*.

Undoubted clerical errors of another kind are the following: fl. 1b^4 *svâ* for *svâhâ*; fl. 2a^3 *kalyâṇi* for *kalyâṇî*; fl. 2a^5 *arthâ* for *arthô*; fl. 2a^6 *nayam* for *nâyam*; fl. 2a^6 *prâpsasi* for *prâpsyasi* and *arthaś=cha* for *arthañ=cha*; fl. 2b^1 *dharmmâsya* for *dharmmasya*; fl. 2b^3 **muktas* for

[3] See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 137.

[4] The first number refers to the leaf, the letter to the page of the leaf, and the raised number to the line of the page; thus 2a^5 = 2nd leaf, obverse page, 5th line.

muktâs ; fl. 3a1 *chanunayishyasi* for *chânunayishyasi*; fl. 3a1 **vṛittiś=cha* for *vṛittêś=cha*; fl. 3a1 * *nâ* for *na*; fl. 3a6 *sarvvaṁtha* for *sarvvathâ* ; fl. 3a6 * *samêshyasi* for *samêshyati*; fl. 3a7 *sahâyês* for *sahâyais* ; fl. 4a2 *karaṇê* for *kâraṇê* (here shown by the metre); fl. 4a2 *ya* for *yâ* ; fl. 5b4 *dharmma* for *dharmmaṁ*; fl. 5b4 *vandhâś=cha* for *vandhâṁ=ś=cha*. Those cases, however, which are marked with an asterisk, may also be due to the anomalous character of the language.

Occasionally the scribe noticed a mistake and corrected it by interlinear insertions in minute and hastily drawn letters. Thus in fl. 3a4 *na saṁśayâ*, fl. 4a3 *api*, fl. 4a6 *si cha*, fl. 5a3 *bha* are added interlinearly. Ordinary corrections, by alterations of already written letters occur; *e.g.*, in in fl. 2a7, 5b2 and elsewhere.

The language of the manuscript in the early extra-scholastic Sanskṛit of North-Western India with all its usual anomalies in orthography, grammar, prosody and vocabulary. Of these I have noted the following instances :—

1. In **Orthography: spelling:** fl. 1b5 *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, fl. 2a6 *avi* for *api*, fl. 4a3, 5a1, &c. *dukkha* for *duḥkha*: confusion of sibilants; fl. 2a4 *samânvitâ* for *śamânvita*. **Doubling of consonants:** before *r*: throughout with *t*; e. g., fl. 1b6 *śattravas*, fl 2a6 *yattra*, &c.: before *y*; *yâttyakâraṇaṁ* (for *yâti=akâraṇaṁ*) : before *v*; fl. 5a1 *addhvânaṁ*. **Sandhi**; : fl. 2b2 *dvitîyô kûṭaḥ* for *dvitîyaḥ kûṭaḥ*, fl. 4a1 *gṛihaiva* for *gṛiha êva* (*gṛihê êva*), fl. 2a5 *tatôttamaḥ* for *tata uttamaḥ* (*tataḥ uttamaḥ*), fl. 5b2 *suhṛidêva* for *suhṛidaiva* (*suhṛidâ êva*). **Omission of final consonants:** 3b4 *kiñchi* for *kiñchit*, 1b3, 2a3, 2b4 *kâraṇâ* for *kâraṇât* (abl. sing.). **Omission of visarga:** before *s*: fl. 3a7 *sumittrai saha* for *sumittraiḥ*, fl. 3a7 *dêvatai spṛihâ* for *dêvataiḥ* ; fl. 2a2 *nishphala sa* or *nishphalaḥ* ; before *p*: fl. 1b3 *prâsakâ* and *yuktâ patantu*. **Neglect of sandhi:** fl. 2a6 *dṛiśyatê âgamô*, fl. 2b3 *vijêshyasi ripûṁ*, fl. 3a6 *arthaḥ anirvvêdaṁ*.

2. In **Grammar: declension:** nom. sing.: fl. 1b1 *namô âchâryêbhyaḥ* : often visarga omitted *in pausâ*; fl. 2a6 *uttama*, 2b1 *prîti*, fl. 2b1 *atiparîkshaya*, fl. 5a4 *sandêha*, fl. 5a3 *lâbha*, fl. 5b6 *samupasthita* : nom. neut. ; fl. 3b2 *janmaṁ*, fl. 4a2 *karmaṁ*: acc. sing.; fl. 3b2 *pratyarthiṁ* (for *pratyarthinaṁ*): acc. plur. masc.; (as a rule ending in *âṁ*, etc.) fl. 2a4 *bhôgâṁ*, fl. 2b3, 5a2 *ripûṁ sarvvâṁ*, fl. 5a6 *bhôgâṁ vipulâṁ*, fl. 5b2 *kâmâṁ*, fl. 5b4 *yajñâṁ*, but regular in fl. 5b4 *vividhân* : instr. sing. fem.; fl. 1b2 *shashṭhîyê* (for *shashṭhyai*) : gen. plur.; fl. 1b3 *sarvvavâdînâṁ* (for °*vâdinâṁ*): loc. plur.; fl. 1b4 *ṛishîshu* (for *ṛishishu*). **Conjugation:** imp. for pres.; fl. 4a1 *tishṭha* (for *tishṭhasi*): âtm. for parasm.; fl. 2a2, 3b6, 4a3 *prâpsyasê* (but fl. 3b6 also *prâpsyasi*), fl. 2a3, 3a1, 3b5 *chintayasê*: parasm. for âtm.; fl. 2a7 *pratîksha* (for *pratîkshasva*). **Syntax: exchange of cases:** nom. for acc.; fl. 2a6 *prâpsasê* (for *prâpsyasê*) *n-âyam uttama* (for *na imam uttamam*), fl. 3a6 *sô 'rthaḥ prâpsyasê* (for *tam arthaṁ*), fl. 4a6 *lambhas=tu lapsyasi*, fl. 2a6 *arthaś=cha gṛihya*: nom. for instr.; fl. 3b4 *visṛijyas=tvaṁ* (for *tvayâ*), fl. 3a6 *sa samêshyasi* (for *têna*: but see above): nom. for gen.; fl. 3a1 *vṛittiś=cha kshayaḥ* (for *vṛittêś=cha*: but see above); acc. for gen.: fl. 2a1 *janir=upadravaṁ* (for *upadravasya*): gen. for dat.; fl. 1b2 *marutânâṁ namaḥ*: loc. for dat.; fl. 2a4 *labhasê* (for *labhasâya*). **False concord:** neut. and fem.; fl. 1b4 *vṛitis=satyaṁ* (for *satyâ*); fl. 3a7 *viruddhaṁ spṛihâ* (for *viruddhâ*): masc. and neut.; fl. 1b6 *nîchôchchaṁ bhayaḥ* (for *nîchôchhô*), fl. 3a3 *upasthitaṁ viśishṭas=te* (for *viśishtaṁ*): perhaps sing. and plur.; fl. 2a5 *mahân=arthâ* (for *arthô*), fl. 2b3 *muktas=tê kilvishâ* (for *muktâs*).

3. In **Prosody:** occasionally the fourth pâda has one syllable in excess; see fl. 2b1, 4a3, 4a6, 5a6.

4. In **Vocabulary: new words or new meanings:**—

karitra 'tools' (?), fl. 2a6.

châṁga 'clever,' fl. 2b3 (for *changa*, perhaps false reading).

dêva 'god,' fl, 2a1 (for *daiva*).

dêvata 'deity,' fl. 1b4, 3a7 (for *daivata*).

putratvatâ 'sonship', fl. 2a7 (with double abstract suffix).

prâguṇa 'safety,' fl. 5a4 (but also *prâguṇya* ibidem ; perhaps a false reading).

vṛiti 'diagram,' 'a dice-board,' fl. 1b4.

spṛiha 'desire,' 'envy,' fl. 2a7 (for *sparha* or *spṛihâ*).

To these words should be added all **the technical names of groups of verses or throws of dice** ; thus : —

navikkî 'an eulogy', fl. 1b6 (a vernacular form of Skr. *navikâ*, from *nava* ; see my *Gauḍian Grammar*, § 195).

paṭṭabandha 'a decoration,' 'investiture,' fl. 2a1.

kâlaviddhi 'the regulation of time,' fl. 2a1, (apparently a synonym of *vidhi* ; otherwise it would mean 'the piercing').

śâpaṭa 'imprecation,' 'abuse,' fl. 2a2, (a bye-form of *śâpa*).

mâlî 'garland,' fl. 2a4 (a vernacular form of Skr. *mâlikâ*, *cf. Prâkṛita Prakâśa* V, 24, Hêmachandra III, 32, 34, and my *Gauḍian Grammar*, § 195).

vahula 'manifoldness,' fl. 2a5.

kûṭa 'a puzzle' (?), fl. 2b1.

bhadrâ 'cow,' fl. 2b3.

śakti 'power,' fl. 3a2.

dundubhî 'kettle-drum,' fl. 3a6.

vṛisha 'bull,' 3b4.

prêshyâ 'maid-servant,' fl. 3b6.

viṭî 'yellow sandal,' fl. 4a3 (in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* ; or perhaps for *viṭî* 'a ball').

karṇa 'ear,' fl. 4a5.

sajâ 'armour' (?), fl. 5a2 (perhaps for *sajjâ*).

kâṇa or *kâṇatantra*, fl. 5a4 and fl. 5a5 (or *kaṇatantra* fl. 5a6), 'one eyed,' also 'a crow.'

chuñchuṇa, meaning unknown, fl. 5b1 (see below).

pâñchî, fl. 5b3 or *pañchî* fl. 5b4 'consisting of five' (see below).

kharî 'she-ass,' fl. 5b5.

As we shall see presently, all these words are technical names of certain throws of dice and of corresponding groups of verses. The meanings above given are merely the original meanings of the words, and in some cases they are doubtful : probably it matters little what the meanings were, or why the throws were so called. The main point is, that the words are names of certain throws of dice. *Dundubhî* is the only one among them which I have found noted in Sanskṛit dictionaries in that sense : in the *Petersburg Dictionary* it is given as "the name of certain throws in games with dice."[5]

The subject of the manuscript I believe to be divination or fortune-telling by means of dice. The work is a small treatise or handbook for instruction, or for the guidance of adepts, in the art of prognostication. This art is to be exercised, as the introduction of the treatise shows, with the help of dice (*prâsaka*), of which there are three, respectively named, or probably marked, with the figures of a pitcher (*kumbhaka*), a discus or wheel (*arin*), and an elephant (*mâtaṅga*). They are thrown on a diagram or board (*vṛiti*), divided into fields, which are marked with one of the four numeral figures, 1, 2, 3, 4. There must have been twelve fields, of which three were marked with the figure 4, three with 3, three with 2, and three with 1. So far as I can make out, the order in which these fields where arranged was immaterial. Every

[5] *Pañchî* or *pañchikâ* is at present used as the name of a game played with five dice, and *chuñchulî* is given in the Sanskrit dictionaries as a game of hazard played with seeds of tamarind, instead of dice.

properly made throw of the three dice would, of course, indicate a group of three fields or of the corresponding inscribed figures. Of such groups there would necessarily be three different classes, according as the same number occurred in the group thrice or twice or once; thus the group might be 444, or 443, or 432. It follows that there would be 20 possible groups, and that every throw of the dice would indicate one of these 20 groups. Each of these 20 groups or throws is designated by a special name; and the list given below is that of these names.

Further, within each group the numeral figures constituting it may be arranged in different ways; *e. g.*, the group 443 admits of the three variations, 443, 344, 434. Again the group 432 admits of six variations, *viz.*, 432, 423, 342, 243, 234, 324. In fact, every group, containing the same figure twice, admits of three, and every group containing the same figure only once, admits of six variations; while a group, containing the same figure thrice, admits only of one arrangement. Now, there are four possible groups of the latter kind (444, 333, 222, 111); but there are twelve possible groups containing the same figure twice, and four possible groups, containing the same figure only once. It follows that the number of possible arrangements or variations of the 20 groups is 64, (*i.e.*, 4 × 1 + 12 × 3 + 4 × 6, or 4 + 36 + 24).

All this is shown in the **First Table** below. The groups are arranged in the order in which they would naturally suggest themselves. In the **Second Table** I have given them in the order in which they follow one another in the manuscript; and this order is also shown in the First Table, in the second column, enclosed in brackets. The bracketed numbers in the fourth column give the summations of the figures which compose the several groups.

I.—*Table of Groups and Variations.*

Classes of Groups.	Serial Number of Groups.	Names of Groups.	Figures of Groups.	No. of Variations.	Total No. of Groups.	Total No. of Variations.
With the same figure thrice.	I. (I.)	Chaṇṭayâṇṭa (?)......	444 (12)	1	4	4
	II. (II.)	Navikkî	333 (9)	1		
	III. (III.)	Paṭṭabandha	222 (6)	1		
	IV. (IV.)	Kâlaviddhi	111 (3)	1		
With the same figure twice.	V. (V.)	Sâpaṭa	443 (11)	3	12	36
	VI. (XII.)	Vṛisha	442 (10)	3		
	VII. (VIII.)	Kûṭa......................	441 (9)	3		
	VIII. (VI.)	Mâlî	334 (10)	3		
	IX. (XIV.)	Viṭî	332 (8)	3		
	X. (XVII.)	Kâna......................	331 (7)	3		
	XI. (XIII.)	Prêshyâ	224 (8)	3		
	XII. (XVI.)	Sajâ	223 (7)	3		
	XIII. (XIX.)	Pâñchî	221 (5)	3		
	XIV. (XV.)	Karṇa	114 (6)	3		
	XV. (XVIII.)	Chuñchuna	113 (5)	3		
	XVI. (XX.)	Kharî	112 (4)	3		
With the same figure once.	XVII. (VII.)	Vahula....................	432 (9)	6	4	24
	XVIII. (IX.)	Bhadrâ	421 (7)	6		
	XIX. (X.)	Śakti......................	341 (8)	6		
	XX. (XI.)	Dundubhî................	321 (6)	6		
				Total......	20	64

II.—*Table of Order of Groups in MS.*

I.	444	12	V.	443	11	VIII.	441	9	XII.	442	10
II.	333	9	VI.	334	10	IX.	421	7	XIII.	224	8
III.	222	6	VII.	432	9	X.	341	8	XIV.	332	8
IV.	111	3			30	XI.	321	6	XV.	114	6
		30						30	XVI.	223	7
									XVII.	331	7
									XVIII.	113	5
									XIX.	221	5
									XX.	112	4
											60

As already remarked, each (properly made) throw of the dice would indicate three fields, or one group of three figures; but in most cases, it would not show what particular variation of the group was to be understood by the throw. Some mark would be needed to show in what order the figures indicated by any particular throw should be read. It is for this reason that **the three dice are marked by the emblems of a pitcher, discus and elephant,** and that the order of these three emblems is laid down in the introduction. The direction intended to be given in the introduction (as I take it) is that the dice should be thrown on the fields of the diagram, and then the throw read off in the order of the marks of the dice; that is, the figure indicated by the pitcher-die is to be placed first, that of the discus-die is to come second, and that of the elephant-die is to come last. With the aid of this rule, there would be no doubt as to which group and variation any particular throw indicated.

The fortune-teller would first make his diagram or lay his board; he would then make a throw of his dice; from the throw he would know the group and its name, and from the order of the dice he would know the particular variety of the group. For every variety he would know a verse; and the verses would suggest to him what he should prognosticate in any given case. I remember, some years ago, when I was spending my summer vacation **in Darjeeling, a travelling Kashmîrî (or Afghân)** came to the hotel in which I was staying, and told the fortune of any one who wished to consult him by a somewhat similar procedure. I then took no particular notice of him, but I remember that he **used a diagram and variously marked oblong dice, by the help of which he made his prognostications.** Perhaps some who read this may be able to supplement my information, and tell us whether the same or similar practices in divination as those indicated in the Bower Manuscript are still observed anywhere in India or its northern borders.

One point more may be noticed. The order of the groups in the manuscript is shown in Table II. It may be asked why the groups should be arranged in that order in preference to the more obvious logical order shown in Table I. Perhaps there may be no better reason for it than accident; but the Table shows a curious fact which may possibly account for it. The first four groups may be regarded as the **key-groups;** and the total of the sums of the figures composing them gives a key-total of 30. Now, if the figures of the remaining groups are severally summed up, and the sums arranged in an order decreasing by 1, it is found that the key-total 30 is repeated four times: and in this order the manuscript arranges the groups. The arrangement, however, is not quite perfect: group X. ought to precede group IX., and groups XVI. and XVII. ought to precede group XV. This circumstance, though it may be due to an error of the scribe, prevents the explanation from having more than the character of a doubtful conjecture.

The Nâgarî transcript gives the text as it stands in the manuscript, broken letters being

printed in full. *Aksharas* which are wholly wanting, are indicated by dots, which are in numbers equal to the missing aksharas. *Aksharas* which are now wanting, but which were still extant when I first made my transcript, are enclosed within straight brackets.

In the Roman transliteration, broken *aksharas* of the MS. text are indicated by round brackets, and entirely missing portions, by dots, or longs and shorts. Any restoration of a missing text is enclosed within straight brackets.

In the translation, conjectural portions or explanatory additions are indicated by round brackets.

I. TEXT.

Transcript.

First Leaf : Reverse.

1 ◎ नमो नन्दिरुद्रेश्वराय—नमो आचार्येभ्यः नमो ईश्वराय—नमो माणिभद्राय [नमस्सर्व्वयक्षे].

2 नमः सर्व्वदेवेभ्यः शिवाय नमः षष्ठीये नमः प्रजापतये नमः रुद्राय नमः नमो वैश्रवणाय नमो मरुतानां नमः प्रास-

3 का पतन्तु इमस्यार्थस्य कारणा हिलि २ कुम्भकारिमातङ्गयुक्ता पतन्तु यत्सत्यं सर्व्वसिद्धानां यत्सत्यं सर्व्ववादीनां तेन सत्येन सत्यसमयेन नष्टं विनष्टं

4 ☐☐कुॅमं लाभालाभं जयाजयं शिवानुदर्शय स्वा—सत्यनारायणे चैव देवते ऋषीषु चैव सत्यं मन्त्रं वृतिस्सत्यं समक्षा पतन्तु स्वाहा सत्यं चैव तु द्रष्टव्यं नि-

5 . . . . मन्त्रौषधीनां च निमित्तवलममन्तरम् मृषतायां देवतं विष्णुनविकायां चण्डयाण्ट ॥ ☐ ॥ ४४४ नमः पुरुषसिङ्घस्य प्रसन्नस्ते जनार्द्दनः

6 निहता शत्रवस्सर्वे यदिप्ससेकम् नविक्री ३३३ न ते शोको न वायासो नीचोच्चं न च ते भयः

Second Leaf : Obverse.

1 . . . . ☐प्स्यसि पट्टबन्धः ॥ २२२ सर्व्वकामसमृद्धे पि सुखं जनिरुपद्रवं उत्पन्ने ततं चैव देवं शमय ते भयम् कालविद्धिः ॥ १११ परिहीयते ते वुद्धिः

2 . . . . ः आरम्भश्चिन्तितो यस्ते निष्पल स भविष्यति ॥ शापटः ४४३ व्याधिभिर्मोक्ष्यसे क्षिप्रं सुखं वा प्राप्स्यसे तथा नात्युच्चं नातिनीचं च फलमासादयिष्यसि ॥ द्वितीयशापट ॥

3 .३४ आयासो दृश्यते घोरो येभ्यश्च तव विग्रहः निष्फलं दृश्यते कार्यं पृच्छसे यस्य कारणा—॥ तृतीयशापटः ॥ ३४४ समागमं चिन्तयसे कल्याणि न च युज्यते

4 न ते शरीरसन्तापो भोगां चैवोपलप्स्यसि † ३४३ सर्व्वार्थसिद्धिसंपदकामभोगः समान्वितः अचिरेणैव कालेन भवि-ष्यति स नित्यात् द्वितीया माली—३३४ अयं सपुण्यो लभसे

5 ह्यानन्दः प्रीतिवर्द्धनः अत्वरात्सुमहानर्थो त्वरितो वै न लप्स्यसि—॥ ४३३ अयं त्वया महानर्थश्चिन्तितो र्थस्ततोत्तमः प्रवासं क्षेमगमनं वान्धवैश्च समागमः वहुलः ३२४

6 दीर्ग्घमायुर्म्महानर्थः प्राप्ससे नयमुत्तम धनधान्यं कारित्रं च भोगानवि च प्राप्ससि द्वितीयो वहुलः ४३२ दृश्यते आगम यत्र त्वया सुपरिनिश्चितः आत्मानं चैवार्थश्च ततो गृह्यागमिष्यसि

7 तृतीयो वहुलः २४३ वहुलं दृश्यते कार्यं वहुपुत्रत्वतां च ते प्रतीक्षशुभमात्मानं सर्व्वमेतदवाप्स्यसि—चतुर्थो वहुलः ४२३ वहुलो विजयस्तुभ्यं तुष्टा मित्रगणाश्च ते स्पृहे सति परस्तभ्य

Second Leaf : Reverse.

1 न परा स्पृहयिष्यसि—पञ्चमो वहुलः ३४२ स्नेहागमस्य ते चिन्ता संसिद्धेश्च परा तव अन्योन्याभिहता प्रीति—किमा-गमिष्यति गम्यता कूटः ४१४ राजतो विग्रहो स्तीति धर्म्मास्याति परिक्षय

2 लब्धं चैव फलं तस्मा धर्म्ममेव चरिष्यसि द्वितीयो कूटः १४४ चलाचलमिदं स्थानं न सुखं प्रीतिवर्द्धनं विप्रमोक्षसि देवे तिगृहीतो पि न संशयः तृतीयः कूटः ४४१ अस्ति क्षेमं भयं नास्ति

3 विजयो प्यत्र दृश्यते भोक्ष्यसे कामचांगाश्च कुतश्चिन्नास्ति ते भयम् भद्रा—४२१ परिक्षीणा ह्यनर्थास्ते मुक्तस्ते सर्व्व-किल्विषा विजेष्यसि ऋपूं सर्व्वां लाभस्ते समुपस्थितः

4 द्वितीया भद्रा—२१४ मनसा चिन्तादिपदस्य तु कारणा किञ्चित्कालमुदीक्षस्व ततो हस्तमुपैष्यति—तृतीया भद्रा—॥ १४२

5 . ि . स्यसि कन्यां वै

Third Leaf: Obverse.

1 . त्र चतुनयिष्यसि प्रीतिसौभाग्यसंयुक्तं धनं दास्यन्ति देवताः चतुर्थी भद्रा २४१ वृत्तिश्च नाक्षयस्सर्व्वो देवतेभ्यो न ते भयम् यथा कुर्व्वसि कुर्व्वाणा

2 . . . . . वाप्स्यसि—४१२ ॥ शक्ती ३४१ परिग्रहं चिन्तयसे तच्च शीघ्रमवाप्स्यसि—अर्थकामप्रदातारं बान्धवं प्रीतिदर्शनं द्वितीया शक्ती—॥ १३४

3 . . गम चिन्तयसे तच्च शीघ्रं समेष्यति—अम्भीनै· कृतालेखा नैष्या न भविष्यति तृतीया शक्ती ४१३ उपस्थित विशिष्टस्ते तथा लाभश्च

4 दृश्यते कुटुंबे चातुलवृद्धिर्भविष्यति न संशयः—चतुर्थी शक्ती ३१४ एकच्छत्रां महीं कृत्स्नां राजा निहतकण्टकः आक्रम्य भोक्ष्यसे शत्रुं गणैस्समुदितस्सदा॥

5 पञ्चमी शक्ति—१४३ न चेच्छसि सुमित्रं त्वं सुमित्रे रम्यसे सदा—कृताकृताश्च ते मित्रा शत्रुत्वं यास्यकारणं॥

6 षष्ठी शक्ति ४३१ समागमं चिन्तयसे सर्व्वथा स समेष्यसि काले प्राप्स्यसे सो र्थः अनिर्व्वेदं तथैव च दुन्दुभी ३११ यत्ते नष्टं विनष्टं वा चोरैरपहृतं च यत्

7 परहस्तगतं वापि न चिरात्तदवाप्स्यसि—द्वितीया दुन्दुभी २१३ वियुक्तस्त्वं सहायैस्तु सुमित्रै सह वर्त्तसे लब्धव्याश्च प्रिया ह्यर्था विरुद्धं देवते स्पृहा ॥

Third Leaf: Reverse.

1 . . य दुन्दुभी १३२ परितोषः शरीरस्य दृश्यते तव साम्प्रतम् देवतानां च पूजायाः निवृत्तिरुपलभ्यते—चतुर्थी दुन्दुभी २३१ अस्ति ते कलहं घोरं

2 शत्रुभिस्सह दृश्यते न तत्र लप्स्यसे क्लेशं प्रत्यर्थि च विजेष्यसि—पंचमी दुन्दुभी—॥ ३१२ उत्तमो दृश्यते लम्भः पुत्रजन्म तथैव च—ईप्सितांश्चैव कामां

3 प्राप्स्यसे नात्र संशयः षष्ठी दुन्दुभी १२३ परिभ्रमति बुद्धिस्ते स्थानं चैव चलाचलं मासमात्रमुदीक्षस्व ततः सुखमवाप्स्यसि—

4 प्रथमो वृषः ४४२ यत्तवास्ति गृहे किञ्चि गावो धान्यं धनं तथा विसृज्यस्त्वं द्विजातिभ्यः वृद्धिस्ते समुपस्थिता—

5 . . . . षः २४४ समागमं चिन्तयसे दूरस्थ चैव ते प्रियः समृद्धं सर्व्वकामेषु न चिरेण समेष्यति तृतीयो वृषः

6 . . . . न्धनं प्राप्स्यसे घोरं पुन स्थानं च प्राप्स्यसि भविष्यति फलं चैव निर्वृतिश्च भविष्यति—प्रथमा प्रेष्या—

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

1 . . . . स्रवा वा विद्यां वा यदि याचसे गृहैव निरतस्तिष्ठ सर्व्वं हि तव निष्फलं द्वितीया प्रेष्या—॥ २४२ यस्त्वया चिन्तितो ह्यर्थः

2 . . . . . . त हि न पूरयति तत्कर्म्मं यस्य पृच्छसि कारणे—तृतीया प्रेष्या—२४२ य त्वया चिन्तिता वाचा तदर्थस्य तु कारणा विष्यत्यर्थलम्भस्ते

3 . . . णात्र संशयः प्रथमा विटी—३३२ सातत्वं त्व निरायासः कर्म्मण्यश्चापि जीविते न त्वं प्राप्स्यसे दुःखं प्रत्यर्थिभिश्च विजेष्यसि—द्वितीया विटी—

4 ३२३ न युज्यसे फलार्थेन निर्व्वेदेन च युज्यसे अन्यत्र त्वरितो गच्छ लप्स्यसे सुखमुत्तमम्—

5 तृतीया विटी २३३ दृश्यते ते अभिप्रायो द्विपद कारणा समेष्यति ते तत्वेन मरुतस्य वचो यथा—प्रथमकर्ण्णः १९४ संपूज्य

6 सर्व्वकर्म्माणि सौभाग्य निरुपद्रवं राजलम्भस्तु लप्स्यसे न चिरादिह भविष्यति द्वितीयः कर्ण्णः १४१ वैश्वर्येण परिभ्रष्टा समग्रश्चापि . सि च

Fifth Leaf: Obverse.

1 . . . . द्वितीयः कर्ण्णः ४१. अद्धान गमनं चिन्ता दुःखेन च समागमः सावशेषेण कार्य्येण

2 . . . . न संशयः प्रथमा सजा—३२२ विजेष्यसि ऋपूं सर्व्वां प्रत्यार्थी वलवांश्च ते लप्स्यसे प्रथमं स्थानं पश्चाच्छो-
क्रमवाप्स्यासि—

3 द्वितीया सजा—२३२ न च जानीषे कार्याणि पश्चात्तपेन ग्रुज्यसे भविष्यति च ते लाभ सुमुखस्तव देवता—द्वितीया
सजा—

4 २२३ शरीरे तव सन्देह समतीतो दुरासदः देवतानां प्रसादेन प्रागुण्यं तव केवलम् प्रथमः काण ३३१ प्रागुणन्ते
शरीरस्य

5 लाभश्चार्थश्च प्राप्तयं उपास्थितं च ते कल्याणं मरुतस्य वचो यथा — द्वितीयः काणः तन्त्र ३१३ आरोग्यं पुलांभं च
प्रेक्ष्यसे नात्त्र संशयः लप्स्यसे सर्व्वथा भद्रं

6 भोगांश्च विपुलां तथा तृतीयः कणतन्त्रः १३३ मिथ्या वदसि यत्किञ्चि मित्त्रं द्विषसि नित्यदा देवतानां प्रसादाद्वा
तिष्ठत श्रेयो भविष्यति —

Fifth Leaf: Reverse.

1 प्रथमश्चुञ्चुणः ३११ भोगानां विप्रयोगस्ते न चिरेणैव दृश्यते अन्यं संप्राप्स्यसे स्थानं मा विषादं करिष्यसि—द्विती-
यश्चुञ्चुणः १३१ अर्थसिद्धिर्भूय चैव .

2 कुलस्थानं तथैव च प्राप्स्थसे सर्व्वकामांश्च मरुतस्य वचो यथा—तृतीयश्चुञ्चुणः ११३ विप्रमुक्तस्त्वमर्थेभ्यो मित्त्रैश्च
सुहृदेव च उत्थानं चिन्तयानस्य

3 उद्विग्न इव दृश्यते—प्रथमा पाञ्ची २२१ चलाच . . दं स्थानं दृश्यते समाकुलं न च नारभसे कार्यं दुःखेन च
विमुच्यसे—द्वितीया पञ्ची—१२२

4 दिशः सर्व्वा समाक्रान्ता कालधर्म्मं कुरुष्वती सुखं ते न कार्यन्ते ते न तेषु कदाचनः [तृतीया पञ्ची][6]—२१२ पशु-
वन्धाश्च यज्ञां वै विविधान्यक्षसे तथा

5 . . ☐ च समृद्धानि दास्यसे नात्त्र संशयः तृतीयः पञ्ची २१२ प्रथमा खरी ११२ अतिक्रान्ता परिक्लेशा दुःखं चैव
समानतः शुभाशुभाद्विप्रमुक्तो सि लाभस्ते स—

6 मुपस्थित— ॥

II. Transliteration.

First Leaf: Reverse.

1 Oṁ Namô Nandi-rudr-êśvarâya — namô Âchâryêbhyaḥ namô Îśvarâya — namô
Mâṇi(bhad)r(âya) [namas=sarvva-Yakshêbhyaḥ][6]

2 namaḥ sarvva-Dêvêbhyah Śivâya namaḥ Shashṭhîyê namaḥ Prajâpatayê
namaḥ Rudrâya namaḥ namô Vaiśravaṇâya namô Marutânâṁ namaḥ
prâsa-

3 kâ patantu imasy=ârthasya kâraṇâ hili 2 kumbhak-âri-mâtaṅga-yuktâ patantu
yat=satyaṁ sarvva-Siddhânâṁ yat=satyaṁ Sarvva-vâdînâṁ têna satyêna
satya-samayêna nashṭaṁ vinashṭaṁ

4 [ksh]ê(m)-âk[sh]êmâṁ lâbh-âlâbhaṁ jay-âjayaṁ Śiv-ânudarśaya svâ[7] — Satya-
nârâyaṇê ch=aiva dêvatê Rishîshu ch=aiva satyaṁ mantraṁ vṛitis=
satyaṁ samakshâ patantu svâhâ satyaṁ ch=aiva tu drashṭavyaṁ ni-

5 . . . . mantr-aushadhînâṁ cha nimitta-valam=am=antaram[8] mṛisha-
tâyâṁ dêvataṁ Vishṇu navikâyâṁ chanṭayânta ॥ ☐ ॥ 444 Namaḥ 1
purusha-siṅghasya prasannas=tê Janârddanaḥ [।]

6 nihatâ śattravas=sarvvê yadi psasê kaṁn[9] [॥] Navikkî 333 Na tê śôkô 2
na vâyâsô nîch-ôchchaṁ na cha tê bhayaḥ [।]

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[6] The bracketed portion is crossed out in the original.

[7] Read *svâhâ*.

[8] Read *valam-antaraṁ*; *am* is superfluous.

[9] Reading of the fourth pâda is corrupt.

Second Leaf: Obverse

1 . . . . ⏑ — — . ꞁ . . . . ⏑(prâ)psasi [॥] Patta-bandhaḥ ॥ 222 Sarvva-kâma-samṛiddhê pi sukhaṁ janir=upadravaṁ [।] utpannê tataṁ ch=aiva dêvaṁ 3 śamaya tê bhayam[10] [॥] Kâla-viddhiḥ ॥ 111 Parihîyatê tê buddhiḥ 4

2 . . . . ḥ [।] ârambhaś=chintitô yas=tê nishpala[11] sa bhavishyati [॥] Śâpataḥ 443 Vyâdhibhir=m=môkshyasê kshipraṁ sukhaṁ vâ prâpsyasê 5 tathâ [।] n=âty-uchchaṁ n=âti-nîchaṁ cha phalam=âsâdayishyasi — ॥ Dvitîya-śâpaṭa ॥

3 [4](34) Âyâsô dṛiśyatê ghôrô yêbhyaś=cha tava vigrahaḥ [।] nishphalaṁ 6 dṛiśyatê kâryaṁ prichchhasê yasya kâraṇâ — ॥ Tritîya-śâpaṭaḥ ॥ 344 Samâgamaṁ chintayasê kalyâṇi[12] na cha yuchyatê [।] 7

4 na tê śarîra-santâpô bhôgâṁ ch=aiv=ôpalapsyasi † ॥[13] 343 Sarvv-ârtha-siddhi-saṁpada-kâma-bhôgaḥ sam-ânvitaḥ[14] [।] achirêṇ=aiva kâlêna bha- 8 vishyati sa nityât[15] [।] Dvitîyâ mâlî — ॥ 334 Ayaṁ sa-puṇyô labhasê 9

5 hy=ânandaḥ prîti-varddhanaḥ [।] atvarât=su-mahân=arthâ[16] tvaritô vai na 10 lapsyasi — ॥[17] 433 Ayaṁ tvayâ mahân=arthaś=chintitô rthas=tat=ôt-tamaḥ [।] pravâsaṁ kshêma-gamanaṁ vândhavaiś=cha samâgamaḥ [॥] Vahulaḥ 324

6 Dîrggham=âyur=m=mahân=arthah prâpsasê n=ayam[18]=uttama [।] dhana-dhânyaṁ 11 karittraṁ cha bhôgân=avi cha prâpsasi[19] [॥] Dvitîyô vahulaḥ 432 Driśyatê âgam[ô] yattra tvayâ su-pariniśchitaḥ [।] âtmâṇaṁ ch=aiv=â 12 rthaś=cha[20] tatô gṛihy=âgamishyasi [॥]

7 Tṛitîyô vahulaḥ 243 Vahulaṁ dṛiśyatê kâryaṁ vahu-puttratvatâṁ cha tê [।] 13 pratîksha śubham=âtmâ(n)aṁ sarvvam=êtad=avâpsyasi[21]—[॥] Chaturthô vahulah 423 Vahulô vijayas=tubhyaṁ tushtâ mittra-gaṇâś=cha tê [।] 14 spṛihê sati paras=t[u]bhya[ṁ]

Second Leaf: Reverse.

1 ṇa parâ spṛihayishyasi—[॥] Pañchamô vahulaḥ 342 Snêh-âgamasya tê chintâ saṁsiddhêś=cha parâ tava [।] anyôny-âbhihatâ prîti — kim=âgamishyati 15 gamyatâ[22] [॥] Kûṭaḥ 414 Râjatô vigrahô st=îti dharmmâsy[23]=âti- 16 parikshaya[।]

2 labdhaṁ ch=aiva phalaṁ tasmâ dharmmam=êva charishyasi — [॥] Dvitîyô 17 kûṭaḥ 144 Chal-âchalam=idaṁ sthânaṁ na sukhaṁ prîti-varddhanaṁ [।] vipramôkshasi dêvê tigṛihîtô pi na saṁśayaḥ [॥] Tṛitîyaḥ kûṭaḥ 18 441 Asti kshêmaṁ bhayaṁ nâsti

3 vijayô py=attra dṛiśyatê [।] bhôkshyasê kâma-châṁgâś=cha kutaś=chin=n=âsti tê bhayam [॥] Bhadrâ — 421 Parikshîṇâ hy=anarthâs=tê muktas=[24]tê 19 sarvva-kilvishâ [।] vijêshyasi ripûṁ sarvvâṁ lâbhas=tê samupasthitaḥ [॥]

4 Dvitîyâ bhadrâ — 214 Manasâ chintitâ chint=âdipadasya tu kâraṇâ [।] kiñ- 20 chit=kâlam=udîkshasva tatâ hastam=upaishyati — [॥] Tṛitîyâ bhadrâ — ॥ 142

5 [par]i[prâp]syasi kanyâṁ vai

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[10] In the third pâda one syllable is wanting. Perhaps read *satataṁ*.
[11] Read *nishphalaḥ*.
[12] Read *kalyâṇî*.
[13] Here insert *Mâlî*.
[14] Probably read *samânvitaḥ*.
[15] The fourth *pâda* is short by one syllable; read *nityataḥ*.
[16] Read *arthô*.
[17] Here insert *tritîyâ mâlî*.
[18] Read *n=âyam*.
[19] Read *prâpsyasi*.
[20] The third *pâda* is short by one syllable. Read *ârthañ=cha*.
[21] The fourth pâda in the original is rather indistinct, through corrections having been made in it by the original scribe.
[22] The fourth pâda has one syllable in excess.
[23] Read *dharmmasya*.
[24] Read *muktâs*.

Third Leaf: Obverse.

1 [mi]ttra[ṁ] ch=anunayishyasi[25] [।] prîti-saubhâgya-saṁyuktaṁ dhanaṁ dasyanti dêvatâḥ [॥] Chaturthâ bhadrâ 241 Vṛittiś=cha nâ[26] kshayas=sarvvô 22 dêvatêbhyô na tê bhayam [।] yathâ kurvvasi kurvvâṇ(â)

2 . . . . [a]vâpsyasi — [॥] 412 ॥ 'Saktî 341 Parigrahaṁ chintayasê tach=cha 23 śîghram=avâpsyasi — [।] artha-kâma-pradatâraṁ vândhavaṁ prîti-darśanaṁ [॥] Dvitîyâ śaktî — ॥ 134

3 [Samâ](ga)ma[ṁ] chintayasê tach=cha śîghraṁ samêshyati[।] aśmînai . kṛitâ 24 lêkhâ n=êshyâ na bhavishyati[27] [॥] Tṛitîyâ śaktî 413 Upasthita 25 viśishṭas=tê tathâ lâbhaś=cha

4 dṛiśyatê [।] kuṭuṁvê ch=âtula-vṛiddhir=bhavishyati na saṁśayâ[28] [॥] Chaturthâ śaktî 314 Eka-ch-chhattrâṁ mahîṁ kṛitsnâṁ râjâ nihata- 26 kaṇṭakaḥ [।] âkramya bhôkshyasê śattruṁ gaṇais=samuditas=sadâ — ॥

5 Pañchamî śakti — 143 Na ch=êchchhasi su-mittraṁ tvaṁ[29] su-mittre 27 râmyasê sadâ [।] — kṛit-âkṛitâś=cha tê mittrâ śatrutvaṁ yâtty=akâraṇaṁ — ॥

6 Shashṭhî śakti 431 Samâgamaṁ chintayasê sarvvaṁthâ[30] sa samêshyasi[31] [।] 28 kâlê[32] prâpsyasê sô rthaḥ anirvvêdaṁ tath=aiva cha [॥] Dundubhî 321 Yat=tê nashṭaṁ vinashṭaṁ vâ chôrair=apahṛitaṁ cha yat [।] 29

7 (para-ha)sta-gataṁ v=âpi na chirât=tad=avâpsyasi — [॥] Dvitîyâ dundubhî 213 Vimuktas=tvaṁ sahâyês[33]=tu su-mittrai saha varttasê [।] lab- 30 dhavyâś=cha priyâ hy=arthâ viruddhaṁ dêvatai spṛihâ ॥

Third Leaf: Reverse.

1 [Tṛitî]y[â] (dundubhî) 132 Paritôshaḥ śarîrasya dṛiśyatê tava sâmpratam [।] 31 dêvatânâṁ cha pûjâyâḥ nivṛittir=upalabhyatê—[॥] Chaturthî dundubhî — 231 Asti tê kalahaṁ ghôraṁ

2 śattrubhis=saha dṛiśyatê [।] na tattra lapsyasê klêśaṁ pratyarthiṁ cha vijêshyasi — [॥] Paṁchamî dundubhî—॥ 312 Uttamô dṛiśyatê lambhaḥ 32 puttra-janmaṁ tath=aiva cha — [।] îpsitâṁ=ś=ch=aiva kâmâṁ 33

3 prâpsyasê n=âttra saṁśayaḥ [॥] Shashṭhî dundubhî 123 Paribhramati buddhis=tê sthânaṁ ch=aiva chal-âchalaṁ [।] mâsa-mâttram=udîkshasva 34 tataḥ sukham=avâpsyasi — [॥]

4 Prathamô vṛishaḥ 442 Yat=tav=âsti gṛihê kiñ-chi gâvô dhânyaṁ dhanaṁ 35 tathâ [।] visṛijyas=tvaṁ dvijâtibhyaḥ vṛiddhis=tê samupasthitâ — [॥]

5 [Dvitîyô vṛi]shaḥ 244 Samâgamaṁ chintayasê durastha ch=aiva tê 36 priyaḥ [।] samṛiddhaṁ sarvva-kâmêshu na chirêṇa samêshyati [॥] Tṛitîyô vṛishaḥ

6 [424 V]andhanaṁ prâpsyasê ghôraṁ puna sthânaṁ cha prâpsyasi [।] 37 bhavishyati phalam ch=aiva nirvṛitiś=cha bhavishyati — [॥] Prathamâ prêshyâ —

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

1 [422] . . . . . savâ vâ vidyâṁ vâ yadi yâchasê [।] gṛih=aiva niratas=tishṭha 38 sarvvaṁ hi tava nishphalaṁ [॥] Dvitîyâ prêshyâ — ॥ 242 Yas=tvayâ 39 chintitô hy=arthaḥ

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25 Read *ch-ânunayishyasi, i.e., cha anunayishyasi.*

26 Read *vṛittêś=cha*, perhaps also *na.*

27 The fourth pâda is short by one syllable.

28 The words *na saṁśayâ* were originally omitted, and have been inserted interlinearly.

29 Perhaps: *su-mitratvaṁ.* The first anusvâra is uncertain.

30 Read *sarvvathâ.*

31 Read *samêshyati*; cf. verse 24.

32 The third pâda is short by one syllable. Read *kâlêna*, m. c.

33 Read *sahâyais.*

2 . . . . . . tâ hi [।] na pûrayati tat=karmmaṁ yasya prichchhasi karanê[34]— [॥] Tṛitîyâ prêshyâ — 224 Ya[35] tvayâ chintitâ vâchâ tad-arthasya tu kâraṇâ [।] vishyaty=artha-lambhas=tê 40

3 . . . ṇ=âttra saṁśayaḥ [॥] Prathamâ viṭî — 332 Sâtatvaṁ[36] tva[ṁ] ni(r)âyâsaḥ karmmaṇyaś=ch=âpi[37] jîvitê [।] na tvaṁ prâpsyasê dukkhaṁ praty-arthibhiś=cha vijêshyasi[38] — [॥] Dvitîyâ viṭî — 41

4 323 Na yujyasê phal-ârthêna nirvvêdêna cha yujyasê [।] anyattra tvaritô gachchha lapsyasê sukham=uttamam — [॥] 42

5 Tṛitîyâ viṭî 233 Dṛiśyatê tê abhiprâyô dvipada[s](ya) [t](u) kâraṇâ [।] samêshyati tê tatvêna[39] marutasya vachô yathâ — [॥] Prathama-karṇṇaḥ 114 Saṁpûjya 43 44

6 sarvva-karmâṇi saubhâgya-nirupadravaṁ [।] râja-lambhas=tu lapsyasê na chirâd=iha bhavishyati[40] [॥] Dvitîyaḥ karṇṇaḥ 141 Aiśvaryêṇa pari-bhrashṭâ samagraś=ch=âpi — si cha[41] [।] 45

Fifth Leaf: Obverse.

1 . . . . ◡ ‒ ‒ . . . ch . . ◡ ‒ ◡ sh . [॥] [D]v[i](tî)yaḥ[42] karṇṇaḥ 41[1] Addhvân[aṁ] gamanaṁ chintâ dukkhêna cha samâgamaḥ [।] s-âvaśeshêṇa karyêṇa 46

2 . . . .[43] na saṁśayaḥ [॥] Prathamâ sajâ—322 Vijêshyasi ripûṁ sarvvâṁ pratyârthî valavâṁ=ś=cha tê [।] lapsyasê prathamaṁ sthânaṁ paśchâch=chhôkam=avâpsyasi— [॥] 47

3 Dvitîyâ sajâ 232 Na cha jânîshê kâryâṇi paśchâttapêna yujyasê [।] bhavishyati cha tê lâbha[44] su-mukhas=tava dêvatâ— [॥] Dvitîyâ[45] sajâ 48

4 223 Śarîrê tava sandêha samatîtô dur-âsadaḥ [।] dêvatânâṁ prasâdêna prâguṇyaṁ tava kêvalam [॥] Prathamaḥ kâṇa 331 Prâguṇan=tê śarîrasya 49 50

5 lâbhaś=ch=ârthaś=cha prâptayê [।] upasthitaṁ cha tê kalyâṇaṁ (maruta)sya vachô yathâ — [॥] Dvitîyaḥ kâṇaḥ tantra 313 Ârôgyaṁ pul-âṁ-bhaṁ cha[46] prêkshyasê n=âttra saṁśayaḥ [।] lapsyasê sarvvathâ bhadraṁ 51

6 bhôgâṁ=ś=cha vipulâṁ tathâ [॥] Tṛitîyaḥ kaṇa-tantraḥ 133 Mishyâ vadasi yat=kiñ-chi mittraṁ dvishasi nityadâ [।] dêvatânâṁ prasâdâd=vâ tishṭhata śrêyô bhavishyati[47] — [॥] 52

Fifth Leaf: Reverse.

1 Prathamaś=chuñchuṇaḥ 311 Bhôgânâṁ viprayôgas=tê na chirêṇ=aiva dṛiśyatê [।] anyaṁ saṁprâpsyasê sthânaṁ mâ vishâdaṁ karishyasi — [॥] Dvitîyaś=chuñchuṇaḥ 131 Arthasiddhi[r]=d=dvaya[ṁ] ch=(ai)va 53 54

2 kula-sthânaṁ tath=aiva cha [।] prâpsyasê sarvva-kâmâṁ=ś=cha marutasya vachô yathâ—[॥] Tṛitîyaś[48]=chuñchuṇaḥ 113 Vipramuktas=tvam=arthê-bhyô mittraiś=cha suhṛid=êva cha [।] utthânaṁ chintayânasya 55

[34] Read *kâraṇê*, or perhaps *kâraṇâ*. [35] Read *yâ*. [36] Perhaps read *sâtatyaṁ* or *satataṁ*.

[37] *Âpi* is added interlinearly.

[38] The scanning is here irregular; the third pâda is too short and the fourth pâda is too long by one syllable. Moreover, the sense of the fourth pâda requires *prathyarthiṁ cha;* cf. verse 32.

[39] Read *tattvêna;* the reading of °*ti tê* is not quite clear. [40] The fourth pâda has one syllable in excess.

[41] The last two syllables (*si cha*) are added below the line.

[42] Read *Tṛitîyaḥ*. [43] *Pratyêshyasi* may be supplied.

[44] The syllable *bha* is inserted below the line. [45] Read *tṛitîyâ*.

[46] The first pâda is short by one syllable; read vipulâ°; or perhaps *puna lâbhaṁ*.

[47] The fourth pâda has one syllable in excess. Read *tishtha*.

[48] Originally written *tritîyaś*, afterwards corrected to *tṛitîyaś*.

3 udvigna iva driśyatê—[II] Prathamâ pâñchî—221 Chal=âcha[lam=i]daṁ sthânaṁ driśyatê samâkulaṁ[49] [I] na cha n=ârambhasê kâryaṁ dukkhêna cha vimuchyasê—[II] Dvitîyâ pañchî—122 56

4 Diśaḥ sarvvâ samât=krântâ[50] kâla-dharmma[51] kurushva tî [I] sukhaṁ te na kâryaṁn[52]=tê tê na têshu kadâ-chana: [II] *Tritîyâ pañchî*[53] 212 Paśu-vandhâś[54]=cha yajñâṁ vai vividhân=yakshasê tathâ [I] 57 58

5 [arghyân]i cha samriddhâni dâsyasê n=âttra saṁśayah [II] Tritîyaḥ pañchî 212 [II] Prathamâ kharî 112 Atikrântâ pariklêśâ dukkhaṁ ch=aiva samânataḥ [I] śubh-âśubhâd=vipramuktô si[55] lâbhas=tê sa- 59

6 mupasthita — II

TRANSLATION.

First Leaf: Reverse.

Qṁ ! Salutation to Nandirudrêśvara ! Salutation to the Âchâryas ! Salutation to Îśvara ! Salutation to Mâṇibhadra ! Salutation to all Yakshas ! Salutation to all Dêvas. To Śiva salutation ! To Shashṭhî salutation ! To Prajâpati salutation ! To Rudra salutation ! Salutation to Vaiśrâvaṇa ! Salutation to the Marutas ! Salutation !

Let the dice fall for the purpose of the present object (*i. e.*, of soothsaying) ! Hili ! Hili ! Let them fall as marked by the pitcher, discus and elephant !

By the truth of all the Siddhas, by the truth of all Schools, by their truth and true consensus let Śiva declare what is lost and perished, peace and trouble, gain and loss, victory and defeat, svâhâ ! By Satyanârâyaṇa, the Dêvata, and by the Ṛishis, true is the oracle, true is the diagram. Let the dice fall openly ! svâhâ ! Let the truth be seen !

(The efficacy of oracles and medical herbs . . . . . is far from untruth. In praise of the Dêvata Vishnu.[56])

(Verse 1.) 444 : Salutation to (thee) excellent man ! Janârdana is well-pleased with thee. May all thy enemies be killed (if thou so desirest ?) !

(Verse 2.) **A Navikkî** : 333 : Thou experiencest neither sorrow nor fatigue ; nor hast thou any fear of either high or low ;

Second Leaf: Obverse.

. . . . thou wilt receive.

(Verse 3.) Even in the midst of the full enjoyment of all desires, one's happiness engenders molestation ; (but) when it arises, God will ever allay thy fears.

(Verse 4.) **A Kâlaviddhi** : 111 : Thy intelligence is at fault ; . . . . . . ; the undertaking which thou contemplatest will be fruitless.

(Verse 5.) (The first) **Sâpaṭa** : 443 : Thou wilt quickly be delivered from all diseases, and thou wilt also obtain happiness ; (but) the advantage which thou wilt attain, will be neither very great nor very small.

(Verse 6.) The second **Sâpaṭa** : 434 : I see a terrible effort[57] (against those) with whom thou hast a conflict, (but) the work will be fruitless on account of which thou enquirest.

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[49] The second pâda is short by one syllable. Perhaps read *driśyatê tê.*

[50] Probably read *samâḥ krântâ.* [51] Read *dharmmaṁ.*

[52] Either read *kâryaṁ tê* or *kâryan tê.* The third pâda is short by one syllable.

[53] The italicised words are crossed out in the original. [54] Read *vandhâṁ-ś=cha.*

[55] The third pâda has one syllable in excess. Omit *śubha* and read only *aśubhâd.*

[56] The bracketed portion is mutilated in the text ; and not quite intelligible to me. Of the syllables *chanṭayâṇṭa* I can make nothing. They should represent the name of Mantra 444.

[57] *i.e.* the throw of the dice indicates to me the effort thou art making.

(Verse 7.) The third **Sâpaṭa** : 344 : Thou contemplatest a meeting, (but) the fair-one does not join thee; thy body is heated with desire, (but) thou shalt obtain no enjoyment.[58]

(Verse 8.) (The first **Mâlî**) : 343 : The peaceful[59] enjoyment of pleasure and wealth, and the fulfilment of all desires will, in a very short time, be thine, and that for ever.

(Verse 9.) (The second **Mâlî**) : 334 : This is a valuable thing to ask,[60] *viz.*, happiness that promotes good will; by patience that great object (will be attained), but if thou art impatient, thou wilt not obtain it.

(Verse 10.) (The third **Mâlî**) : 433 : This is considered a great object by thee; (but) there is a much better object than that : a safe journey into foreign parts and a (safe) return to one's friends.

(Verse 11.) (The first) **Vahula** : 324 : Long life is a great thing; thou wilt not obtain this (which is) the best, (but) thou wilt obtain wealth in money and grain, and tools, and also enjoyments.

(Verse 12.) (The second) **Vahula** : 432 : I see a place where thou hast determined to go from thence thou wilt safely[61] return with thy goods.

(Verse 13.) (The third) **Vahula** : 243 : Manifold, I see, are the things thou doest in order to obtain many sons (?); (but) look forward to thy own happiness; thou wilt obtain all that.

(Verse 14.) (The fourth) **Vahula** : 423 : Manifold are thy successes, and all thy friends are pleased; while others[62] envy thee;

Second Leaf: Reverse.

thou wilt not envy them.

(Verse 15.) (The fifth) **Vahula** : 342 : Thou expectest the return of thy friend, and thou feelest sure[63] of success; (but) love is entertained reciprocally; why should he come? thou shouldst go.

(Verse 16.) The first **Kûṭa** : 414 : There is a quarrel with the king, and that quite ruins thy *dharma*; (but) thou hast obtained thy advantage; therefore thou shouldst solely attend to thy *dharma*.

(Verse 17.) The second **Kûṭa** : 144 : Unsteady is this thy place, nor comfortable, nor a source of pleasure; (but) thou wilt get free of it, even if thou art held fast by a dêva[64] : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 18.) The third **Kûṭa** : 441 : There is comfort; there is no fear; I see here also success; thou wilt enjoy women accomplished in the arts of love; from nowhere hast thou anything to fear.

(Verse 19.) The first **Bhadrâ** : 421 : Thy evils have disappeared; thy offences are removed; thou wilt overcome all thy enemies; thy gain is imminent.

(Verse 20.) The second **Bhadrâ** : 214 : In thy mind thou hast conceived a plan for the purpose of obtaining the first place; (but) wait some time; then it will fall into thy hands.

(Verse 21.) The third **Bhadrâ** : 142 : Thou wilt obtain a virgin,

Third Leaf: Obverse.

and wilt conciliate thy friend; the dêvatas will give thee wealth together with affection and good luck.

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[58] The negative particle is practically misplaced; it must be constructed with the fourth pâda.

[59] I take *sama* in *sam-ânvita* to be the same as *sâmya*; or it may be a misspelling for *śama*.

[60] *Labhasê* I take to be the locative singular of *labhasa* "one who asks."

[61] *lit.*, "taking thyself and thy goods." I read *arthañ=cha*. The third pâda is short by one syllable, which may be mended by resolving the sandhi and reading *ch=aiva arthañ=cha*.

[62] I take *paras* as an adverb "on the other side," and *parâ* as the abl. sing., for *parât*. Or, *parâ* may be taken as a verbal prefix with *spṛihayishyasi*.

[63] *Parâ*, nom. sing., scl. *chintâ*.

[64] Perhaps read *dêvêbhi* (*dêvêbhiḥ*) 'by the dêvas.'

(Verse 22.) The fourth **Bhadrâ** : 241 : Thou sufferest no loss whatever in thy business ; thou hast no cause of fear from the dêvatas; as thou doest thy duties, thou wilt receive (thy desires).

(Verse :—) (The fifth **Bhadrâ** :) 412 :[65]

(Verse 23.) (The first) **Śaktî** : 341 : Thou art planning a marriage[66], and thou wilt soon accomplish it, and obtain an affectionate relative who will bestow on thee wealth and pleasures.

(Verse 24.) The second **Śaktî** : 134 : Thou art planning a union, and that will soon come to pass ; the order has gone forth from the Aśvins,[67] nor will it be anything unpleasant.

(Verse 25.) The third **Śaktî** : 413 : I see that something extraordinary is at hand for thee and also a gain ; in thy household also there will be an unequalled increase : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 26). The fourth **Śaktî** : 314 : As a king who has overcome all obstacles thou wilt, well furnished with troops, conquer thy enemy and constantly rule the whole earth under thy single sway.

(Verse 27). The fifth **Śaktî** : 431 : Thou mayest not desire to have any friend, or thou mayest always delight in having a friend ; (but) whether thou makest or dost not make friends, enmity comes without any cause.

(Verse 28.) The sixth **Śakti** : 431 : Thou meditatest a meeting ; that will certainly come to pass ; in its proper time that object will be attained, and there will be no disappointment.

(Verse 29.) (The first) **Dundubhî** : 321c. : What thing of thine is lost or perished, or stolen by thieves, or passed into other hands, that thou wilt recover after a not very long time.

(Verse 30.) The second **Dundubhî** : 213 : Whether thou art forsaken by friends, or whether thou art supported by friends, thou wilt obtain thy favourite objects, in spite of the envy of the dêvatas.

Third Leaf : ***Reverse.***

(Verse 31.) The third **Dundubhî** : 132 : I see that thou enjoyest health of body at the present time ; from the worship of the dêvatas thou obtainest this rest.

(Verse 32.) The fourth **Dundubhî** ; 231 : I see that thou hast a grievous quarrel with thy enemies ; (but) thou wilt suffer no harm from it, and wilt overcome thy adversary.

(Verse 33.) The fifth **Dundubhî** : 312 : I see that thou wilt make a very good acquisition ; moreover a son will be born to thee ; thy wished-for desires thou wilt obtain : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 34.) The sixth **Dundubhî** : 123 : Thy mind is much perplexed ; thy position is unstable ; only wait one month ; then thou wilt obtain happiness.

(Verse 35.) The first **Vṛisha** : 442 : Whatever there is in thy house, cattle, grain and money, thou shouldst distribute among the Brâhmans ; thy advancement is (then) near at hand.

(Verse 36.) The second **Vṛisha** : 244 : Thou art planning a meeting, and thy beloved is far away ; (but) the fulfilment of all thy desires will come to pass in a not very long time.

(Verse 37.) The third **Vṛisha** : 424 : Thou wilt suffer grievous bondage, but thou wilt regain thy place ; thou wilt have thy reward and wilt also have peace.

(Verse 38.) The first **Prêshyâ** :

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65 This verse, being Mantra 412, is wanting is the MS.

66 Perhaps *parigraha* may be intended to be more general : 'possession of things.'

67 *Asminai* I take to be intended for *Aśvinai*, the lost akshara may be supplied by reading either *aśvin-aiva* (*i. e.*, *aśvinâ êva*) or *aśvinair-âkṛitâ*. As the Aśvins are always two, probably the latter reading is correct, though an unusual formation. The Aśvins are givers of luck. *Lêkhâ* refers to the writing of a man's fate on his skull.

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

422 : If thou desirest knowledge or . . . . . . , (but) sittest idly at home, thou wilt be altogether unsuccessful!

(Verse 39.) The second **Prêshyâ** : 242 : The thing that thou hast thought of, ..., it will not accomplish that business with regard to which thou enquirest.

(Verse 40.) The third **Prêshyâ** : 224 : The speech which thou hast meditated for the sake of that thing, it will bring to pass the acquisition of the thing for thee : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 41.) The first **Viṭî** : 332 : Thou hast never to take any trouble, and art clever in thy business; thou wilt not suffer any misfortune, and wilt overcome thy adversaries.

(Verse 42.) The second **Viṭî** : 323 : Thou wilt not meet the object of thy advantage, and wilt meet with disappointment; (but) go quickly to another place, (and) thou wilt obtain very great happiness.

(Verse 43.) The third **Viṭî** : 233 : I see thy purpose; it is with reference to some biped (man?); it will come to pass for thee as surely as the edict of the deity.

(Verse 44.) The first **Karṇa** : 114 : Thou wilt be honoured with all ceremonies; and good fortune, peace and the requisites of a king thou wilt obtain; it will take place after a not very long time.

(Verse 45.) The second **Karṇa** : 141; By the act of God it has been destroyed, and thy whole property . . . .

Fifth Leaf: Obverse.

(Verse 46.) The third **Karṇa** : 411: Thou meditatest going on a journey, but thou wilt meet with misfortune; (thou wilt return) with thy business unfinished: there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 47.) The first **Sajâ** : 322 : Thou wilt defeat all thy enemies, but thou hast (one powerful adversary; thou wilt first meet with suceess, (but) afterwards thou wilt suffer sorrow.

(Verse 48.) The second **Sajâ** : 232: Thou dost not understand business, and thou wilt suffer regret; but there will be a gain to thee, for thy dêvatâ is favourable.

(Verse 49.) The third **Sajâ** : 223 : A most serious danger of thy life has passed away; thy safety is solely due to the favour of the dêvatas.

(Verse 50.) The first **Kâṇa** : 331: The safety of thy person, profit and wealth are within thy grasp, and prosperity is at hand as sure as the word of God.

(Verse 51.) The second **Kâṇa Tantra** : 313 : Thou expectest health and abundant power : there is no doubt about it; thou wilt certainly obtain prosperity, and abundant pleasures also.

(Verse 52.) The third **Kaṇa-Tantra** : 133 : Thou speakest the untruth sometimes, (and thou showest always ill-will to thy friend; but wait, and by the favour of the dêvatas there will be prosperity.

Fifth Leaf : Reverse.

(Verse 53.) The first **Chuñchuna** : 311 : I see that after a not very long time thou wilt be deprived of thy pleasures; (but) thou wilt obtain another suitable place; do not give way to despondency.

(Verse 54.) The second **Chuñchuna** : 131 : Wealth and perfection : these two, and also family and rank, and all thy (other) desires thou wilt obtain, as surely as the word of God.

(Verse 55.) The third **Chuñchuna** : 113 : Thou art deprived of thy money and (forsaken) by thy friends and well-wishers; it appears to me as if thou wert troubled in thy mind about relief.

(Verse 56.) The first **Pâñchî** : 221 : I see that thy position is unsafe and troubled; never mind ! thou shouldst undertake some business, and thou shalt be delivered from thy misfortune.

(Verse 57.) The second **Pâñchî** : 122 : All regions are attacked alike; observe thou a seasonable line of conduct; otherwise thou wilt not have either happiness or business in them at any time.[68]

(Verse 58.) The third **Pâñchî** : 212 : Animal sacrifices and many other sacrifices thou wilt sacrifice; and complete oblations thou wilt give : there is no doubt about it.

(Verse 59.) Thy first **Kharî** : 112 : Thy troubles have passed away and thy misfortune likewise ; thou art delivered from thy unlucky star ; thy prosperity is at hand.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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(*Continued from page* 106.)

CHAPTER IV. (*continued*).

THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

PART II. — THE LANGUAGE[1] (CONTINUED).

II. — THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE LANGUAGE ; ITS HISTORICAL POSITION.

We have now passed in review the majority of the grammatical phenomena which are presented by the inscriptions of Piyadasi, in their different versions. But that is not sufficient. It is on account of the light thrown by them on more general facts, that these particular data more especially claim our interest. We have now reached a stage at which we can investigate these larger problems. Two points of view at once present themselves to us, according as we consider, either directly the condition of the language of which specimens are supplied by the inscriptions, or indirectly the general question of the linguistic state of affairs at the period, to which our texts bring us back. The first problem, again, may be looked at in two

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[68] The reading here is corrupt ; but this meaning seems to be plain.

[1] In the original French edition I stated at the conclusion of this study, and I now beg to repeat it at once here at the beginning, that I never intended, when writing these chapters, to examine under all their different aspects the vexed questions about Sanskrit and its history to which they refer. I only wished to bring to light a number of facts — either directly derived from the most ancient epigraphic records or at least connected with them — which to my mind are indeed highly important and which possess direct bearing upon the final settlement of these problems.

While proceeding along this track, I considered it useful to advance resolutely to the ultimate conclusions to which it seemed to me to lead, without dwelling, at least for the time, on the difficulties to which they might give rise, or the conflicts with other lines of argument in which they might result or appear to result. No one, I hope, will contend that the conflict escaped me, or that I meant to dispose of the points in question before having previously settled it one way or the other. But, on this occasion, I have not undertaken a task so vast and so comprehensive. On a ground so thickly overgrown, and so imperfectly surveyed, I fancy it may be advantageous to push on lines of reconnoitring straight forward, in what to some may appear a rather adventurous way. It is highly desirable that those who start from other points of view, and who propose to follow more direct or more beaten paths, should not be too dogmatic, nor dispose in too summary a manner of these side-explorations.

These brief remarks have a two-fold aim. For one, I wish to prevent any misconceptions, and also to check criticisms which, — probably by my own fault, — the present essay has called forth, and which I cannot find to be justified or to be based upon an adequate, faithful rendering of my views. Secondly, they will explain why, after several years, I have allowed it to appear again in its original tenor. Such changes as have been made in this translation concern only minor points ; they aim at nothing but doing away with expressions which were either equivocal or too absolute, so as to mislead the reader as to what I really mean. Everyone knows how easily the preoccupation of one leading idea may carry even a cautious writer to an accidental use of expressions or statements which may distort in some way his real thought, and let it appear too affirmative, or too exclusive. I have tried my best to obviate this danger in the present, in the main, unaltered reproduction of this essay.

different ways. And, to sum up, we have to examine; (1), whether the monuments disclose differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word; (2), if beside dialectic peculiarities properly so called, they do not exhibit other peculiarities based on differences in the systems of orthography; and (3) if it is possible to draw, from the philological facts supplied by our texts, conclusions regarding the contemporary condition of the religious or learned, the Vedic or Sanskṛit language. This would be the most logical order in which to deal with the matter, but I propose to discuss the second point first; so as to render the explanation, I hope, both clearer and shorter.

About one fact there can be no doubt: —Our inscriptions do not pretend to invariably represent in their integrity the sounds of the spoken language.

Proofs of this abound. The most general is that nowhere do they observe the rule of doubling homogeneous consonants.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the doubling of consonants, resulting from assimilation, e.g., *tth* in *atthi* for *asti*, *vva* in *savva* for *sarva*, &c., was really observable in pronunciation. It must have been the case no less at this epoch, than in the more recent period when it was graphically represented. Moreover, in the case of doubling a nasal, the duplication is duly marked by means of anusvâra, as in *dhaṁma*; and in several words, the sporadic prolongation of the preceding vowel, as in *dhâma* for *dharma*, *kâsati* for **karshyati*, *vâsa* for *varsha* is only an equivalent method, largely used to the present day, of expressing a real duplication. The same procedure is followed in texts of more recent date, as at Kaṇhêri[2] (No. 15), where, in a single inscription, I find *dhâma*, *pâvata*, *sâva*, *âdha*.

But this is not all. The inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, whether of the time of Aśôka or subsequent to him, do not distinguish graphically the long and the short vowels. This omission might be explained by the want of appropriate signs, but these signs would have been easy to create in an alphabet which has formed itself with the aid of so many conscious and learned additions. If these signs have not been added, it is certain that but small importance was attached to rendering exactly the various shades of pronunciation. The necessary signs existed in the Southern Alphabet, though neither at Khâlsi, nor, I believe, at Bairât or Rûpnâth, were they used for the *î* or for the *û*. So far as regards Khâlsi, this might be accounted for by the influence of the north-west, which manifests itself here in several phenomena; but the fact would none the less remain that this practice shows not an exact imitation of the pronunciation, but an orthographical system which, at least in some measure, neglects it. Even the versions which do distinguish the long vowels, display so many inaccuracies that they themselves bear witness to the little care which was taken in making the distinction.

One of two things is evident. Either the distinction between long and short vowels survived in the current language, and the texts noted it insufficiently, or it had become lost in speech, and they endeavoured to restore it in writing. Both hypotheses would thus indicate a lax attention to the exact representation of sounds, and the second also a characteristic tendency towards a learned orthography.

Other inconsistencies lead us to an analogous conclusion.

The diphthong *ai* has disappeared in all the Prâkṛit dialects with which we are acquainted, and it is no less a stranger to the inscriptions of Piyadasi. Yet Girnar gives us an example: *thêra*, Skr. *sthavira*, is there written *thaira*, and in one passage *trayôdaśa* is spelt *traidaśa*. Can we believe that the diphthong, lost elsewhere, has survived in these two unique instances? Must we not clearly recognize here a half-learned orthography, inspired by the memory of the etymological origin?

[2] Unless otherwise stated, I cite the cave inscriptions by the numbers of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vols. IV. and V.

It is a universal rule in the Prâkṛit, both in the dialects of the inscriptions and in the literary languages, that before *anusvâra* a long vowel becomes short. In four or five instances, however, the long vowel of Sanskṛit is retained: *yâtâṁ* (VIII, 1), *susrusatâṁ* (X, 2), *anuvidhiyatâṁ* (ibid.), *samachêrâṁ* (XIII, 7) at Girnar. It is plain that we have here purely and simply an orthography influenced by the learned language.

These last instances are mere accidents, but they enable us to judge better regarding those in which variations of orthography more nearly balance each other. In a certain number of consonantal groups composed of a mute and an *r*, instead of the disappearance of the *r*, compensated for by the doubling of the mute, we find at Girnar the etymological spelling, *pra, tra, sra, rva*, instead of *pa* (*ppa*), *ta* (*tta*), *sa* (*ssa*), *va* (*vva*). This spelling is by no means fixed, — as may be seen from a reference to the text of any single edict, — and it would be of little interest to quote here all the instances, one by one. It will be sufficient to state that we have the spelling *pra* about 45 times, as against the spelling *pa* 25 times: for *tra*, 30 times *ta*, 20 times *tra*: for *rva*, *rva* and *va* each about an equal number of times: for *bra*, once *bra*, against 6 or 7 times *ba*: once *sra* (for *rsa, rśa*), against once *sa*. Is it possible to contend that such an indifference represents the real spontaneous condition of the popular idiom, and that pronunciations corresponding to such different stages of phonetic decay, and that side by side in the same words, belonged actually to the same period of the normal development of the language? If it were possible to have any doubts on the point, it would be sufficient to refer to later facts in the linguistic history. When we read, in Hindî, *priya* beside *piya*, *putra* beside *pûta*, *brâhmaṇa* beside *bâmhana*, we have no hesitation. We know that the first of each of these pairs is an instance of learned orthography: that it is only a *tatsama*, that is to say, a word borrowed direct from Sanskṛit, and restored to the current of the language. When in an inscription of the 24th year of Vâsithîputa Pulumâyi (Kârli No. 22, A. S.), we meet side by side the spellings *puttasya*, *sôvasakasya*, *vathavasya*, and *budharakhitasa*, *upâsakasa*, *prajâ*, *parigahê*, we are confident that these genitives in *asya*, this spelling of *prajâ*, cannot, at such a period, have represented the true pronunciation of the people; that there also they are *tatsamas*. How can we avoid drawing the same conclusion from facts which, although more ancient, are none the less strictly analogous?

It is therefore certain that these sanskritized forms do not represent the actual stage of the contemporary phonetic decay. One point, however, appears to be open to some doubt. The *tatsamas* of the modern languages actually enter into circulation, and that with either the ancient pronunciation, or with an approach to it. They are words of special origin, but at the same time real words of the current speech. The *tatsamas* of Mixed Sanskṛit are, on the other hand, purely orthographical, for they belong to a purely literary language.[3] That is to say while, in the modern tongues, the loans from the ancient language only deal with bases, and consequently have no effect on the grammar, in the Sanskṛit of the *Gâthâs*, the imitations extend even to the inflexions, *i. e.* to elements which would escape any arbitrary action of the learned in a really living language.

In which of these two categories are we to class **the tatsamas of Piyadasi**? We must, I think, consider them in the same light as those of the dialect of the *Gâthâs*, and recognise them as **'orthographic' tatsamas.** The examples given above show that little heed was paid to accurately representing the pronunciation and that the etymological form was readily adopted in cases in which the vulgar pronunciation must have been markedly different. That is in itself a strong reason, but we shall see, besides, that the classical language had not yet been so developed into practical application at this epoch as to allow us to assume that it could have penetrated into the stream of popular use. Moreover, in the different versions of the texts, the proportion of these *tatsamas* is very unequal. If it were a case of forms readopted into current speech, such an inequality would be surprising; it is more easily explained by a

[3] I shall refer to the dialect of the *Gâthâs* or Mixed Sanskṛit in the following chapter.

local predominance of a special orthographical system, or rather **of special orthographical tendencies.**

The observations which still remain for me to make are of a kind to add further proof to these conclusions.

The orthography of Kapur di Giri, as in Sanskṛit, distinguishes the three sibilants, *s*, *ś*, *sh*, Is it really the case that the dialect of this region retained a distinction which, if we are to judge from the parallel versions, was lost everywhere else? It is sufficient to record the irregularities accumulated in the distribution of these sibilants, to convince the reader that nothing of the sort occurred.

We read *ś* instead of *sh* in *manuśa* (II, 4; 5) beside *manusha* (XIII, 6), and in the futures which are formed in *śati* for *shyati*. We have *s* for *sh* in *yêsu* (XIII, 4), *arabhiyisu* (I, 2), beside *nikramishu*, &c., in *abhisita*, which is never written *abhishita*; and for *ś* in *anusôchano* (XIII, 2); *samachariya* (XIII, 8), *srêsta* (I, 2); *sh* for *s* in *paṁchashu* (III, 6), *shashu* (XIII, 8); *ś* for *s* in *anuśaśanaṁ* (IV, 10), *anuśaśisaṁti* (ibid.). It cannot be imagined that this confusion may be referred to the real usage of the local dialect. It can only be accounted for by one theory, the only one which explains analogous mistakes, whether in manuscripts or in more modern Sanskṛit inscriptions. The error of the engraver or of the scribe arises in both cases from the fact that he has before him a learned spelling, in the application of which he cannot be guided by the usage of the current dialect, because the distinctions he has to deal with are strangers to it. The locative *paṁchashu*, a clumsy imitation of locatives in *êshu*, is very characteristic as illustrating the way in which the sibilants were used at Kapur di Giri.

The fact must not be lost sight of that this method of writing is not an isolated example; it is borne witness to by other parallel ones, which leave us in no doubt as to what conclusions we are to draw from it. It is certain that the distinction between the sibilants did not exist in the dialect of the western coast; yet that does not prevent us finding all three at Nâsik (Nos. 1 & 2, A. S. iv, 114), in dedications, which in every other respect are couched in pure Prâkrit, not even in mixed Sanskṛit. As at Kapur di Giri, a mistake, *sakaśa* for *śakasa*, is there to warn us as to the true character of this use. It is the same in No. 27 of Kanhêri (A. S. v. 85), in which the pretension to learned orthography leads to such forms as *śunhâṇaṁ*, *sârvvaśatvâṇaṁ*.

In the instances which we have just passed in review, we may perhaps be allowed to hesitate as to the origin of the spelling, though not as to the sound which it represents or is intended to represent; the problem becomes more thorny when we consider certain orthographical phenomena, which express accurately neither the learned form, nor the form adopted in popular usage; — which can, in some respects, be considered as intermediate between these two poles of linguistic movement.

Dr. Pischel[4] has correctly pointed out that, at Kapur di Giri, the words which I have, according to precedent, transcribed as *dharma*, *darśi*, *darśana*, *karmaye*, *varsha*, *purva*, &c., are really written *dhrama*, *draśana*, &c., the *r* being joined to the consonant *dh*, *d*, &c He adds that here, as in the coin-legends which observe the same method of spelling, this writing certainly represents a dialectic peculiarity, and that the people for whom the tables of Kapur di Giri were inscribed, actually pronounced the word as *dhrama*, *pruva*, &c. At this point I am unable to agree with his deductions.

He bases his argument specially on certain readings, such as *mruga*, equivalent to *mṛiga*, in the first edict of Kapur di Giri, *graha* and *dridha*, equivalent to *gṛiha* and *dṛiḍha* in the 13th, *paripruchha*, equivalent to *paripṛichchha* in the 8th, *vrachhâ*, equivalent to *vṛiksha*, in the 2nd edict of Girnar. He compares the forms *ru*, *ri*, *ra*, taken by the vowel *ṛi* in several modern dialects.

[4] *Götting. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1881, p. 1316.

I think that this comparison, unless I am much mistaken, goes directly contrary to his conclusion. Modern forms like *graha, griha, mraga, mraṁga, mriga*, by the side of which we also find others such as *mirga*, &c., are in no way direct derivatives of the Saṁskṛit *mṛiga*, but are *tatsamas;* that is, nothing but simple equivalents of the form *mṛiga, gṛiha*, which itself is also used in the modern languages. They are only instances of such approximate spelling as could be realized with the elements really existing in the popular language, instead of borrowing from the learned language a special sign, corresponding to a special pronunciation which has ceased to exist for more than two thousand years. In both cases, the situation is not only analogous, but is identical. I offer for both, one and the same explanation, — that which is incontestable for the more recent one: in *mruga, graha, dridha, vrachha* of the inscriptions, I can see, as in *mriga, graha, dradha, vraksha* or *vrachha* of existing languages, only *tatsamas*, loans really taken from the learned language, but represented by an orthography which, by the absence (whether voluntary or not is of little importance at the present stage of the inquiry) of the sign for the vowel *ṛi*, was condemned to tentative and approximative devices. These examples in no way argue against my method of treating the groups *dhr, pr*, &c., in the words which I have quoted. On the contrary, they present certain precedents of a return towards the learned language, operating even at the price of imperfect orthographical expedients. It is exactly in the same light that we must consider the spellings which now occupy us.

In the first place, the state of affairs at Kapur di Giri, so far as concerns consonantal compounds including an *r*, strongly resembles that which we have established for Girnar. We find there *paṭi* beside *praṭi* (also *prati* and *patri*), *sava, savatra*, by the side of *sarvê, sarvaṁ, sarvatra*, &c. Without attempting to compile exact statistics, the fact is, in a general way, indisputable. It is natural to deduce from it the same conclusions as those to which we have come with regard to Girnar. We must not, therefore, treat the orthographical peculiarities of this language with absolute rigour. If the *r* in the words which we are discussing, is taken from the learned language by an arbitrary artifice of writing, why should we be astonished that the writers should have allowed themselves some liberty in the manner of representing it, when they have just as often taken the liberty of omitting it altogether? In Hindî the spellings *dharama, karama, gandhrava*, in no way correspond to any peculiar phonetic phenomena, but are merely equivalent modes of writing the *tatsamas dharma, karma, gandharva*.

Mr. Beames (*Compar. Gram.* I, 321) has quoted in the ancient Hindî of Chand, spellings such as *śrabba* (= *sarva*), *dhramma* (= *dharma*), *sôvranna* (= *suvarṇa*), *brana* (= *varṇa*), *brannanâ* (= *varṇanâ*), *prabata* (= *parvata*), *kramma* (= *karma*), *krana* (= *karṇa*), &c. I do not think that these examples can be appealed to against the argument, which I here maintain. It is more than clear that all these spellings were, at the time of Chand, loans taken from the vocabulary of the learned language. The doubling of the consonant in *śrabba, kramma*, &c., sufficiently proves that the true pronunciation of the people was *śabba, kamma*, &c. Different motives, metrical or otherwise, may have suggested these spellings, but they prove nothing as to the real pronunciation. Far from being contrary to my opinion, they supply, at a distance of some fifteen hundred years, a phenomenon, strictly comparable with that which we have shown to exist at Kapur di Giri. This resemblance of methods is explicable by the resemblance of the conditions which called them into being. In each case we have a language, which, not having as yet a regulated system of spelling, attempts, with groping and uncertainty, to approximate itself, by the simplest means available, to the practice of a language which enjoys a higher degree of reverence.

If we consider the facts by themselves, would this change of *dharma* to *dhrama*, of *pûrva* to *pruva*, of *karma* to *krama* be likely or probable? I think not. Alongside of *pruva*, there is at least one passage (VI, 14), in which it seems clear that we must read *purva*. So also we find that coins wrote *varma* alongside of *dhrama*; that by the side of *draśana* at Kapur di Giri, we have, at Girnar, an example of *darsana*. The form which all these words have invariably taken in the popular pronunciation, *dhaṁma, puvva, kaṁma, vassa* or *vâsa*, &c., depends uniformly on

a former pronunciation, *dharma*, and not *dhrama*, *varsa* and not *vrasa* &c. If people said *arva*, why should they have said *pruva* ?

We should doubtless be glad to discover with certainty the cause of these inconsistencies; but our hesitation in this respect proves nothing against conclusions, which appear to me to be satisfactorily proved. It is no use counting all the variations in the mode of writing: by the side of *sarva*, we frequently have *sava*; *mita* beside *mitra*, *puta* beside *putra*, &c., &c.; we find written *kirti*, and *vaḍhati*, *vaḍhita*, &c. It is not surprising that, in an orthography which is the arbitrary imitation of a learned pronunciation, a certain approximation should have appeared sufficient. The example of Girnar proves that we must not take the phonetic value of the signs too strictly. It is clear that in and in the same character signifies at one time, *vra*, and at another time *rva*. Reasons of graphic convenience may have had their share of influence. A cursive sign for *r* following a consonant had been fixed at this epoch but they had not fixed one for an *r* preceding one. It is easy to prove this in the more recent inscriptions. They retained the first sign, and invented a new one for the second case (cf. the inscription of Suê Vihar.[5]) The direct combination of the characters and , and was sufficiently easy and symmetrical, but the combination of with , &c., being more complicated, gave greater opportunities for confusion. Without doubt such a consideration can only have been a secondary one, but the special conditions under which, as I have pointed out, this spelling was applied with its etymological tendency, are precisely such as to make its action admissible. They rendered much less urgent both the invention of a new sign, and the use of compound letters which might be awkward to engrave.

We are thus led to recognise in certain cases a graphic method, which not only does not faithfully represent the real pronunciation, but which in endeavouring to approximate itself to etymological writing, treats it with a certain amount of freedom. This forms a very useful basis from which to judge, what is, in my opinion, a more difficult case. I refer to the groups , and at Girnar, regarding which I regret to find that my conclusions did not meet with the concurrence of Dr. Pischel. This difference of opinion renders it necessary for me to complete the observations outlined on pages 26 and 29 of the Introduction to Vol. I. of the original work.

It is quite clear, as Dr. Pischel allows, that the appearance of the group will not help us to decide between the transcription *pta*, and the transcription *tpa*. Every one agrees in reading *sṭ* and *st*. The exact position of the sign is therefore irrelevant. All the more has the question embarrassed the various commentators, and they have successively proposed various readings. The arguments invoked in favour of *pta* are far from convincing me. I cannot admit that the form *appâ* for *âtman*[6] presupposed an intermediate *aptâ*. The group *pt* regularly gives *tt* in Prâkṛit, as in *gutta*. It is *tp* which gives *pp*, as in *uppala*. Now *apa* is the very form which the most modern inscriptions of the west, near Girnar, regularly give us for *âtman*, and I do not think that any one would suggest a pronunciation *aptâ* as necessarily intermediate between *âtmâ* and *attâ*. It is in the same way that *chattârô* is derived directly from *chatvârô*, like *satta* from *satva*, and *atta* from *atvâ* for *âtmâ*. If, under the influence of *t*, the *v* of *atvâ* can have become a *p*, the same phenomenon is equally explicable in *chatpârô* for *chatvârô*, and *ârabhitpâ* for *ârabhitvâ*.

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[5] For example = *rya*. We catch, I think, this new notation in course of formation in instances such as the sign = *rkhê* (*arkhêviyasa*) of the coins of Archebios (cf. Sallet, *Die Nachf. Alexanders*, p. 113).

[6] *Note by translator.*—The following extracts from the statistical portion of this chapter, previously published, see *ante*, pp. 3 and 10, will assist the reader in following the argument.

GIRNAR.—*tm* becomes *tp* in *âtpa-*, XII, 3,4,5,6.

tv becomes *tp*: *alôchêtpâ*, XIV, 6; *ârabhitpâ*, I, 3; *chatpârô*, XIII, 8; *dasayitpâ*, IV, 4; *hitatpâ*, VI, 11; *picvitṛjitpâ*, X, 4; *taddâtpanê*, X, 1; it becomes *t* in *satiyaputô*, II, 2.

KAPUR DI GIRI.—*tm* becomes *t* in *ata°*, XII, passim.

tv beomes *t*.

This being said, while I uphold the transcription *tpa*, after Burnouf and (as Dr. Pischel very properly reminds me) Signor Ascoli, I admit that I can produce no decisive facts to prove that this spelling represents something different from its apparent pronunciation. Neither the use, which Dr. Kern has pointed out, of the Javanese spelling of the group *tp* to express simply the sound *tt*, nor the analogous instances, have any demonstrative force. Nevertheless, the phonetic conditions which Girnar displays in other respects are not such as to lead us to believe that at this epoch, the contact of two mutes, like *tp*, could have been tolerated by the language without assimilation. Several traits, which would seem to prove the more archaic character of the language of Girnar, disappear if we consider them in their true light as simple graphic restorations, and it would be very improbable that a language which so invariably assimilates mutes when they are primitive, as in *samata*, *guti*, &c., should have, at the same time, preserved their original power for groups of secondary mutes, resulting from an earlier phonetic alteration. Without, therefore, being in a position to furnish categorical proof of my opinion, I cannot refrain from being impressed with this belief that the group *tp* at Girnar represents *pp* as its real pronunciation, the etymological origin of which is shadowed forth in the writing by an artifice, which has, so to speak, been arrested half way.

As regards the groups *sṭ*, *st*, I have the same good fortune to be in accord with Signor Ascoli, and the same regrets that I cannot agree with Dr. Pischel. I know, and I have expressly stated, that Hêmachandra (IV, 290, 291) teaches in Mâgadhî the spellings *sṭ* for *ṭṭa* and *shṭh* of Sanskṛit, and *st* for *sth* and *rth*.[7] Dr. Pischel draws attention to the fact that the *Mṛichchhakaṭî* has forms like *bhaśṭaka*, *chiśṭadi*. I do not wish to insist upon reasons which depend somewhat on individual impression; but I cannot easily believe in dialectic forms such as *pasṭa* for *paṭṭa*, *asta* for *artha*. They are phonetic modifications so isolated, as far as I can see, on Hindû soil, that it seems to me very difficult to admit their existence; but I recognize that such a scruple has no demonstrative force. We shall at least see from what I shall have occasion to say regarding the Prâkṛit of the grammarians, that they are entitled to but very weak authority as regards the exact state of the popular language, above all at the epoch with which we are now dealing; and here, for example, the evidence of Hêmachandra may very well be taken as only indicating the more or less accidental retention, the more or less arbitrary application, of an archaic spelling. At the same time it must be remembered that the facts thus quoted, agree but imperfectly with those with which it is desired to compare them. Hêmachandra mentions this spelling as peculiar to Mâgadhî, and we are asked to recognise it again at the other end of India, in Surâshṭra; we do not find it anywhere in the other versions of our inscriptions, which, owing to several significant traits, the nominative in *ê*, the substitution of *l* for *r*, may fairly claim relationship with Mâgadhî. This is not of a nature to give strength to the authority of the grammarians, at least as regards their geographical terminology.

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[7] *Note by translator.*—As this is not printed together with the statistical portion of the chapter which has already been given *ante*, pp. 3, 4 and pp. 10, 11, the following extracts from that portion will assist the reader to understand what follows.

GIRNAR, — *tth* becomes *sṭ* in *usṭâna*, VI, 9, 10.

rth becomes *th*, as *atha*, passim.

shṭr becomes *sṭ*: *râsṭika* V, 5.

shṭh becomes *sṭ*: *adhisṭâna*, V, 4; *sêstê*, IV, 10; *nistâna*, IX, 6; *tisṭaṁtô*, IV, 9; *tisṭêya*, VI, 13.

st is preserved: *asti* passim, &c.; — it becomes *sṭ* in *anusasṭi*, VIII, 4, al.

sth becomes *st* in *gharastâni*, XII, 1; — and *sṭ* in *sṭita*, VI, 4.

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tt becomes cerebralised into *ṭ* under the influence of an *r*-sound, in *dharmavuṭaṁ*, XIII, 10; *nivaṭiya*, IX, 19.

tth is written both *th* and *ṭh* in *uthâna*, VI, 15.

rth usually gives us *ṭh* (*aṭha*, passim), but also *th* (*athaṁ*, IX, 20; *anathêshu*, V, 12).

shṭr is written *st* in *rastikanaṁ*, V, 12.

shṭh is written *ṭh* in *śrêṭha* IV, 10; *th* in *tithê*, IX, 20, *adhithanê*, V, 13; and *st* in *srêsta*, I, 2, and *tistiti*, IV, 10.

st remains unchanged, whether written with the special sign to which Dr. Bühler appears to have given its true value, or with the group *st* as in *saṁstuta*, IX, 19.

sth becomes *th*: *chirathitika*, V, 13; *grahatha*, XIII, 4; and also *ṭh*, *grahaṭhani*, XII, 1.

The groups which the grammarian expressly writes *sṭ*, with the dental *s* (*cf.* *Sûtra* 289), the *Mṛichchhakaṭî*, extending the use of the palatal *ś* peculiar to Mâgadhî, writes *śṭ*, and the verb *tishṭhati*, for which the spelling *chishṭhadi* is expressly enjoined by *Sûtra* 298, is written in the drama *chiśṭadi* (Pischel, loc. cit.). Between the grammarian and our inscriptions there is a still wider discord: *ṭṭ* is no more written *sṭ* at Girnar, than *rth* is written *st*.

The mere observation of facts such as those which exist at Girnar would be sufficient to awaken our scruples. I find it difficult to believe, as Dr. Pischel has ingeniously suggested, that the absence of the aspiration in *sṭita* and *sêsṭa*, are a direct inheritance from the primitive period which existed before the birth of the secondary aspiration of Vedic Saṁskṛit. Should we further conclude that the word *sresta* at Kapur di Giri (1st edict) is also a witness of this same period, when the sibilant *sh* and the other cerebrals had not as yet developed? As for claiming the same antiquity for the Pâli form *aṭṭa* (equivalent to *arta*) for *artha*, the uniform use of the aspirate in all our versions is far from favouring this conjecture. In any case, the Pâli spelling *aṭṭa* being uniformly absent from all our inscriptions cannot be relied upon as a basis for the archaic origin of the *ṭ* in *sṭita*. I therefore consider that I am right in doubting whether the popular pronunciation had really eliminated the aspiration, in a case in which, as everyone knows, as everyone can judge by a reference to Prâkṛit orthography, the consonant is invariably aspirated, even when the aspiration is not original, *i.e.*, when Saṅskṛit does not write it as aspirated. Is it really to be believed that the people pronounced *usṭâna* (Girnar, VI, 9, 10), when the assimilated form *utthâna* is the only one used, even in the learned language and in its system of etymological spelling? If they really did pronounce *sṭâna*, *sṭita*, can *ustâna* be considered as anything but a purely orthographical approximation to these words, guided and determined by the feeling of etymology? The forms *anusasṭi* (for *anusasti*, the only probable one) beside *saṁstuta*, *gharastâni* (instead of *sṭâni*), beside *sṭita*, and at Kapur di Giri, *srêsta* (instead of *śrêsṭa*) by the side of *śrêṭhaṁ* (IV, 10), *tistiti* beside *tithê* and *adhithana* (V, 12; al.), *dipista* beside *aṭha* (= *ashṭau*) are as many errors which it would be hard to explain if we considered the orthography as an actual expression of the existing pronunciation.

Now, Girnar is comparatively near the tract which furnishes us numerous inscriptions for the period following. Would it not be surprising that in none of them, not even in the most ancient, at Sâñchî and at Nânâghâṭ, has a single trace of so significant a dialectic peculiarity been discovered? What we do find is at Sâñchî (No. 160), the proper name *dhamasthirî*, while in all the analogous instances, *sêṭhin*,[8] &c., the assimilation is carried out. Again at Kârli (No. 22), in a text of the time of Vâsithîputa Sâtakaṇi, we find *hitasughasth*[*i*]*tay*[*ê*], beside *niṭhitô*. In this instance forms such as *puttasya*, *sôvasakasya* beside *budharakhitasa*, *upâsakasa*, leave no doubt as to the nature of the spelling. We have here a text couched half in Prâkṛit, half in mixed Saṅskṛit, and we know, without any hesitation, that the spelling *sthiti* is a *tatsama*, or, which comes to the same thing, an instance of learned orthography. Does not all analogy, every probability, compel us to accept the same conclusion for Girnar?

It is true that this mode of writing, *st* and *sṭ*, appears at Girnar with a certain regularity, but this should not mislead us, after the facts which we have already pointed out regarding groups which contain an *r*.[9] I maintain that *st* and *sṭ* are conservative methods of spelling the groups *tth* and *ṭṭh* which arise in Prâkṛit from a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by its mute. They have been extended to groups originating from *sth* and *shṭh* (that is to say a dental or cerebral sibilant followed by an aspirated mute), for the very simple reason that, in the assimilation of Prâkṛit these groups result in the same pronunciation as do *st* and *shṭ*. From

[8] I do not speak of *chilaṭhitika* in the inscription of Piyadasi. It is in Mâgadhî, and, as we shall see, cannot be taken as an authority for the local dialect.

[9] At Kapur di Giri, the analysis, *st*, which Dr. Bühler has proved for a sign hitherto generally read *th*, has drawn the spelling of the word *sresta* from its isolation: but the inconsistencies which have been cited above in the transcriptions of the Saṅskṛit groups *shṭ*, *shṭh*, still remain not one whit less characteristic and instructive.

this point of view, anomalies like *usṭâna* and *anusasṭi* can be easily explained. *usṭâna* is only another way of spelling *uṭṭhâna*. The cerebralization, for which *anuśâsti* supplies no pretext, could creep into the pronunciation of *anusatthi* under the influence of the analogy which it suggests with forms like *siṭṭha, anusiṭṭha*. A practice of this kind, extending even to words in which it has no etymological justification, is certainly not without example in Hindî usage. I content myself with quoting the use of the groups *gr, tr* in Jain Prâkṛit,[10] used to represent merely a doubled *g* or *t*, and that even when it is not justified by etymology, — in *pôgralâ*, i. e. *pôggalâ* (*pudgalâ*), as well as in *ulagra*. Prof. Weber has not on this account dreamed of suggesting that the pronunciation *ugra*, *udagra* has been preserved, but very rightly concludes that we must everywhere read *gga*.

The preceding remarks do not exhaust the instances in which we are permitted to infer that the orthography of the Edicts of Piyadasi is not strictly phonetic. Other spellings deserve, from this point of view, to be noticed here. Some are significant by their very character and by their inconsistencies; others, either better preserved or altered more than the mean level of phonetic decay permits, reveal in turn either an accidental imitation of the cultivated idiom, or the contemporary existence of a popular language into which the mode of writing of our inscriptions artificially introduces a regularity unknown in practice.

In the first category is contained the use of 𑀓𑁆𑀬. This brings me again to Dr. Pischel's remarks. I must confess that I can no longer hold to the opinion, originally expressed by me, that the sign 𑀓𑁆𑀬 at Khâlsi was only another form of 𑀓. I admit that this sign, literally *kya*, corresponds to a special shade of pronunciation, although it does not appear to be easy to define it. The concurrence of the forms *kaliṁgyâ, kaliṁgyêsu, kaliṁgyâni*, which Dr. Bühler has been the first to identify at Khâlsi (XIII, 5, 6,), does not throw much light on the problem; but to whatever conclusion we are led, it will remain none the less certain that the engravers have displayed a singular inconsistency. According to Dr. Pischel himself, beside seventeen instances in which the suffix *ika* is written *ikya*, there are seven in which the spelling *ika* is retained. It is very clear that one or other of these two methods of writing does not accord with the exact pronunciation. What are we to say about the Delhi inscriptions, in which we find *k* in two isolated examples, in *ambâvaḍikâ* and *aḍhakôsikâni* (Col. Ed. VII-VIII, 2), whereas everywhere else the suffix invariably retains the form *iya*?

I confess that I find some difficulty in avoiding an explanation, which, at the first glance will appear singular and rash. In various coins of Spalagadama, of Spalirisos (Sallet, p. 155), and of Gondophares (p. 169), we find *dharmiasa* side by side with the ordinary form *dharmikasa*. On the other hand, the coins of Lysias (*ibid.* p. 154) have alternately *lisikasa* and *lisiasa*. The pronunciations *ika* and *iya* do not appear to have belonged to the same period of phonetic development, and it is tempting to conclude that the popular pronunciation was *iya*, (or *ia*, which is the same thing), of which *ika* represents the learned spelling; that, in fact, people read the latter *iya*, as seems to be proved by the writing *lisikasa* for *lisiyasa*. The sign 𑀓𑁆𑀬 ought to hence to be considered as a compromise between the real pronunciation, indicated by the *y*, and the *tatsama* orthography represented by the *k*. The spelling *alikasadala* must be explained by some play of etymology, which, in order to lend to the foreign name a Hindî appearance, seems to have sought in the first portion of the word for the Prâkrit *alika, aliya*, corresponding to the Saṁskṛit *alîka*. I do not underrate the difficulties of this solution. If it were certain, it would lend a singular confirmation to my method of considering the orthography of our inscriptions, but I recognise that it is in no way certain. I only put it forward as a conjecture, which is, in my opinion, a likely one, and I do not propose to take advantage of it elsewhere for any more general conclusions. If we neglect it, and content ourselves with a simple statement of the facts, we find at all events that, at least in this particular point, the

[10] Cf. Weber, *Bhagavati*, pp. 387 and ff.

spelling of our inscriptions, not being consistent with itself, does not endeavour to accurately represent the pronunciation.[11]

Kapur di Giri in several instances uses *j* and *y*, the one for the other: *ja*[*ṁ*] (equivalent to *yad*), V, 11; *ananijaṁ*, VI, 16; *samaya*, I, 2; *kaṁbôya*, V, 12; XIII, 9; *raya*, V, 11; VI, 14; IX, 18; X, 21; XI, 23; XIII, 1, beside *raja*, VIII, 17, &c. Perhaps even at Girnar we find an analogous case, if we must really really read (XII, 7) *sruṇêju*, for *sruṇâju*, equivalent to *sruṇêyu*. At any rate, *ñayâsu* for *niyâsu*, is purely sporadic, contrary to analogy, and, to all appearance, an arbitrary spelling.

These exceptional spellings follow a double direction. Several bear witness to an effort to approach the etymological forms. For instance, *saḍvîsati*, against all analogy, retains its final consonant. No one can doubt that Dhauli and Jaugada represent exactly the same dialect, and the same pronunciation, and hence *êkatiya* at Jaugada (I, 2) and *saṁmyâpaṭipati* (IX, 16), as compared with *êkacha* and *saṁmâ°* at Dhauli, can only be taken as kinds of *tatsamas*. So also with forms like *akasmâ* at Dhauli. *Adhigichya*, equivalent to *adhikṛitya*, for *adhigicha*, at Bhabra, shews us an orthography which is undecided and hesitating.

In other places the writing betrays by inadvertencies that the phonetic level of the spoken language has already fallen below that which is usually marked by the ruling habits of the written one. I refer to softenings like *adhigichya* for *adhikṛitya* at Bhabra, *libi* alongside of *lipi* at Dehli, *lôga*, *lôgika*, *lahêyu* at Jaugada, or, inversely, to irregular hardenings such as *kaṁbôcha* at Dhauli, *paṭipâtayati* at Jaugada, *paḍhaṁ* at Kapur di Giri, or, again, isolated inflexions like *janâô* at Khâlsi, *mahiḍḍyô* at Girnar.

It would not be impossible to increase the number of indications of this nature; but, neither the condition of the monuments, nor the accuracy of our facsimiles, would allow us to attain to complete statistics. I stop myself here, and proceed to sum up.

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[11] The translator ventures to take the liberty of appending the following note by him on this character, which originally appeared in the *Academy* for October 1890:—

This character has excited considerable controversy. It is admittedly a compound of the sign for *k* and the sign for *y*, and, graphically, it represents *kya*. In the Khâlsi inscription it is substituted (but by no means uniformly) for the *k* which we should expect in the termination *ikâ*; and it also occurs in the foreign word *alikyasadala*. It is also found twice in the Delhi columnar inscription. All scholars agree that no completely satisfactory explanation has been given for this form. It seems to me that the following is not unreasonable.

The spelling of Piyadasi's inscriptions presents several instances of false analogy. M. Senart has given strong reasons for believing that when Piyadasi at Girnar wrote *sṭ*, he meant to represent the sound *ṭṭh*. It was a mistaken attempt to revive an old-fashioned spelling. The scribe knew that Sanskrit *shṭ* became *ṭṭh* in Prâkrit, and hence wrongly assumed that every Prâkrit *ṭṭh* was derived from *shṭ*. Therefore, to shew his learning, whenever he came to a *ṭṭh*, he wrote it *sṭ*, even in cases when *ṭṭh* represented not *shṭ*, but *shṭh*.

I think that this *ikya* is a similar instance of false analogy. The Mâgadhî Prâkrit termination *ikâ* is liable to have its penultimate vowel lengthened, thus, *îkâ*. Then, by a well-known rule, the *î* can again be shortened, the consonant following being at the same time doubled in compensation, thus, *ikkâ*. Instances of this are not uncommon in literature; and, judging from the modern languages of India, must have been extremely common in conversation. Prâkṛit examples will be found in § 203 of Dr. Hoernle's *Gauḍian Grammar* and I need not quote them here. As the Khâlsi and the Delhi inscriptions were written in Piyadasi's Mâgadhî dialect, we need not be surprised if we find this doubling occurring in them too.

Now Sanskrit *ikya* does become *ikka* in Prâkrit; and I believe that the scribe, coming upon an *ikka* with a totally different derivation of which he was ignorant, and wishing to shew his learning, represented that *ikka* also by *ikya*, just as his brother at Girnar represented *ṭṭh* by *shṭ*, even when it had nothing whatever to do with that compound. If we assume, as suggested by M. Senart, that the scribe endeavoured to connect the foreign word *Alikyasadala* with the Sanskrit *alîka* (an instance of a common kind of word-play in Sanskṛit literature), we find an additional confirmation of my suggestion. The *î* in *alîka* is long; its being shortened shews that the word must have been pronounced *alikka* in Piyadasi's time. Accordingly, the engraver, coming upon another *kk*, followed his custom and wrote it *kya*.

It will be observed that this accounts for the want of uniformity with which *kya* appears in Piyadasi's inscriptions. M. Senart shews that at Khâlsi *ikyâ* occurs seventeen and *ikâ* seven times. At Delhi there are only two instances of *ikyâ*, *ikâ* being used everywhere else. So, also, in Mâgadhî Prâkrit both the terminations *ikkâ* and *ikâ* appear to have been concurrently and indifferently used, just as at the present day a man of Magadha will say in the same breath, *chhoṭakâ* and *chhoṭakkâ*, *tanikâ* and *tanikkâ*, *tanukâ* and *tanukkâ*.— G. A. G.

It is certain that the orthography of our inscriptions does not always exactly reflect the actual pronunciation. It is unequal to the task when it neglects to notice double consonants or long vowels, and it overshoots the mark when, at Girnar, it retains a long vowel, either before *anusvâra*, or before a group of consonants. Besides this, it elsewhere gives evidence, as, for example, in the notation of the groups which contain an *r*, of a significant indifference in regard to phonic expressions which belong to diverse periods of the development of the language. **It is, therefore, sure that this orthography, in a certain number of cases, obeyed (as we call them) learned historic influences.** Like the modern languages, like the mixed Sanskṛit of the *Gâthâs*, it is full of words or methods of writing, which constitute so many graphic *tatsamas*, and which consequently form an artificial and learned element. There is no ground for citing against this proposition the ignorance of the engravers. They may be responsible for certain material errors, for certain inconsistencies, but not for a system of orthography. They applied that system, it is true, but, however imperfect it may have been, it must have been founded by persons who were educated, skilled men. Even at the present day, it is evidently the learned caste that takes these loans, which, entering the popular language, gradually extend themselves to the most ignorant. In its generality, therefore, the principle appears to me to be unassailable, and those facts, which are certain, justify by themselves important conclusions as regards the light in which we should consider the language of our inscriptions.

Other facts, such as those which concern the groups *st*, *sṭ*, *tp* at Girnar, allow more room for contradiction, and I only claim probability for my opinion regarding them. I have merely one more observation to add. It is specially at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri that we meet these semi-historic modes of writing. If my interpretation of them is accepted as correct, they will add seriously to the balance in favour of the conclusion to which the undisputed facts tend.

This conclusion has a corollary. It implies that the differences of dialect between the popular languages, which are reflected by the various versions of our inscription, are less decided than we should at first be induced to consider them, judging from the appearance of the orthographies. If they are really separated by some characteristics, they have, in general, arrived at nearly equivalent stages of phonetic corruption. The more prominent points of difference, which attract our attention at first sight, have their origin in tendencies, more or less accidental, of word-borrowing or of modes of writing, — in the greater or less use of *tatsamas*. This result is in itself *à priori* so probable, that it might almost be invoked in favour of the conclusions which I have endeavoured to establish. It is, assuredly, scarcely probable that, by its mere natural movement, by its spontaneous development, the same language should, in the same time, have reached, in neighbouring provinces, stages of decay so unequal as a comparison between the orthography of Girnar and, for example, that of Khâlsi would suggest. The views which I have put forward explain this anomaly. For inadmissible inequalities of phonetic development they substitute the very simple notion of different orthographic systems in parallel use in different regions. If, as everything tends to shew, the epoch to which our inscriptions belonged was still, so far as regards the art of writing in India, a period of feeling the way and of uncertainty, if it is anterior to the regularisation or at least to the general expansion of the Saṅskṛit orthography and to the codification of the literary Prâkṛits, the parallel existence of these divergent imperfectly established systems is easily explained. I shall shortly indicate what circumstances seem to have conduced to favour their geographical distribution in the manner to which witness is borne by the evidence of our monuments. These circumstances equally concern the distribution of the dialectic differences properly so called.

(To be continued.)

BHADRABAHU, CHANDRAGUPTA, AND SRAVANA-BELGOLA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

In the first fifteen pages of the Introduction to his **Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa** (published in 1889), Mr. Rice has arrived at the conclusions, that the settlement of the Jains at that place was brought about by the last of the *Śruta-Kêvalins*, Bhadrabâhu, and that this person died there, tended in his last moments by the Maurya king Chandragupta, — the Sandrokottos of the Greek historians, — the grandfather of Aśôka. These conclusions, if they could be accepted as correct, would possess considerable interest. And it is worth while, therefore, to examine the grounds upon which they are based.

It is clear that there are **local traditions,** of some antiquity, connecting the names Bhadrabâhu and Chandragupta with Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. Thus: — Of the two hills at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, the smaller one, **Chandragiri,** is said to derive its appellation from the fact that **Chandragupta** was the name of the first of the saints who lived and performed penance there (*Introd.* p. 1). On this hill there is a cave which is known as **the cave of Bhadrabâhusvâmin;** and also a shrine which is called **the Chandragupta-basti** (*ibid.* p. 2, and map). Two inscriptions, said to be of the ninth century, found near the Gautama-kshêtra of the river Kâvêrî at Seringapatam, speak of the hill at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa as having its summit marked by the impress of the feet of **Bhadrabâhu** and the *Munipati* **Chandragupta** (*ibid.* p. 2, note 6). At Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa itself, inscription No. 17, of about the seventh century A. D., mentions "the pair **Bhadrabâhu,** together with the *Munîndra* **Chandragupta.**" And inscription No. 71, of considerably later date, refers to worship being done to the foot-prints of **Bhadrabâhu.**

So far, we stand on safe ground, in respect of the names of a Bhadrabâhu and a Chandragupta; provided that we only bear in mind that, as yet, we have nothing to enable us to identify any particular Bhadrabâhu and any particular Chandragupta.

We turn next to **inscriptions** at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, which undoubtedly mention **Bhadrabâhu, the last of the Śruta-Kêvalins.** No. 40, of A.D. 1163, speaks of "Gautama" [the first of the *Kêvalins*], "in whose line arose "**Bhadrabâhu,** the last among the *Śruta-Kêvalins*; his disciple was **Chandragupta,** whose "glory was such that his own *gaṇa* of *Munis* was worshipped by the forest-deities:"[1] and then, after a break, it takes up a line of succession, placed in the lineage (*anvaya*) of Chandragupta, beginning with the *Muniśvara* Koṇḍakunda,[2] whose original name was Padmanandin. No. 54, of A. D. 1128, again mentions Gautama, the *Śruta-Kêvalins*, **Bhadrabâhu** (apparently the *Śruta-Kêvalin* of that name), and **Chandragupta,** "who, by being his disciple, acquired such merit as to be served for a long time by the forest-deities;" and then, like the preceding, after a break, it takes up the succession beginning with Koṇḍakunda. No. 105, of A. D. 1398, dealing similarly with the succession from Koṇḍakunda, enumerates, before him, a number of teachers, in respect of whom, for present purposes, it is only necessary to say that the *Kêvalin* Gautama, and five *Śruta-Kêvalins*, ending with **Bhadrabâhu,** are mentioned, but the name of Chandragupta does not occur at all. And No. 108, of A. D. 1433, mentions Gautama; in his line, the *Yatîndra* **Bhadrabâhu,** the last of the *Śruta-Kêvalins*; his disciple, **Chandragupta;** and, in the line of the latter, the *Munîndra* Kuṇḍakunda, whose succession is then continued, as in the other records.

[1] It may be mentioned, in connection with an altogether different matter of some interest, that, in the further succession of disciples, this inscription mentions one whose original name was Dêvanandin; who was called Jinendrabuddhi, on account of his great learning; who was called Pûjyapâda, because his feet were worshipped by gods; and who composed the *Jainêndra*-grammar.

[2] I give this name as it stands in Mr. Rice's texts, — Koṇḍakunda, in Nos. 40, 54, and 105, and Kuṇḍakunda in No. 108. The variation in the vowel of the first syllable is not material. There is a question as to the proper consonants in the second and fourth syllables. For several variants of the name, see Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 158, note 2. In the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvati-Gachchha, it appears as Kundakunda (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 351, 356).

These inscriptions undoubtedly mention Bhadrabâhu, the last of the *'Sruta-Kêvalins*, and allot to him a disciple named Chandragupta. And all that we have to note here, is, that, except through the connected mention of a Chandragupta, they afford no grounds for identifying him with the Bhadrabâhu of the inscriptions quoted in the last paragraph but two above; that they furnish no reasons for asserting that the *'Sruta-Kêvalin* Bhadrabâhu ever visited 'Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa, or even came to Southern India at all; and that they give no indications of Chandragupta having been anything but an ordinary Jain teacher.

And now we come to the actual reasons that led Mr. Rice to assert the alleged facts which, in the interests of plain and reliable history, it is desirable either to substantiate or to disprove. They are to be found, partly in a compendium of Jain history called the Râjâvalîkathe, and partly in Mr. Rice's rendering of another inscription at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, No. 1 in his book.

The essence of what the Râjâvalîkathe tells us is this (*loc. cit.* pp. 3-6): — "The "Bhadrabâhu who came to be the last of the Sruta-Kêvalins, was a Brâhmaṇ's son, "and was born at Kôṭikapura in Puṇḍravardhana. He interpreted sixteen dreams of "Chandragupta, the king of Pâṭaliputra; the last of which indicated twelve years of "dearth and famine. On the commencement of the famine, Chandragupta abdicated in "favour of his son Siṁhasêna, and, taking initiation in the Jain faith, joined himself to "Bhadrabâhu. Bhadrabâhu, having collected a body of twelve thousand disciples, migrated "to the south, and came to a hill in the Karṇâṭaka country. There he perceived that his "end was approaching; and so, giving *upadêśa* to Viśâkhâchârya, he committed all the dis- "ciples to his care, and sent them on to the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya countries. He himself remained "on the hill, and died in a cave there, tended only by Chandragupta, who performed the "funeral rites, and abode there, worshipping the foot-prints of the deceased saint. After a "time, Siṁhasêna's son, Bhâskara, came to the place, and did obeisance to Chandragupta, and "built the city of Beḷgoḷa near the hill. And eventually, Chandragupta himself died there."

In connection with this account, — the value of which most people will be able to appreciate for themselves, — it is sufficient to point out two things. One is, that, whatever may be the sources on which it is based, this Jain compendium is a composition of the present century (*loc. cit.* p. 3). And the other is that, by a further extract from the same work, we learn (*ibid.* p. 9) that the Chandragupta in question was not the well-known grandfather of Aśôka, — the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, — at all, but a son, otherwise quite unknown, of Aśôka's son Kunâla. Mr. Rice himself noticed this little difficulty, and got round it by suggesting (*ibid.* p. 10) that 'the introduction of two Chandraguptas seems to be due to some confusion in the traditions, and is an unnecessary variation, perhaps intended to conceal the defection of Aśôka (from Jainism to the Buddhist faith).' But, by such a process as this, — accepting as reliable an account that is perfectly valueless for historical purposes, and then directly perverting its statement, on a point of leading importance, by deliberately substituting a man's grandfather in the place of his grandson, — almost anything whatever in the way of imaginary history might be evolved.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Rice through the process by which, using what seems to be an actual fact, *viz.* that Bhadrabâhu, the last of the *'Sruta-Kêvalins*, was a contemporary of the great Chandragupta, he arrived (*loc. cit.* pp. 12, 14) at about B. C. 297 for the date of the events recorded, on his interpretation, in the inscription that still remains to be considered; or through the steps by which he established a connection of the real Chandragupta with Southern India through the Early Guptas, the Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ, and the Ganga chieftains of the Kanarese country (*ibid.* pp. 10-14). We will turn now to the inscription itself.

The real purport of the inscription, No. 1 in the 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa volume, is as

follows: — "After the time when (the Jain *Tîrthaṁkara*) Mahâvîra attained *parinirvâṇa*, there "was a certain **Bhadrabâhusvâmin**, who belonged to a lineage that had been made illustrious "by a succession of great saints who came in continuous order from the venerable *Paramarshi* "Gautama, and his disciple Lôhârya, and Jambu, Vishṇudêva, Aparâjita, Gôvardhana, **Bhadra-** "**bâhu**, Viśâkha, Prôshṭhila, Kṛittikârya,[3] Jayanâman, Siddhârtha, Dhṛitishêṇa, Buddhila, and "other *Gurus*. At **Ujjayinî**, the **Bhadrabâhusvâmin**, thus introduced, mastered the science of "prognostication, became a knower of the past, the present, and the future, and announced a "period of distress that would last for twelve years; and **the entire saṁgha** set out from the "north and **migrated to the south**, and, by the directions of the saint, came to a country "containing many hundreds of villages, and rich in people, wealth, gold, grain, cows, buffaloes, "and goats. Then, **on the mountain Kaṭavapra**,[4] the *Âchârya* **Prabhâchandra**, perceiving "that the end of his life was very near, and being much afraid of journeying any further, "dismissed the whole *saṁgha*, with the exception of one unnamed disciple, and engaged in "*saṁnyâsa* until he died."

In interpreting this record, Mr. Rice made two important mistakes. (1) He took the Bhadrabâhusvâmin who announced the period of distress, to be identical with Bhadrabâhu I., the *Śruta-Kêvalin*, who is mentioned in his proper place between Gôvardhana and Viśâkha. But, according to the inscription itself, seven of the *Daśa-Pûrvins*, and after them a break of unspecified duration, intervened between the two Bhadrabâhus, — in perfect accordance with the lists of Northern India. And (2), in consequence of a mislection in line 6, he translated the inscription as meaning that the *Âchârya* who died at Kaṭavapra, was Bhadrabâhusvâmin himself, *i. e.*, as the result of his identification, Bhadrabâhu I., the *Śruta-Kêvalin*, and that the disciple who tended him was Prabhâchandra; to which he attached a note that Prabhâchandra was explained to him as the clerical name assumed by Chandragupta.[5] But all this is distinctly not the case; the reading, in line 6, is, — not *âchâryyaḥ Prabhâchandrêṇ=âm=âvanitala°*, "the *Âchârya, with*[6] Prabhâchandra *also*, [dismissed the *saṁgha*, and engaged in *saṁnyâsa* till he died]," — but *âchâryyaḥ Prabhâchandrô nâm=âvanitala°*, "the *Âchârya, namely* Prabhâchandra, [dismissed the *saṁgha* and engaged in *saṁnyâsa* till he died]."

In short, so far from recording that the *Śruta-Kêvalin* Bhadrabâhu died at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, tended by a disciple named Prabhâchandra, who might be assumed to be king Chandragupta of Pâṭaliputra, the inscription simply states that an *Âchârya* named **Prabhâchandra** died there, during or shortly after a migration of the Jain community to the south, which was caused by an announcement of famine made, at Ujjain, by a certain Bhadrabâhusvâmin who came after an interval of unspecified duration, — but plainly a long one, — after the *Śruta-Kêvalin* Bhadrabâhu. And thus the only possible substantial foundation for the fabric reared up by Mr. Rice ceases entirely to exist.

We may now proceed to examine **the real historical bearings of this inscription.** It

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[3] Mr. Rice gives "Kshatrikârya." I do not overlook the fact that the name occurs as "Kshatriya" in No. 105 in Mr. Rice's book, and in the extract from the *Mâghanandi-Śrâvakâchâra* given *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 22, and as "Khattiya," explained by "Kshatriya," in the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvatî-Gachchha (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 348). But Mr. Rice's lithograph distinctly has the name that I give. — Since writing these remarks, I have seen impressions of the inscription, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. They shew that the name really is Kṛittikârya.

[4] The original says, "on this mountain named Kaṭavapra"; *i. e.* on the hill on which the inscription is engraved; *i. e.* on Chandragiri itself.

[5] See also Introd. pp. 6, 7, where, however, he says only that, "according to No. 1," *i. e.* the present inscription, Chandragupta "appears" to have taken the name of Prabhâchandra on retiring from the world, in conformity with custom.

[6] The passage was supposed to include the word *amâ*, in the sense of *saha*. — The inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1874, in this Journal, Vol. III., p. 153 (see also *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. lxxxvi., lxxxvii., 302); and the first extract from the *Râjâvalîkathe* was also given. But Mr. Rice did not then find the name Prabhâchandra in the inscription. And in respect of the extract from the *Râjâvalîkathe*, he then wrote — "This is a strange story. How much of it may be accepted as historical is not easy to say."

is not dated. But the lithographic Plate which is given by Mr. Rice, shews that the engraving of it is to be allotted to **approximately the seventh century A. D.**: it may possibly be a trifle earlier; and equally, it may possibly be somewhat later.[7] And, interpreting the record in the customary manner, *viz.* as referring to an event almost exactly synchronous with the engraving of it, we can only take it as **commemorating the death of a Jain teacher named Prabhâchandra, in or very near to the period A.D. 600 to 700.** Who this **Prabhâchandra** was, I am not at present able to say. But he cannot be Prabhâchandra I. of the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvatî-Gachchha (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 351), unless the chronological details of that record, — according to which Prabhâchandra I., became pontiff in A. D. 396, — are open to very considerable rectification. And I should think that he must be a different person, for whose identification we have to look to southern records not as yet available.

As regards **Bhadrabâhusvâmin**, all that should have been of necessity plain at the time when Mr. Rice dealt finally with this inscription, is, that he is not the *'Sruta-Kêvalin* Bhadrabâhu. Now that Dr. Hoernle has published the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvatî-Gachchha, he is easily capable of identification. He is undoubtedly **Bhadrabâhu II., the last but one of the Minor-Aṅgins** who is represented as becoming pontiff in B. C. 53 (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 349-51.)

The same *paṭṭâvalî* enables us to locate properly the **Chandragupta** of the 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa traditions and inscriptions. Such of them as make him a disciple of the *'Sruta-Kêvalin* Bhadrabâhu, are plainly mistaken. He is evidently **Guptigupta, the disciple of Bhadrabâhu II.**, — otherwise named Arhadbalin and Viśâkhâchârya, — who, according to the same record, became pontiff in B. C. 31 (*ante*, Vol. XX. pp. 350, 351). And this brings us to a point in which the local traditions are possibly more correct than the northern records. The *paṭṭâvalî* in question tells us that one of Guptigupta's disciples, Mâghanandin, established **the Nandi-Saṁgha** or **Balâtkâra-Gaṇa**, as a division of the Mûla-Saṁgha itself. Both names of the *gaṇa*, as well as that of the Mûla-Saṁgha, are of frequent occurrence, in connection with teachers belonging to it, in inscriptions in the Kanarese country; where, however, the *gaṇa* is perhaps mentioned most often as **the Balâtkâra-Gaṇa.** This appellation for it is attributed by Dr. Hoernle to **Guptigupta's name of Arhadbalin.** A *gaṇa* of his own is allotted to Chandragupta, *i. e.* to Guptigupta, by inscription No. 40 at 'Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (see the words quoted from it, on page 156 above), which ultimately deals with the Dêśî-Gaṇa as a division of the Nandi-Gaṇa in the Mûla-Saṁgha, placing it in the lineage (*anvaya*) of Koṇḍakunda, just as the lineage of the latter is placed in the lineage of Chandragupta, *i. e.* of Guptigupta. And the fact that the inscription with which we have been dealing, and others on the Chandragiri hill which similarly record the deaths of Jain ascetics, lie in such a position that they have to be read with the face directed towards the front of the so-called Chandragupta-basti, indicates plainly that some peculiar sanctity or reverence attached to the person commemorated by that shrine. There can be little doubt that the ascetics in question belonged to the same sect with that person; that he was the traditional founder of the sect; and that **the tradition at Sravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa was that the Balâtkâra-Gaṇa was really founded by the Chandragupta of the inscriptions, i. e. by Guptigupta, the disciple of Bhadrabâhu II.**[8]

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[7] While recognising, approximately, the period to which the characters really belong, Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.* p. 15) arrived at the conclusion that, "if this interesting inscription did not precede the Christian era, it unquestionably belongs to the earliest part of that era and is certainly not later than about 400 A.D." But there are no substantial grounds for this view, which depends chiefly upon Mr. Rice's acceptance as genuine, of the spurious Western Gaṅga grants. Unfortunately, much of what would otherwise be valuable work by him, is always vitiated in the same way.

[8] In connection with a division of the Nandi-Samgha, "the body of saints of Guptigupta" is mentioned in the Kaḍab grant, which purports to be dated in Saka-Saṁvat 735 (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 11). And inscription No. 105 in Mr. Rice's book, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1320, speaks of Arhadbalin, apparently as establishing a four-fold division of the *saṁgha*.

The migration to the south, whether it really started from Ujjain, or from elsewhere, may well be a historical fact.[9] It may be open to argument, whether the inscription intends to imply that it was led by Bhadrabâhu II. But at any rate this is not distinctly asserted. And I think that the contrary is indicated, (1) by the description of Bhadrabâhu as "a knower of the past, the present, and the future (*traikâlya-darśin*)," which rather points to his predicting a future period of distress, than to his simply announcing the commencement of immediately impending distress; and (2) by the statement that the rich land at which the *saṁgha* arrived was reached "by the directions of the saint (*ârshêṇa* = *ṛishi-vachanêna*)," which points to instructions given at the time of predicting the distress, — or at any rate to advice given to people who were leaving him, — rather than to personal guidance. On the other hand, the inscription, whether correctly or not, does make the migration contemporaneous with Prabhâchandra; for it says that, at the mountain Kaṭavapra, he perceived that the end of his life was very near and became "much afraid of travelling any further (*adhvanaḥ su-chakitaḥ*)," and so dismissed the *saṁgha* and remained there till he died. If, then, the record does mean to imply that Bhadrabâhu II. led the migration, or even that it took place in his time, it is wrong, either in that respect, or in placing the death of Prabhâchandra during the migration; because of the intervention of several centuries at least[10] between the period of Bhadrabâhu II. and the death of Prabhâchandra as determined, with close approximation, by the palæography of the record.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 17. *The Princess Malika-Jarika.*

There was once a rich old merchant who had seven sons. One day he called them to him and said: — "My sons, it is high time now that you were married and settled in life, for I am growing older every day, and am anxious to distribute my wealth among you before death calls me away from this world."

The young men were nothing loath to do as their father desired, and jumped at his proposal, but the old man added: — "Not so fast, my boys, there is a certain condition to be fulfilled, and a certain test to be applied to you, before you come by your partners in life and obtain possession of my wealth. So listen attentively to what I say."

"On a certain day, which we shall appoint, after consulting the astrologers, you all are to go with your bows and arrows to an open *maidân* outside the city, where each one of you is to shoot an arrow from his bow in whatever direction he likes best, and I shall trust to the hand of fate to guide it to the feet of the fortunate lady, who is destined to be the bride of the owner of that arrow."

"Agreed," said the brothers, who were all eager both to display their skill in archery, as well as to come by their wives in such a romantic fashion. So they soon set about making preparations for that eventful occasion.

When the day fixed by their father, with the aid of his astrologers came round, the seven young men and their father, accompanied by a number of their friends and relatives, went to the appointed place, and when everything was ready and the signal given, the seven brothers,

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[9] It appears to be mentioned also in the *Upasarga kêvaligaḷa-kathe*; see *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 99, — "the whole assemblage of the saints having come by the region of the south, and having arrived at the tomb of the venerable one, &c."

[10] I assume that the *paṭṭâvalî* of the Sarasvatî-Gachchha is at least approximately correct in respect of the date which it gives for Bhadrabâhu II.

who had taken care to put their own particular marks on their arrows, shot them in seven different directions.

After a long interval of anxious waiting, the arrows were one by one recovered and brought back to their owners, along with tokens from the fair ladies at whose feet chance or fate had guided them; all except that of the merchant's youngest son. Long and vigorous was the search made for it not only all that day, but for many and many a day following, but to no purpose. The arrow had flown over hill and valley and over river and ocean, for no trace of it could be found over the entire country.

At last, when no stone had been left unturned, and all hope of finding the lost arrow was abandoned, the old man taunted his son about his ill-luck in not being able to procure himself a partner in life, and expressed his belief that he must be a very wicked fellow thus to have incurred the displeasure of God. The poor youth felt so humiliated at this that he quitted the land of his birth in despair, and became a wanderer in distant countries; whilst his father celebrated the nuptials of his six sons with great pomp and rejoicings, and, regardless of his youngest son's claims, distributed his large wealth equally amongst them. Our hero roamed about for days and months from one place to another in search of his lost arrow, but in vain, till at last he became a mere aimless and homeless wanderer, for whom life could have no zest or charm.

One day, however, as he was thus roaming through a large forest in an unknown country, his eye chanced to fall upon a large iron ring fixed to what appeared to be a door, and what was his joy to find, in close proximity to the ring, his own long-lost arrow entangled amongst some thorns and brambles that grew there! Naturally the youth's first impulse was to draw out the arrow from its place; but he soon changed his mind, reflecting that perhaps it marked the spot where he ought to look for his bride. So he took hold of the ring and pulled at it with all his might, and to his great joy the door yielded and revealed to his astonished gaze a dark and narrow passage, which evidently led to some subterraneous abode.

Without any delay our hero boldly entered this passage, and soon found himself sliding downwards and downwards, as if impelled by some unknown power within. When he at last recovered the use of his legs, he found himself in the midst of a beautiful garden, so tastefully laid out and so well stocked with beautiful fruits and flowers of a strange kind, that he was for a while quite entranced, and felt certain that he could be nowhere but in fairy-land, for such things could not belong to the world he had lived in. He looked about him to see if he could find any traces of the inhabitants of that strange and most picturesque place, but nothing met his eye, far and near, save fruits and flowers, and butterflies and birds of rare plumage, while the only other living being he noticed there, was a solitary she-monkey, that was swinging herself to and fro amongst the branches of the trees.

As he walked about in the garden, however, our hero saw in one part of it, a large and very beautiful palace, and on entering it, found it full of gold and silver jewels. Every piece of furniture in that noble edifice was made either of one of these metals or the other, and was, moreover, studded with diamonds and rubies. But go where he would in it, he could find no evidence of any living being, human or otherwise. As he was sitting, however, in one of the halls of this wonderful palace, he perceived to his great surprise, that a sumptuous feast was being spread before him by invisible hands, while a voice whispered in his ear — "Get up, take thy bath, and partake of these good things." He instantly turned round and looked about to find who it was that had spoken to him, but could see no one. So he got up, and, doing as he was bid, sat down to the repast, and did ample justice to the rich viands that were placed before him, having had no food all that day. By and by, the she-monkey he had observed in the garden came in also, and began skipping about from room to room and making herself quite at home, just as if she were sole mistress of the palace.

Our hero remained in this strange place for several days, and had nothing to do, but to eat and drink and enjoy himself. But at last he got tired of the monotony of his situation, for, besides the monkey, he himself was the only living thing in that palace, and she, he thought, was no company for a young man, notwithstanding that every now and then she went and sat by his side, looked wistfully into his face, and asked him by signs to follow her all throughout the palace and the garden, and to look at the wonderful things it contained. One day, therefore, he secretly ran up the passage, through which he had entered the garden, and lifting up the massive iron door made his way back to his father's country.

When at last after a long and toilsome journey the long-forgotten wanderer reached home, he received but a cold welcome from his father and brothers, and they all laughed at him, when he related to them where and how he had found his lost arrow. So he thought it prudent not to say anything about the wonderful palace or the she-monkey just then, and kept his own counsel. The six brothers were all happy with their six wives, who were all clever and beautiful, and the old man, their father, extolled the virtues of his daughters-in-law to the skies, and exultingly showed his son the nice and valuable presents the ladies had brought specially for himself. Amongst them were some exquisitely embroidered little carpets worked by the ladies themselves, which the old man admired most of all, though our hero eyed them with contempt, as he compared them to the rare specimens of workmanship which he had seen in the underground palace.

Not desiring under these circumstances to prolong his stay with his father, our hero one day quietly left his home, and speedily returned to the subterraneous palace, to which, it need not be mentioned, some strange power was constantly attracting him. When he reached it the she-monkey again went skipping up to him, and played and frisked about him with great glee.

But our hero's heart was sad to think that he should have only a she-monkey to welcome him in a place, which he felt was to him like a home, and one where he most loved to go, and he began to look at the unsightly animal with tears in his eyes. She seemed, however, to understand what he felt, for going up to him she commenced to stroke his head and to shampoo his feet. But our hero turned away from her in disgust, and said in a rage, "Begone, thou ugly creature, I don't want thee to come so near me!"

"Hold thy tongue," replied the monkey, all of a sudden speaking like a human being, "I only do as I am bid. If thou utterest one unkind word to me thou shalt have to rue it before long."

The poor young man was non-plussed at this, and said nothing, but his heart grew sad to think in what an unenviable position he had been placed. "My arrow," he contemplated, "came all the way over to the gate leading to this strange place, in which the only living being I can see is this monkey, and since my arrow was destined to indicate the place, where I was to find my bride, am I to content myself with believing that this she-monkey is my lady-love and this fairy place her bower?" As this thought struck him tears began to gush forth from his eyes and trickled down his cheeks. The she-monkey observing this, looked very much distressed, and thus addressed him words of sympathy and comfort, "Do not lose heart and give way like that, my friend; only confide in me and tell me the cause of thy grief, and I shall do my best to help thee."

But our hero had not the heart to tell her the real cause of his sorrow; so he said:— "I am sorry I appear unhappy in a place, where no pains are spared to make me comfortable, but I am grieved, when I think how I am taunted by my father and laughed at by my brothers at every turn, owing to my not having as yet been able to secure a wife for myself. The last time I visited my father he showed me some rich and artistically embroidered carpets, which he said had been worked for him specially by his six daughters-in-law, and

cast the cruel fact again in my teeth, that I had not as yet been blessed with a wife, much less with a clever one."

"Is that all?" cried the monkey. "I doubt whether they can show anything like the carpets and other beautiful things you see in this palace."

"Certainly not!" replied the youth: "nobody in my country has ever seen anything half so beautiful and precious; but my only regret is that not one of all these things can I present to my father as the handiwork of my own bride."

"Oh! yes, you can," cried the monkey, picking out seven rich and beautiful carpets all studded with diamonds and rubies, out of a heap lying in one of the rooms, "take these to your father, and lay them at his feet as the results of the unaided efforts of your future bride."

The youth was quite taken aback at these words. What could she mean by saying that the carpets had been worked by his future bride? Could it be that they had been worked by herself? No, the embroidery was too fine and tasteful to be done by a monkey! Surely there must be some beautiful fairy hidden away somewhere, at whose bidding the she-monkey was thrusting her odious presence upon him! However, he thought it wise to take the monkey's advice, and bidding her adieu, once more started back to his native country with the carpets and many other precious and beautiful articles besides.

As was to be expected, the carpets were greatly admired by each and all of his relatives, and everyone who saw them desired eagerly to behold the fair lady, whose clever fingers had worked such superb specimens of embroidery. Our hero, instead of being elated at this, was downcast and dejected, for he could not, for the life of him, think how he was to produce his future bride before his father and his relatives, since he himself had not as yet had the pleasure of seeing her. So he said nothing more about the affair to them, and soon after quietly turned his back once more on the land of his birth, making a mental resolve at the same time never to return home without finding a bride worthy of himself.

When he reached the underground palace he found the she-monkey in her usual place among the trees, and she began to question him as to how he had been received by his father this time.

Our hero, however, was too much absorbed in thinking of the fair lady, who he imagined had worked the carpets, to give heed to the monkey's questions. He was wondering when it was destined that he should see her, when a strange voice thus whispered to him: "If thou wouldst see her at all, swear to forget thy parents, thy relations, and thy country, and to renounce for ever all thoughts of ever returning to them, and promise to stay here for weal or for woe."

The youth was surprised at this, but he nevertheless did as he was bid, and in the course of a few days his eye began to see in the palace living beings such as he had never seen there before. He could see male and female slaves flitting about from one room to another, as they did the household work, he could see gardeners tending the flowers and shrubs, and fair ladies waiting upon the she-monkey, who, to his despair, still appeared to be the mistress of all. His dislike, however, for the company of this creature began to wear off by degrees, and he tried to make himself comfortable, since some mystic power appeared to tempt him to stay in that place.

A good many days passed away in this manner, when our hero one day again heard a voice that said to him: — "If thou wouldst like to wed thy bride, thou art at liberty to go and bring thy father and all thy kinsfolk to this place, when thy nuptials will be celebrated with great splendour in their presence."

"But must I not ask to see my bride first?" cried the youth in answer. "No, that cannot be!" was the reply. "Thou must place implicit confidence in us, and in return we promise that thy parents and thyself shall behold as fair a princess as ever was seen by mortal eyes, but

that will be only when all thy kinsfolk have assembled here to take part in the wedding ceremony, and not before."

The youth was fain to put faith in these promises, so tempting were they. So he started off for his native country, and on arriving there, besought his father and brothers to go with him to the underground palace, and witness his nuptials with the fair worker of those beautiful carpets. Accordingly, the old man and his sons sent round invitations to all their friends and relatives, and, fixing an auspicious day, they all set out to go, where the youth led them. The latter in his turn tried to look cheerful and composed in their presence, but at heart he was ill at ease, for he was not yet quite sure whether the bride he was going to wed would not after all turn out to be the she-monkey herself, and he shuddered to think what would be his discomfiture in such a case.

After a long and toilsome journey the whole cavalcade of friends and relatives arrived at the door leading to the narrow passage, and on passing through it they all found themselves in that wonderfully laid-out garden. When they had gone about for some time and admired the beautiful fruits and flowers, with which the trees were laden, our hero took them into the palace, where things still more beautiful greeted their sight. But here, as well as in the garden, they were surprised not to meet with any human beings, when all of a sudden they heard a voice that bade them welcome, and told them to wash themselves and partake of the feast that was being spread out for them in one of the large rooms.

As the guests were all very hungry they needed no second bidding, but sat themselves down and began to partake heartily of the sumptuous banquet provided for them by some unseen agency. While they were thus enjoying themselves a voice again addressed them thus: — "My guests, you are welcome to this feast. Eat and drink to your hearts' content, and when you have done, I request each of you to carry away the silver tray and the golden cup that has been placed before you to take your meals from, and to keep them as souvenirs of the memorable wedding of the fairy-princess Malika-jarika with a human being."

On hearing these words all the guests began to look in different directions in the hope of seeing the fairy-bride, but no Malika-Jarika greeted their sight, nor any living being, save the hideous she-monkey, who was all this while moving about here and there with the air of an hostess, and seemed to be in the best of spirits, to the great consternation of our hero, who could not help associating her presence with the thought that she must be the Princess Malika-Jarika herself, who was going to wed him! His doubts, however, were soon laid at rest, for when the feast was nearly over, the she-monkey suddenly drew off from her person, what appeared like a coil or skin, and lo! there stood before the astonished gaze of all a very beautiful fairy, such as they had never even dreamed of!

This lovely creature immediately went up to our hero and joyfully exclaimed: — "Behold in me the fairy-princess, to whose abode fate led thy steps. My name is the Princess Malika-Jarika, and I am sole mistress of this beautiful palace and of all the land for miles around. I am ready and willing to marry thee, but on one condition, namely, that thou takest charge of, and guardest as thy own life, this coil or skin that I have just cast off, for know that, as long as it remains intact, so long only shall I go about in this my fairy form." The young man eagerly took the coil from her hands, and, carefully folding it, put it into a box, and locked it up for safety in one of the rooms of the palace.

The wedding ceremony was soon after gone through amidst great rejoicings, and each and all congratulated our hero on his having been blessed with such a very rich and beautiful wife. The six brothers of the fortunate youth, however, felt jealous of him, and could not bear to see him so happy. So they went up to him while the fairy was away, and with an air of the greatest concern, expressed to him their fears regarding the coil, and told him to beware lest his bride should take it into her head to put it on again, and resume the hideous shape of a monkey. His father and his relatives, too, when they heard this, shared the same fears, and

they all joined in persuading the unsuspecting youth to destroy the coil. For some time he was firm, but at last, being unable to withstand the joint advice and entreaties of so many, he **threw the coil into the fire!** No sooner, however, did the flames touch it, than the fairy, who was at a distance, uttered a loud and piteous scream, came running up, and speedily thrusting her hand into the fire, drew out the burning coil, and as hurriedly put it on!

All this happened in the twinkling of an eye, and the merchant and his sons and their guests suddenly found **the scene around them transformed into a dense and dark forest,** all traces of the fairy-palace and the garden having vanished before them. Our hero was beside himself with rage and grief at this, and swore never to return home, until he had found his beloved bride again. So, leaving him to indulge his grief in that lonely forest, his father and the rest wended their way homewards.

When they were all gone the youth again saw the she-monkey jumping from tree to tree, and uttering piteous screams. So he went up to her and besought her to forgive him, and to receive him back into her favour. But she wept bitterly, and said, "No, no, that is not in my power to do ; still, if thy repentance is sincere, leave me for the present, and let us hope some day to meet again." With these words she vanished from his sight, and there was nothing but darkness around. Just then a voice was heard to say, "If ever again you seek the fairy-princess, let this be your **watchword : — 'What about that affair?'** " "Very well," muttered the youth thankfully, "I'll remember it to the end of my days," and then, in obedience to the will of the she-monkey, he made his way out of the forest.

For many and many a month afterwards the unhappy youth wandered aimlessly about from country to country, for he hardly knew in what particular direction to turn, in order to go in search of his lost bride. At last, being fatigued both in mind and body, he sank down under the shade of a large tree, and felt that he was dying.

As to the fairy-princess, **having had the misfortune to touch a human being, the poor spirit had lost caste,** and was no longer the light aërial being that all fairies are; moreover, she **had contracted the odour of mortals** by coming into contact with them, and the fairies would not let her mix with them, **until she had gone through a severe form of purification.** This was nothing less than throwing seven hundred pails of water over her body each morning, and remaining among the trees the rest of the day, so that she might be dried in the sun and cleansed of all impurities. This made the poor fairy very unhappy, and she passed her days in great sorrow.

Meanwhile our hero, whom we had left tired and worn-out under a tree, remained there for some days, being unable to proceed any further. One day he heard a strange noise overhead, and looking up, saw that a **very large serpent** had climbed up the tree and **was going to devour the young ones of an eagle,** which had its nest among the branches. So he went up the tree as fast as his worn-out limbs allowed and succeeded in killing the serpent before it could do any injury to the young eagles. Just then both **the parent birds** came up and **were deeply grateful** to the brave young man for having saved the lives of their little ones, and asked him to command their services in any way he wished. But the youth said to them with a sad smile: — "No, friends, it is not in your power to help me, since my only object in life is to discover the fairy-princess Mâlika-Jarika, and I am firmly resolved never to taste the sweets of life until I have found her."

"Oh! is that all you want?" exclaimed the male bird, "then it is easy enough. I know the abodes of all the fairies; so you have only to ride upon my back and I shall fly with you to the country of the *jins* and fairies in no time."

These words of the eagle gave new life to the disabled youth, and he fearlessly mounted the large bird's back, and in a few hours arrived at the country of the *jins*. At parting **the good old eagle gave the youth a sweet sounding fife,** and said : — "By simply

blowing into this fife you will be able to produce music so sweet that all the fairies and *jins* will gather round you to hear it. The king of the *jins* will be so pleased with your performance, that he will offer to bestow upon you whatever you may ask for, on condition that you consent to stay with him for ever. But remember that you are not on any account to mention the name of the fairy-princess, or to utter the watchword that has been given to you, or your head will pay the penalty of your indiscretion. However much the king may entreat you to accept some present from him, you must only say that you require nothing and have to go back the next morning.

He will then bring you gold and silver and rare jewels and also the most beautiful fairies you ever saw, but you must still remain firm and inflexible. Then at last he will bring forth to you some of the ugliest women in his kingdom, amongst whom will be one strikingly hideous in appearance, whom you will know by her coal-black complexion and her large projecting teeth. This woman you are to express your willingness to have, for underneath that dark skin and ugly features will be found hidden the beautiful princess, whom you are so anxious to meet.

The youth thanked the eagle and promised to remember all his instructions, when the good bird added: "Let us part now, but, before we do so, let me give you this feather of mine. If ever trouble comes over you, hold it before a fire and burn it, and I shall be immediately at your side." And so saying it flew away.

Just then our hero commenced operations. He began to blow into the fife, and although he had no knowledge whatever of music, he produced from it such exquisite melody that, just as the eagle had predicted, there gathered round him a large concourse of *jins* and fairies along with their king and queen, and the former offered to bestow upon him whatever he might wish for, if he only consented to stay with them. Our hero, however, acted his part admirably, and refused everything that was offered him in succession, until at last the ugly women were brought before him. Then only did his eyes begin to sparkle, and he chose from among them the one the eagle had described to him, and she, to his great delight, soon turned out to be his own long-lost bride.

The two young people lived very happily together for some time, and cared for nothing else besides each other's company. But at last the youth felt a longing to return to his native country and see his father. The fairy-princess, too, was willing to go with him, though her father stoutly refused to give them his permission, and they were thinking of stealing away unknown to him, when an unforeseen difficulty arose. How were they, especially our hero, who was only a mortal, to travel through the air, since no land or sea appeared to connect his father's country with fairy-land? In this dilemma the youth bethought him of the eagle, and forthwith burned its feather. The faithful bird speedily obeyed the summons, and without losing any more time, both the young people mounted its back. The good bird flew incessantly, till it placed its precious burden at the feet of the old merchant, now very feeble and living all by himself in the old house, neglected by his six sons, who were fast throwing away the money he had so thoughtlessly given them. The old man's joy knew no bounds at seeing his long-lost son and his beauteous bride once more. He entreated them to stay with him till death called him away, which he thought was very near. Both the young people readily consented to this, and lived with the old man till the last; and after his death returned to fairy-land once more, where they lived very happily for the rest of their lives.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE GRÆCO-BUDDHIST PEDESTAL FROM HASHTNAGAR.

Dr. Bühler has published in the number of this Journal *ante*, Vol. XX., p. 394, an interesting note on this unique record. He does not seem to have seen M. Senart's remarks on the same subject,[2] and, I think, it will be interesting to many readers to compare the views of these two scholars.

[2] *Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne, extrait du Journal Asiatique, III.*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, MDCCCXC.

Dr. Bühler, having before him both the facsimile rubbing and the photo-etching, reads the inscription as follows :—

"Sam II C xx xx xx x iv Pôstavadasa masasa di[va] sammi pam[cha] 5[II*]."

M. Senart, before the publication of the photo-etching, read ". . . . prothavadasa masasa di[vasê] pamchamô, 4, 1." He doubted the existence of the symbol for one hundred, and read the remaining figures as 74, not as 84. Dr. Buhler notes that the reading *pothavadasa* is linguistically possible, and would be good Prâkrit.

Both scholars, therefore, are agreed that the month named is the Sanskrit Praushthapada (August—September), and that Sir A. Cunningham was mistaken in reading '*êmborasmasa*,' 'intercalary.' That point may be considered as definitely settled.

Now that the photo-etching is available, M. Senart cannot well doubt the presence of the symbol for 'hundred.'[3] The date, therefore, is either 274, as read by Sir A. Cunningham and Dr. Bühler, or 284. As to this detail M. Senart observes: " Quant aux années, dont le chiffre est lu 274 par le général, il paraît certain que c'est par 84 qu'il finit (je ne puis faire aucune différence entre le troizième et le quatrième chiffre des dizaines)."

The difference between the third and fourth symbols for the tens (or rather the twenties) does, however, exist, though it is very slight. The fourth symbol is somewhat more slender and less curved than any of the three preceding ones. **I prefer, consequently, to accept 274 as the correct reading.**

As to the era used, Dr. Bühler considers as very improbable the suggestion that the Saka era may be that referred to. My only reason for making the suggestion was the inferior style of the sculpture. But M. Senart has pointed out that the workmanship of pedestals is generally much inferior to that of statues. The inscription under discussion is on a pedestal adorned with a relief, and nothing is known of the artistic merits of the statue which stood on the pedestal. Very likely, it was executed in a much better style. I, therefore, give up the suggestion that the Saka era is referred to in the inscription.

M. Senart is a firm believer in the early extinction of the Arian or Kharôshṭrî alphabet, and remarks that "l'ère de Gondophares est donc seule en cause, parmi celles qui nous sont actuellement connues." The exact date of Gondophares is not known, but he lived somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C. The probable date of the inscription is therefore approximately 284-50 = A. D. 234, or 274-50 = A. D. 224. By a slip of the pen M. Senart gives the date of Gondophares as "environ 50 après J. C."

I have sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a fuller notice of M. Senart's paper.

V. A. SMITH.

7th February, 1892.

TAILA II.

The time at which **Taila II. restored the Chalukya sovereignty** in Western India is fixed as being **the Srîmukha saṁvatsara, Saka-Saṁvat 896 current (A. D. 973-74),** by a verse which is given in an inscription at the temple of Vîra-Nârâyaṇa at Gadag in the Dhârwâḍ District, and in another, based on the same model, at the temple of Kâḷiṅga at Kâḷige in the Teṅgaḷi Tâlukâ, Nizam's Dominions; both records belong to the time of Vikramâditya VI.

I gave the verse, as far as it could be restored from the transcriptions given in Sir Walter Elliot's *Carnâtaka-Dêsa Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 370, 415, in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 270. I am now able to give it in correct form, from an ink-impression of the Gadag stone which I owe to the exertions of Mr. Daso Balwant Bettigeri; and to annex the preceding portion at the beginning of the inscription, the opening part of which is hopelessly unintelligible as it stands in the version given by Sir Walter Elliot's copyist. The whole passage runs as follows :—

TEXT.

Ôm Svasti Samasta-jagat-prasûtêr=bhbha(bbha)gavatô **Brahmaṇaḥ** putrasy=**Âtrêr**=nnêtra-samutpannasya yâminî-kâminî-lalâma-bhûtasya **Sômasy**=ânvayê satya-tyâga-śauryy-âdi-guṇa-nilayaḥ kêvala-nija-dhvajinî-java-kshapita-pratipaksha-kshitîśa-vaṁśaḥ śrîmân=asti **Châḷukya-vaṁsaḥ** II Â vaṁśadoḷ II

Kanda II Srî-vallabhan=ahita-jaya-
śrî-vallabhan=enisi **Vikramâdityaṁgaṁ** [I*]
Srî-vadhuv=ol=eseva **Bonthâ-**
dêvigav=âdaṁ tanûbhavaṁ **Taila-nṛipa** II

[3] But, in his recently published work '*Coins of Ancient India*' (Quaritch, 1891), Sir A. Cunningham (page 37) refers to the Hashtnagar Inscription as being dated 84 only.

Vṛitta ‖ Modaloḷ*u* kitt[1]=ikki **Raṭṭar**=ppalaruman=adaṭaṁ **Muṁjanaṁ** koṁdu dôr-gga-rbbada gurbbim yuddhadoḷ*u* **Paṁchalana** taleyumaṁ koṇḍu **Châḷukya-râjy-â-spadamaṁ** kai-koṇḍu nishkaṁṭakam=enisidan=êkâṁgadiṁ **Śrîmukh-âbdaṁ** modal-âg=irppattu-nâlkuṁ barisam=akhiḷa-bhûchakramaṁ **Taila-bhûpa** ‖

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! **In the lineage of Sôma (the Moon),** — the forehead-ornament of the loving woman the night, — who was produced from the eye of **Atri,** the son of the divine **Brahman** who was the procreator of the universe, there is the glorious **Châḷukya race,** which is the abode of truth, liberality, heroism, and other virtuous qualities, (*and*) which has destroyed the races of hostile kings by simply the quickness of its bannered armies. In that race:—

(Verse): — To **Vikramâditya (IV.),** who was accounted the favourite of fortune (*and*) the favourite of the goddess of victory over enemies, and to **Bonthâdêvî** who resembled the goddess Śrî, there was born a son, king **Taila (II.).**

(Metre): — Having first plucked up and destroyed some **Raṭṭas**; having killed the valiant **Muñja**; having, by the terror of the pride of his arm, taken the head of **Pañchala** in battle; and having possessed himself of **the regal dignity of the Châḷukyas,** — king **Taila,** unaided, caused the whole circuit of the earth to be considered free from troubles for twenty-four years, **beginning with the year Śrîmukha.**

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE EVIL EYE.

A.—In Persia.

It is the custom in Persia to keep a wild boar in a stable where valuable horses are kept, in order to keep the evil eye from them. In the same way almost every valuable horse has an amulet strung round his neck, to which may be also attached a boar's tusk, for the same object.

S. J. A. CHURCHILL.

Tehrân.

B.—In Bihar.

The **evil eye** or **nazar** is very fatal to children and animals. If a man looks steadily at any child or animal, and says or thinks how beautiful it is, it will soon die. A blue thread round the animal or the child's waist will save it. Tiger's claws and old coins are also a great protection.

It is not right to allow others to look on while you are eating, — especially the hungry. The steady gaze of the hungry at a man eating causes indigestion or a disease in the stomach.

You must never put your feet on the table-cloth (*dastarkhân*), nor permit a glass of water to be put on it.

The evil eye cast on food can be averted by setting aside a spoonful of each dish and giving it to birds or to beggars, or simply by muttering a prayer.

SAYYID KHAIRAYAT AHMAD.

Gayâ.

SUPERSTITIONS AS TO CROWS IN MADRAS.

The crow is held in high estimation by the Brahmans of Southern India, as the following facts clearly show:—

The Brahmans strictly observe the daily *pûjâ* or adoration of Śiva. Towards the end of it the principal food prepared for the occasion is placed in front of the god and by means of *mantras* he is invoked in order that he may partake of the same, and for this invocation a handful of the food so presented is taken and kept aside. After the *pûjâ* is over, it is put on a tray in the open yard and the crows are invited to eat it. This food is termed the *baliannam,* or the presented food. It is only after the crows have eaten it that the people of the house sit down for their breakfast.

When a crow caws early in the morning in the open yard of the house, or when an unusual noise is heard in the oven of the kitchen, a guest is always expected either for breakfast or dinner.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

BAD OMENS IN MADRAS.

If you hear anybody sneezing or you see any sudden putting out of a burning light just at the time of contemplation there will be an utter defeat.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

[1] First *kirtt°* was engraved, and then the *r* was cancelled.

GORAKHPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF JAYADITYA OF VIJAYAPURA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THE plate which contains this inscription was discovered in the **Gôrâkhpur** District of the North-Western Provinces, near the river called the Little Gandhak.[1] It was brought to Mr. John Ahmuty, Magistrate of the district, and by him communicated to Captain Wilford, who presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in whose Library it is still deposited. The inscription was first edited in 1807, with a translation and a facsimile, by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 406-12; and Colebrooke's paper was afterwards reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 247-54. I now re-edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It measures about 16¼″ broad by 12¼″ high, not including an oval projection, with a raised rim, on the proper right side, on which is riveted a disc of the same shape, similarly with a raised rim, which contains a flat button about an inch in diameter; on the countersunk surface of this button there is some emblem which may perhaps be an animal, but it is a good deal worn and damaged. The edges of the plate are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, to serve as rims to protect the writing. Towards the bottom, a small portion of the writing has suffered slightly from corrosion; otherwise the preservation of the plate is perfect, and, with the exception of two *aksharas* in line 24, everything may be read with certainty. — The **size of the letters** is about ⅜″. — The **characters** are boldly and well drawn and deeply engraved. They belong to the northern class of alphabets. Of the same type as those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna,[2] they show a further development of the northern alphabet in the direction of the ordinary Nâgarî, and may perhaps be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. Attention may be drawn especially to the peculiar manner of writing the diphthongs *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au*, when they follow a consonant, which agrees with the practice of some Kaṇheri inscriptions of the 9th century, described by me, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 133. It may also be noted that in the conjunct *ry* the sign for *r* is written on the line, in *paryaṅka-*, line 3, and *aryâṇâṁ*, line 23; and that the sign of *anusvâra* is several times placed after, not above, the *akshara* to which it belongs, *e.g.*, in *-satvanâṁ*, and *vasudhâṁ*, in line 15. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the symbol for *ôṁ* at the commencement of the first line, the whole inscription is in verse. As regards **orthography**, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *saśvat*, line 9, and *sâśvatî-*, line 16, and the palatal instead of the dental in *śachivasya*, line 21 (but not in *sachivaḥ*, line 9); the dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvâra* in *sansâra-*, line 2, and *punsâs=* (for *punsas=*, i. e. *puṁsas=*), line 16; the vowel *ṛi* occurs instead of the syllable *ri* in *âśṛitya*, line 13; before *r*, *t* is doubled in *tattra*, line 6, and *bhrâttrâ*, line 22; and the word *duḥkha* is (correctly) spelt *dushkha*, in line 5. In respect of grammar and lexicography I may point out the unusual and incorrect word *utkhâtin* 'uprooting' or 'extracting,' in line 3; *nṛipadhânî* for *râjadhânî*, in line 6; the employment of *śâsita*, in line 12, in the sense of 'given as a grant;' and the ungrammatical use of the gerund *âśritya*, in line 13.

Opening with four verses in honour of the deities Śiva, Brahman, Vishṇu, and Pârvatî, **the inscription** (in lines 4-11) relates that at the royal residence of **Vijayapura**, on the declivity of the northern mountain (*uttaragiri*), there was the king **Jayâditya**, a son of the king **Dharmâditya**, and that his minister was Madôli, a son of the minister, the great *sâmanta* Kṛitakîrti. And it records (in lines 11-12) that this Madôli gave the village of **Dummuddumâka**, which he had obtained by the king's favour, as a grant to the goddess Durgâ. Lines 12-18 glorify the liberal, admonish future rulers to respect this grant, and deprecate its resumption. Further, three verses in lines 19-22 state that the preceding *praśasti* of the minister was composed by the Kâyastha Nâgadatta; and another verse adds that the verses referring to

[1] See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 406.

[2] See Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate xxviii.

Nâgadatta, who was too modest to speak of himself, were composed by his younger brother Vidyâdatta. And the inscription closes with another verse, the purport of which appears to be to record that this poem was composed, or the donation made, at **Jîvanapalli**, another village which the minister owed to the royal favour. — The only point of interest, not contained in the preceding, is, that the king Dharmâditya is compared to a *Bôdhisattva*, and the poet Nâgadatta to Sugata, or Buddha; which would tend to show that the authors, if not Buddhists, were at any rate favourably inclined towards Buddhism.

The inscription is **not dated**; and the princes mentioned in it do not seem to be known from other records. Of the **localities** mentioned, **Vijayapura** was by Colebrooke suggested to be the place of that name near Mirzâpur on the Ganges, on the northern declivity of the Vindhya hills; but he has himself stated that *uttaragiri-kaṭakê* in line 6 would rather signify 'declivity of the northern mountain,' and that this interpretation would point to the range of snowy mountains, *i. e.*, the slopes of the Himâlaya. On **Dummuddumâka** Colebrooke has the note that a village of this name is situated in the district of Allahâbâd, within twenty miles of Bijaypur on the Ganges; but that the name is not uncommon, and may belong to some place nearer to the northern mountains. I myself am unable to identify either **Vijayapura** or the villages **Dummuddumâka** and **Jîvanapalli.**

TEXT.[3]

1 Ôṁ[4][॥*] Kshity[5]-âdi-yajamân-ânta-mûrttayô viśvag[6]-âtmanê । munînâṁ dhyâna-gamy[â*]-ya samasta-vyâpinê ta(na)maḥ ॥ Ajâyê(ya)

2 jagad-utpatti-sthiti-pralaya-kâriṇê । sansâra[7]-sâgar-ôttâra-pôta-saṁsmṛitayê namaḥ ॥ Namô=stu Larkshma(kshmî)-pa-

3 tayê Śâ(śê)sha-paryaṅka-śâyinê । trailôkya-kaṇṭak-ôtkhâti-Vishṇavê viśvarûpiṇê ॥ Namê(mô)=stu nirjjitâśêsha-Ma-

4 hish[â*]sura-gh[â*]tinê । Pârvvatî-pâdapadm[â*]ya jagad-[â]nanda-dâyinê ॥ Vêṇu[8]-van-âlî-vishamaṁ śikhara-prâkâ-

5 ra-mâlay=âlaṅghyaṁ । nirjjhara-gabhîra-parikhâ-dustaram=ast-âri-santrâsaṁ ॥ Avidita-viyôga-dushkhaṁ santôsha-sa-

6 mâpta-sakala-vishaya-sukhaṁ । asty=uttaragî(gi)ri[9]-kaṭakê **Vijayapû(pu)raṁ** nâma nṛipadh[â]nî ॥ Tattra cha chatur-ambhôdhi-bhrânta-ya-

7 śâḥ sthira-dayô mahâ-sat[t*]vaḥ । śrîmân=**Dharmmâdityô** nṛipatir=abhûd=Vô(bô)-dhisat[t*]va iva ॥ Tasya cha śaś=îva sêvyô bhâ(bhô)gyô

8 lôkasya kalpaśâkh=îva [।*] hrada iva tṛishṇ-âpaharaḥ sutô=bhavat[10] śrî-**Jayâdi-tyaḥ** ॥ Râj=âpi yô vinîtô yuv=âpi dhîrô

9 manôbhava-dvêshî । sarvva-pradô=pi sa(śa)śva[t]=sarvvasya gṛihîta-paramârthaḥ ॥ Tasya sachivaḥ śrut-ârthô mah-ânubhâvô vi-

10 nirjjit-ârâtiḥ । sâmantasya sumahataḥ Kṛitakîrttêr=mmantriṇas=tanayaḥ ॥ Yasya cha suchâru-mû[r*]ttêr=ddadataḥ Karṇṇô=pi

11 l[â]ghavaṁ yâtaḥ । prakṛiti-para-va(ba)ddha-kêkshô[11] va(ba)bhûva sa śrî-Madôlir[12]=iti ॥ **Dummuddumâka**-nâmâ grâmô râja-prasâ-

12 da-samprâptaḥ । kṛishi-vasati-gô-dhan-âḍhyô Durggâyai śâsitas=têna ।(॥) Bhavati hi satâṁ vibhûtiḥ par-ôpakṛitayê

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[3] From an impression supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. [4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the three next verses.

[6] The proper spelling would be *vishvag-*; but the palatal sibilant is occasionally employed in this word, in later works.

[7] Read *saṁsâra-*. [8] Metre, Âryâ; up to the end.

[9] The correction in this word appears to have been made already in the original. [10] Read *=bhavach=chhrî-*.

[11] Read *-kâṅkshî*; 'who by nature was striving for final beatitude.'

[12] The second *akshara*, *dô*, of this word is quite clear in the impression.

13 mahântam=âśṛi(śri)tya । jalavê(dhô)r=âdâya jalaṁ jaladâḥ sasyâya varshanti[13] ॥ Sva-para-jana-nirvviśô(śê)shâḥ santê(ntô) vira-

14 lâ hi santi ha(pha)la-dânê । kalpadrumâḥ kiyantaḥ śru(śrû)yantê Nandanê=pî vanê ।(॥) Mâ kalaya kaliyugô(gê)=pi hi samâ-

15 natâṁ tâta sarvva-sat[t*]v[â*]nâṁ [।*] rakshati vasudhâṁ narapatir=âtma-gṛihaṁ n=au(ai)va laghu-sat[t*]vaḥ ।(॥) Janma maraṇañ=cha sampa-

16 d=vipach=cha punsâs[14]=tu sâ(śâ)śvatî-bhavati । yadi ch=aivaṁ para-kîrttiṁ svâm=iva kasmân=na pâlayata(tha) ॥ Kṛishi-kârana-saṁ-

17 yuktâṁ vasundharâṁ yô dadâti sasyavatîṁ[15] । vrajati vimân-ârûḍhaḥ pitṛîn[16] sa a(â)hl[â*]dayan=nâkaṁ ॥ Apahara-

18 ti yô=pi môhâd=vê(dê)va-dvija-pâda-kalpitâṁ vasudhâṁ [।*] svargga-sthân=api niyataṁ pâtayati sa pûrvvajân nara-

19 kê ॥ Atinirmmala-kula-janmâ dêva-dvija-guru-narapati-nati-sakta[ḥ ।] khânita-bhûri-taḍâgâ(ga)ḥ kârita-dêvâla-

20 yas=tyâgî ॥ Sugata-pratimaḥ kṛipayâ guṇa-nidhir=abhavat[17] jit-êndriyô vidvân । vipriya-vâdê vi-

21 mukhaḥ kâyasthô Nâgadatta iti ॥ 'Sa(sa)chivasya têna rachitâ lakshaṇa-yuktâ su[va*]rṇṇa-kṛita-śôbhâ ।

22 sad-vṛittâ lalita-padâ bhaktyâ parayâ praśastir=iyam ॥ Sva-guṇa-khyâpana-bhîrôs= tasya bhrâttrâ ka-

23 nîyasâ[18] rachitaṁ [।*] a(â)ryâṇâṁ tritayam=idaṁ Vidyâdattêna bhût-ârthaṁ ॥ Râja-prasâda-lavdhâ(bdhâ) dhana-kanaka-sa-

24 mâkul=âtisasyavatî [।*] Jîvanapallir=iti satâṁ grâm[ô]=yaṁ s[ô]=sya tad=[â?]-paraḥ[19] [॥*]

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from page* 156.)

The influence of a learned orthography upon the linguistic aspect of our monuments does not, as a whole, allow itself to be measured in detail with absolute precision. I shall only quote one example, as sufficient to enable the reader to grasp my meaning. Girnar distinguishes between 𑀡 *ṇ* and 𑀦 *n*, but only in the interior of bases. Is preserves 𑀡 everywhere where Sanskṛit would write it in the bases, but it writes only 𑀦 in terminations, even where Sanskṛit usage would have required a cerebral *ṇ*. I confess that a comparison with the Eastern versions, all of which know only 𑀦, makes this invariable practice seem, in my eyes, to be suspicious. I strongly doubt if the popular pronunciation of the people of Girnar correctly distinguished the two *n*'s, but I have no means of rendering this doubt a certainty. Whatever may have been the fact in this and in other analogous instances, **many of the divergencies which distinguish our parallel versions are not reducible to an orthographic interpretation.** However great may be the latter's importance in its legitimate sphere of action, it leaves remaining a series of phenomena which constitute dialectic characteristics. It is this face of the question which still remains to be considered.

From this point of view **the monuments of Piyadasi divide themselves clearly into two main groups. In the one,** there is no cerebral *ṇ*, no palatal *ñ*, an initial *y* is elided, *l* is

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13 Originally *varshpanti* was engraved, but the *p* has been struck out.

14 Read *puṁsas=*.

15 Originally *sasyavatiṁ* was engraved, but *tiṁ* has been altered to *tîṁ*.

16 Originally *pityan* was engraved, but it has been altered to *pitṛîn*.

17 Read *=abhavaj=jit-*.

18 Originally *niyasâ* was engraved, but it has been altered to *nîyasâ*.

19 Colebrooke's reading is *sasyataraḥ paraḥ*.

substituted for *r*, the nominative masculine, and usually the nominative neuter, end in *ê*, and the locative in *asi*; the other distinguishes the cerebral *ṇ* and the palatal *ñ*, retains the initial *y* and the *r* unchanged, makes the nominative singular of masculine *a*-bases end in *ô*, and the locative in *amhi* or in *ê*. **The first comprises all the inscriptions, except Girnar and Kapur di Giri, which alone constitute the second class. It is the more impossible to doubt the existence in this case of a dialectic difference,** because certain of the peculiarities which denote the first group are quoted by the grammarians as proper to the Mâgadhî dialect. Such are the nominative in *ê* and the substitution of *l* for *r*. It must be admitted that these are also the only points of agreement, and that neither in its omissions — the absence of *ṇ*, *ñ*, *ś*, the elision of initial *y* — nor in certain peculiar usages — the retention of *j*, of *chh*, &c., — does the dialect of the inscriptions correspond with the Mâgadhî of the grammarians. On the contrary, we have seen that the use of the group *sṭ*, attributed by the grammarians to Mâgadhî appears only in the orthography of Girnar.

Is it possible to trace subdivisions, **to distinguish sub-dialects,** within the limits of these two main groups? Between **Girnar and Kapur di Giri,** if we except the groups *sṭ* and *st* on the one hand, and the use of the three sibilants on the other, both of which, in my opinion, should not be admitted into the calculation, the only differences of a somewhat general character, which I note, are the group *tp* at Girnar, which, according to my theory, corresponds to a pronunciation *pp*, and which is represented at Kapur di Giri by *t*; the locative singular, which is in *mhi*, and more rarely in *ê* at Girnar, and in *ê*, never in *mhi* at Kapur di Giri; and the genitive of bases in *in*, which is in *inô* at Girnar, and which, at Kapur di Giri, follows, by the formation *isa*, the analogy of the declension in *a*. It may also be noted that the group *hm* or *mh*, which is retained at Girnar, is unknown at Kapur di Giri, where *bamhaṇa* is written *bramaṇa*, and that the termination *vya* of the future participle passive, which usually at Girnar adheres to the spelling *viya*, is, at Kapur di Giri, generally assimilated to *va* (*vva*). Finally, we may add one or two other divergencies, such as the 3rd person plural in *arê* used at Girnar, and the accidental substitution of *y* for *j* at Kapur di Giri. We can thus have no hesitation in holding that **the two sets of inscriptions, to a certain degree at least, do reflect different shades of dialect, which are absolutely distinct.**

I do not think that the case is the same with regard to the versions which constitute the former group. If we put out of consideration the alleged use of *ś* and *sh* at Khâlsi, regarding which I shall shortly take an opportunity of stating my opinion, and which has nothing to do with the present discussion, the only appreciable differences refer to the initial *y*, the use of *r*, and the termination of nominatives neuter in *aṁ*. Khâlsi and the columnar edicts retain the initial *y* more frequently than the others, but as they present at the same time a number of examples of its elision, even in the same words, it is clear that no linguistic conclusion can be drawn from the fact, especially as in the versions which elide it most regularly, at Jaugada and Dhauli, examples are inversely found of its retention. In some instances Khâlsi makes the nominative of neuter bases in *a*, in *aṁ* and not in *ê*: but it also contains a more considerable number of nominatives in *ê* of bases usually treated as neuters; on the other hand, in one instance, Jaugada writes *anusâsanaṁ*. Rûpnâth writes *chhavachharê* and *chiraṭhitikê*, *ârâdhavê*, *pakarê*, but, also, *sâtilêkê*, *apalaḍhiyêna*, and *ahâlê*; and if it is admitted that it throughout retains the initial *y*, it must not be forgotten that it is short, that it has only three such examples, and that it is impossible to assume the existence of a peculiar dialect from such a detail, in the face of its otherwise perfect agreement with those inscriptions which more nearly resemble Mâgadhî. It is plain, however, that we must not neglect sporadic discrepancies. They have a certain significance which should be cleared up. This problem appears to me to be an easy one. It will solve itself when we have elucidated one point, regarding which people have, I think, come to wrong conclusions.

It has been admitted hitherto that each of the versions of the edicts faithfully represents the dialect of the country in which it has been engraved. I believe that

this is a mistake, and that the deductions, which have been formed on this basis, are altogether unfounded. *A priori* it would be extremely surprising that a single dialect should have reigned, without rival and without shades of difference, throughout the whole of north and north-eastern India, from Khâlsi to Jaugada, by way of Bairât and Rûpnâth. Our scepticism will be found to be strengthened by several particular reasons.

According to this theory, at the time of Aśôka, both at Dhauli and Jaugada, as well as at Rûpnâth and Allahabad, people must have employed a dialect which made nominatives masculine of *a*-bases terminate in *ê*, and which changed *r* into *l*. This I shall, for the sake of brevity, term **the Mâgadhî of Aśôka.** Now the inscription of Khandagiri, quite close to those of Dhauli and Jaugada, the date of which cannot be fixed with accuracy, but is certainly not more than a century later than the monuments of Piyadasi, and which appears to emanate from a local sovereign, makes the same nominatives in *ô* and the locatives in *ê*, preserves the etymological *r*, and in a word presents none of the characteristic traits of this dialect. We are thus led to think that Asôka's dialect was not that of the country. The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut *stûpa*, mid-way between Rûpnâth and Allahabad, perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later, and which are certainly expressed in a language analogous to the local idiom, present no trace of Magadhism. So also at Sanchi; yet General Cunningham has discovered there a fragment of an edict which, with a probability almost equivalent to certainty, he attributes to Piyadasi. Now, in this, fragmentary as it is, the nominatives in *ê*, words like *chilaṭhitikê* leave no room for doubt. It was written in Mâgadhî. But all the native inscriptions found in the same locality, either contemporary with it, or belonging to a very nearly contemporary epoch, agree without exception in the use of a Prâkṛit free from Magadhisms. In the other localities we are not so fortunate as to be able to use parallel monuments for controlling the apparent evidence of those of Piyadasi, but these facts are sufficiently significant. **Evidently, the use of the Mâgadhî dialect in his edicts does not prove that it was current and in vulgar use in the localities where they have been found.** The conclusion readily presents itself to our minds. It was in Magadha that the head-quarters of Piyadasi's empire was situated. **Mâgadhî must have been the language of his court, and nothing can be simpler than to suppose that he used it throughout the extent of his dominions to address his people, and more specially his officers, the representatives of his power.**[1]

But then, it will be said, how is it that the inscriptions of the extreme north-west and of the coast of Surâshṭra escape this common level? The question appears to me to be capable of two explanations, each of which strengthens the other. No one, I think, doubts that it was in the north-west and west that a graphic system, adapted to the necessities of Indian languages, was first elaborated. At least the inscriptions of Kapur di Giri and of Girnar testify that in each case there had been already constituted a peculiar graphic system with its own traditions.

[1] At the other extremity of India, in Ceylon, we find a sign which favours this theory. However great, as regards details, may be the exaggerations of the Siṅhalese traditions with reference to the connection of Aśôka with Tâmraparṇi, the testimony of Piyadasi himself would appear to indicate that he held certain relations with that distant island. That he profited by these relations to help forward the diffusion of Buddhism, his zeal and the analogy of his conduct elsewhere do not permit us to doubt. It is hence the more interesting to follow up the traces, which have, in several instances, been pointed out, of the influence of the Mâgadhî dialect on the ancient language of Ceylon. The most ancient inscriptions which have been found in the island are without doubt of sensibly later date than Piyadasi. This interval explains the alterations which the Mâgadhî tradition has undergone from the time of the earliest inscriptions. The fact itself of its introduction, which it is difficult to refer to any author except Piyadasi, only stands out the more clearly from the persistence of certain traits. I do not speak merely of grammatical peculiarities: the locative in *si*, nominative in *ê*, &c., which have been pointed out by P. Goldschmidt (*Ind. Ant.*, 1877, p. 318; cf. Rhys Davids, *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, pp. 138 & ff. Ed. Muller, *Ancient Inscript. of Ceylon*, p. 8; and the recent observations of Prof. Kern in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal . . . kunde van Nederl. Indië*, IV. 10, p. 562). Two palæographic facts are equally characteristic. One is the adoption of the sign ⋀ *before* its limitation to the palatal *ś* (see below), and the other is the absence of the palatal *ñ*, not employed in the official writing of Piyadasi, and which we see, for example, in the inscription of Kirinde (E. Muller, No. 57) expressed by the compound *ny*, in *savanyutôpêtê*. It is, therefore, probable that Piyadasi had directly or indirectly transferred to Ceylon, as he had done to the provinces of his empire, the methods peculiar to his Mâgadhî system of orthography.

These were facts which Piyadasi found established, and which he was obliged to take into his calculations. In the second place, it will be remarked that the two systems of spelling, or, if it is preferred, the two dialects used by Piyadasi, exactly coincide with the distinction between his immediate dominions and the merely vassal provinces, which, I believe, I have established by arguments perfectly independent, and having no reference to the facts which we are now considering. It was quite natural that Piyadasi should accommodate himself to the local customs of regions which were only indirectly attached to his empire, and in which traditions must have existed which it might have been both suitable and convenient to respect.

Certain useful indications can be drawn from the inscriptions. The various versions are not equally consistent in the application of orthographical peculiarities which correspond to dialectic differences. Even at Dhauli and Jaugada, where the initial *y* is most regularly elided, it is occasionally retained: *yê* (J. det. I. 4); *yâ* (Dh. IV. 17); *yê* (Dh. V. 20; det. I. 8); at Khâlsi and on the columns this is much more common: at Rûpnâth, the *y* is retained in the only three words in regard to which the question could be raised; at Bairât, we have, side by side, *aṁ* and *yaṁ*. On the other hand, it is at Rûpnâth that we find two or three words in which the *r* is retained and not replaced by *l*. As a general rule the distinction between masculine and neuter is lost in the Mâgadhî of the inscriptions, both genders making the nominative in *ê*. Nevertheless, at Khâlsi, it would appear that we have some nominatives masculine in *ô* (*sâtiyaputô*, II. 4; *kêlalaputô*, ibid.; *sô*, V. 14; cf., also, *lâjânô*, II. 5), while neuters very often have the nominative in *aṁ*. These inconsistencies can be explained in two ways. They result either from the influence of the learned language, or from the sporadic action of the local dialect entering into the official Mâgadhî. I do not venture to decide.

Other irregularities, such as those which we meet at Kapur di Giri and at Girnar, are inverse cases. Thus, we have frequently in both versions nominatives singular in *ê* (*i*) both for masculines and neuters. I may quote at Girnar: *prâdêsikê*, *yutê*, *yârisê*, *bhûtapurvê*, *vadhitê*, *târisê*, *apaparisavê*, *dêvânaṁpiyê*, *sêsṭê*, *kaṁmê*, *dhaṁmacharaṇê*, *maṁgalê*, *dasanê*, *dânê*, *vipulê*, *kaṁmê*, *mûlê*; at Kapur di Giri: *aṁtiyôkê*, *si*, *athi*, *sakali*, *matê*, *turamayê*, *jivê*, *bhutapurvê*, *vadhitê*, *tadiśê*, *danê*, *nichê*, *darśanê*, *êtê*, *yê*, *kiṭavi*, *hati*, *yi*, *nichi*, *vijitê*, *ghaṭiti*, *mahalakê*, *likhitê*; at Kapur di Giri, several locatives in *asi* (*mahanasasi*, I. 2; *gaṇanasi*, III. 7; *yutasi*, V. 13; *ôrôdhanasi*, VI. 14; &c. are contrasted with the ordinary form, which is in *ê*. It is clear that these accidental forms cannot be explained in this case by the influence either of a learned language, or of a popular one. They are so many Mâgadhisms, whose only possible source can have been the influence of the Mâgadhî officially employed by the suzerain of the states.

To sum up, the inscriptions of Piyadasi divide themselves, from a linguistic point of view, into two series, of which one, that of the north-west, betrays by certain, though not very important, indications, the existence of a dialectic sub-division. The other must represent the official language of the royal chancery. They bring before us two strongly contrasted orthographical systems; the one more nearly allied to the popular speech, the other with a greater tendency to approaching etymological and learned forms. Neither the one nor the other is subject to definite rules; — neither the one nor the other escapes individual discrepancies, or certain local influences. We shall see from what follows, and it is this which gives these facts a real interest, that this state of things marks the first phase of an evolution which was destined to accentuate itself more and more as it pursued its course. We shall see, in the epoch which follows, on the one hand, the Mixed Sanskṛit, on the other hand the monumental Prâkṛit, each continuing in parallel lines the tradition of which we here grasp the most ancient manifestations.

On several occasions, in the remarks which precede, I have been led to speak of "a learned language," and "a learned orthography." These expressions might lend themselves to

misconceptions which it is my duty to prevent. Now that I have explained myself regarding the popular language, it remains to determine, so far as we can from the indications at our disposal, what was the linguistic situation from the point of view of this other most important factor, Vedic or Classical Sanskṛit.

Palæographic facts here hold the first place. Some are common to both of Piyadasi's modes of writing, others are peculiar to only one or other of them.

The north-western alphabet possesses no special **signs for marking the long vowels.** It is quite true that many languages are content with a similar notation, but Sanskṛit does not present itself to us under ordinary conditions. A language partly artificial and used only by the learned, leaping into existence, after a long preparation, ready made and almost immutable, it had a grammar before it was put into writing. Neither in its orthography, nor in its grammatical forms, does it shew any sensible trace of progressive development. It could only be put into writing, at the time when it did commence to be written, under the same conditions as those under which it has continued to be written. A language thus elaborated must have imposed beforehand the power of distinguishing long vowels on the alphabet, by means of which it was intended to record it. An alphabet, which was not capable of making this distinction, would certainly never have sufficed to record it.

I may also mention a peculiarity which is common to both methods of writing. I have just now drawn attention to the fact that **neither of them represents the doubling of identical or homogeneous consonants.** Now, from the time when Sanskṛit first makes its appearance, it observes this duplication, wherever it should be etymologically expected. No one can imagine either the Vedic Sanskṛit or Grammatical and Classical Sanskṛit being written without observing this practice. But, once established for the learned language, this duplication could not have failed to introduce itself into the popular orthography, as we shall see did actually occur in the case of the literary Prâkṛit. It will, therefore, be asked how the orthography of the dialects, which we are at present considering, did not, of its own motion, adopt so natural a usage. **For my part, I only see one satisfactory explanation, — the persistent influence of the Semitic method or methods of writing upon which the alphabets of Piyadasi were founded.** A long effort was necessary to overcome this influence, and the sequel will shew how the new practice is exactly one of the traits which characterised the constitution and expansion of the literary language.

The Indian alphabet, on the other hand, did possess special signs for the long vowels, but when it is considered that at Khâlsi, and perhaps at Bairât and Rûpnâth, there are no signs for *î* and *û* long, and that in the other versions instances of inexactness in the notation of long vowels are continually met with, it will, I think, be unhesitatingly concluded that, **at the date of our inscriptions, a fixed, arrested form of language, like Sanskṛit, had not yet been established in general use, for it would not have failed to act as a regulator and model for the popular languages, or to introduce into their orthography the precision, the unity and the consistency in which they are so much wanting.**

The Indian alphabet of Piyadasi has only one sign to represent *r*; whether it precedes or follows a consonant. Would this have been possible if that alphabet were used to record Sanskṛit? Now, it is actually in the period which immediately follows, that it develops new resources in this respect. From the time of the inscriptions of Nânâghâṭ, we find the definite notation of *r* after another consonant[2] well established, and, shortly afterwards, the same sign transferred to the top of the consonant which it accompanied, served to express an antecedent *r*.

[2] At Bharhut, as in later times at Nânâghât and elsewhere, *r* after a consonant is placed below it. either in its zigzag form (𑀓𑁆𑀭) as in *ôkranti*, or in the perpendicular form, as in 𑀩𑁆𑀭 of *brahma*. (Cf. Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, Inscrip. Nos. 76, 97, 89.)

We can also assert that **the sign for the vowel ṛi did not yet exist in the time of Aśôka.** The reason is simple, and is quite independent of any *à priori* argument. It is clear to every one that the sign J of the vowel *ṛi*, in the most ancient form in which it appears, is derived from the sign used to mark *r* in composition with a preceding consonant, *viz.*, J; and we have just seen that this sign did not develop till after the time of Piyadasi.

Another lacuna is more significant still; it is **the absence of three distinct signs corresponding to the three sibilants of the learned orthography.** I am now speaking only of the Indian alphabet. Khâlsi allows us to show that this absence was perfectly real, and that it was neither voluntary or merely apparent.

It will be remembered that Khâlsi, in addition to 𑀲, the ordinary sign for *s*, also employs another form, 𑀰. This *s* has been considered as representing the palatal *ś*. It is true that this last letter has an identical or analogous form in the most ancient inscriptions in which it appears, *i.e.*, at Nâsik and at Girnar. But we must understand matters. It is not possible to admit that, at Khâlsi, the first edicts and the last ones differ between themselves in dialect, and I consider that the conclusions to which I came in the Introduction of this work are unassailable, that 𑀰, at Khâlsi, is merely an alternative graphic form of 𑀲. Other facts confirm my opinion. The sign 𑀰 reappears in the Edict of Bairât, and in the two inscriptions of Râmnâth, the first presents only a single example, in the word *svarga*, in which the palatal *ś* has no right to exist. The inscriptions of Râmnâth are, unfortunately, either badly defaced or very badly reproduced. Such as we have them, they do not lend themselves to a translation, or even to an approximate interpretation; all that we can remark is that the first uses the sign 𑀰 and that alone, and the other sign 𑀲 and that alone. This is a very strong reason for considering that the two signs are simple equivalents. The demonstration is completed by facts drawn from the other end of India. Mr. Rhys Davids (*Ind. Ant.*, 1872, p. 130) was the first to point out, in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, the parallel use of two sibilants 𑀲 and 𑀰. The second is clearly only a modification of the 𑀰 of Khâlsi or of its prototype. Since then, Dr. E. Muller (*Ancient Inscript. of Ceylon*, No. 1) has published one in which the form 𑀰 alone figures. He has drawn from these facts (p. 16) the only reasonable conclusion, — that which Mr. Rhys Davids had already very justly put forward, — that the two signs express indifferently one and the same sound. We cannot come to a conclusion for the north different from that to which we have come for the south. The distance between the two localities of occurrence, and the absolute analogy of the facts prohibit us from thinking of a dialectic differentiation between the two sibilants. The sequel of palæographic history shows us that the form 𑀰 came to be subsequently employed to express the palatal *ś*, when a need to express it, that is to say, to write in Saṅskṛit, was experienced. **At the time of Piyadasi, the Indian alphabet did not yet possess the palatal ś; and it therefore had not yet been applied, in anything like a regular and consequent way, to the learned language.**

Another strictly parallel fact indirectly confirms this. By the side of 𑀲, the inscription of Khâlsi, in its second half, frequently uses a form 𑀱. Dr. Bühler (p. 26) transliterates it by *sh*, and approves of my having recognized its relationship with the cerebral *sh* of the complete alphabet. I fear that there has been a misunderstanding here. I do, it is true, believe that the 𑀱 of Nâsik and of Girnar (Rudradâman) is derived from this 𑀱, but I in no way believe that this last form had the value of a cerebral at Khâlsi. In spite of the transliteration *sh*, I would not venture to assert that such is even the opinion of Dr. Bühler, and in any case I could not agree with him if it is. The sign does not appear till about the 10th Edict, and only becomes common in the 11th, 12th and 13th, although the form is not absolutely unknown to the former ones, as we have it also in the 4th Edict, l. 11. In the more than 110 instances in which Dr. Bühler reads *sh* at Khâlsi, there are only thirty in which the cerebral *sh* could be expected. Under these circumstances, and the transition between the forms 𑀲 and 𑀱 being easy, the steps being marked out by several intermediate shapes both at Khâlsi and elsewhere, it is absolutely impossible to consider the sign 𑀱 as anything other than a graphic variant

of ძ. The perfect indifference with which the engravers use one sign or the other is really quite evident. All that has happened is the same as what we have already proved for /\. **In subsequent times advantage has been taken of this duplication of forms to apply one of them to the notation of the cerebral *sh*, and it has become fixed in its new function, but the fact is later than our inscriptions.**

To sum up, — neither the North-Western nor the Indian alphabet could have been at this epoch used to write Sañskṛit. The Indian alphabet, the only one of the two which subsequently became applied to Sanskṛit, appears before us in the condition of undergoing the modifications, which eventually prepared it for that *rôle*. We know of no trace of any different alphabet, which could have served for the notation of Sañskṛit, and we are driven to the conclusion that **at the time of Piyadasi Sañskṛit had not yet been written, and, as all our arguments apply equally to the religious, (Vedic) language, the conclusion holds equally good for it as well as for classical Sañskṛit properly so called.**

Between these two languages there is, however, one important difference. The elaboration of classical Sañskṛit could only have taken place with a view to a wide, profane use, — with a view to a written use. **To say that it was not written, is to say that it did not yet practically exist, — at least in its ultimate form. But it is not so in regard to the Vedic language.** Not only could its essential monuments exist in an oral state, but they could have been, in this form, the object of a culture purely oral, and more or less complete. Eminent Indian scholars have considered and still consider that the composition of the *prâtiśâkhyas* does not imply the use of writing. I need not here expatiate on a subject to which we shall again be conducted by the conclusions of the following chapter. These remarks have merely for their aim to put forward (while we explain it) an apparent contradiction between these two propositions: **on the one hand the palæographic condition of our monuments proves that the classical idiom which subsequently took so prominent a position had either not received as yet its complete elaboration, or had at least not yet been regularly written, while, on the other hand, the orthography of the popular dialects as it is reflected by our monuments, reveals the action, more or less latent, none the less certain, of a previous philological culture.** It is to the oral tradition of the religious literature, to the efforts for its preservation and for its phonetic analysis, of which it was the cause, that we have to trace back this influence. The reader cannot fail to remark how happily this origin accounts for the peculiar character of the action, unequal and indirect, incomplete and accidental, which we have been able to describe.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from page* 113).

XXXIV. The Tenth païnnam, vîrathaa, virastava, in 43 vv. Enumeration of the names of the siriVaddhamâṇa [145] (v. 4). It begins: namiûṇa jinaṁ jayajîvabaṁdhavaṁ bhaviyakusumarayaṇiyaraṁ । Vîraṁ giriṁdadhîraṁ thuṇâmi (staumi) payatthanâmêhiṁ ॥ 1 ॥ It concludes: iya nâmâvali saṁthuyă siri Vîrajiṇiṁda maṁdasuṇassa (°ṇṇassa ?) । viyara karuṇâŏ Jinavara । sitapayamaṇahatthiraṁ (?) Vîra! ॥ 43 ॥

The gachhâyâram, which in V., in the Ratnasâgara, and in the second collection of all the païnnas that I have before me, is cited as a part of the collection (see pp. 429, 431) contains in 138 vv. general rules of life, especially those for the bhikkhu and bhikkhuṇî, in the form of a lesson to Gôyama, who is several times mentioned in it. It begins: namiûṇa Mahâvîraṁ . . । gachchâyâraṁ kiṁchî uddharimô suasamuddâô ॥ 1 ॥ atth' êgê Gôyamâ! pâṇî । jê ummaggapaïṭṭhiê । gachchhammi saṁvasittâṇaṁ । bhamai bhavaparaṁparaṁ ॥ 2 ॥ The metre is almost everywhere ślôka, though two syllables are often counted as one, one short being cast away; so for example in v. 15: saṁgahôvaggahaṁ vihiṇâ । na karêi a jôgaṇî । samaṇaṁ

samaṇiṁ tu dikkhittâ | sâmâyâriṁ na gâhaê || 15 || vihiṇâ, samaṇaṁ, samaṇiṁ are to be read as dissyllables.

At the end it is called (see verse 1) an extract from the mahânisîhakappa and the vavahâra, sources which explain the use of the ślôka here: mahânisîhakappâô | vavahârâô tahê 'va ya sâhu-sâhuṇi-aṭṭhâê | gachhâyâraṁ samuddhiaṁ || 136 || paḍhamsuṁ sâhuṇô, êaṁ | asajjhâyaṁ vivajjiuṁ | uttamasuanissaṁdaṁ | gachhâyâraṁ suuttamaṁ || 137 || gachhâyâraṁ suṇittâṇaṁ | [446] paḍhittâ bhikkhu bhikkhuṇî | kuṇaṁtu jaṁ jahâbhaṇiaṁ | ichchhaṁtâ hiam appaṇô || 138 ||

The fourth group of Siddhânta texts is composed of D., the six chhêdasûtras.

So at least according to Bühler's List (see above, p. 226). In the Âyâravihi and in the Ratnasâgara (Calc. 1880) these assert a prior place — between the upâṅgas and the païnnas. The name chhêdasûtra[65] (chhêda, cutting, section ?) can be explained in many ways. There is no authentic explanation that I have been able to discover. This name recurs in the texts in question as infrequently as in the paragraphs in the MSS. The first time where it is mentioned, so far as I know,[66] is in the Âvaśy. nijj. 8, 55 : jaṁ cha mahâkappaṁ[67] jâṇi a sêsâṇi chhêa suttâṇi, from which passage it is clear that then, besides the mahâkappaṁ, there existed several other texts belonging to this group (kalpâdîni Schol.); and in another passage of the above cited work (16, 100), there are enumerated three texts which, at present, still bear this name and which state that they were divided[68] just as we find them. They appear [447] to belong together after a fashion and to form a united group. In the enumeration of the aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha texts in the Nandî, in the Pâkshikasûtra and in the three sâmâchârîs we find these texts arranged in the same order (dasâṇaṁ, kappassa, vavahârassa). In the sâmâchârîs, in the passage in reference to the number of days necessary to learn them, we find that but one suyakkhaṁdha is allotted to them all: kappavavahâradasâṇaṁ (so Âvi., Svi., dasâka°râṇam V.) êgô suakkhaṁdhô. The Vidhipr., however, states that some (kêi) "kappavavahârâṇaṁ bhinnaṁ suyakkhaṁdhaṁ ichhamti."

The title chhêasutta is not mentioned in this list of the anaṅgapaviṭṭhas or aṅgabâhiras, which cites, in addition to the three texts held to be chhêasuttas, two others immediately afterward, one name alone intervening. These additional chhêasuttas are nisîha and mahânisîha, which now stand at the head of the chhêdas. The mahâkappasuam (see p. 478), too, is found in the list, but in a different place — about 24 places previous. From this we draw the conclusion that the author of the list did not regard the mahâkappasuam (see p. 478) as belonging to these chhêasuttas.

The mahâkappa° is mentioned in no other passage. In all other passages, where the chhêdasûtras are enumerated, the nisîham is invariably placed at the head of the list. Thus in Âvi., where the number of days necessary for learning the chhêdasûtras is stated, [448] there are enumerated as the "chhêaggaṁtha" (here placed between upaṅgas and païnnas; see p. 446) the seven names: nisîha, dasâ, kappa, vavahâra, mahânisîha, paṁchakappa and jîakappa. The paṁchakappa is mentioned also under the païnnas. Cf. above, pp. 427, 430. The case is similar in Svi., where, however, the name chhêa° is omitted, and the discussion on this subject is inserted between that concerning aṅgas 4 and 5. In Svi. only sîha, dasâ, kappa and vavahâra are treated of together, paṁchakappa and jîakappa not being mentioned, and mahânisîha is disposed of at another place, viz.: — at the end of the entire jôgavihi after the païnnas. V. agrees herein with

[65] An older form of the name is perhaps chhasua, chhêdaśruta; thus in a citation in the Vichârâmritasaṁgraha: "nisîham-âiyassa chhêasuassa"; chhêdasaṁgha, too, is found in the same place (see p. 430), where it is said that they are five in number.

[66] The name of the second group of the charittaguṇapramâṇa in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra — chhêdavaddhâvaṇîat char° — may be recalled in this connection.

[67] According to the Scholiast these texts are borrowed from the diṭṭhivâa (aṅga 12), and, consequently, are to be regarded as ṛishibhâshita: mahâkalpaśrutâdînâm api ṛishibhâshitatvâ(d) dṛishtivâdâd uddhṛitya têshâṁ pratipâditatvât dharmakathânuyôga vvâ (° gatvâś cha ?) prasamgah.

[68] dasa uddêsaṇakâlâ dasâna, kappassa huṁti chhach chêva | dasa chêva vavahârassa huṁti | savvê vi chhavvîsaṁ ||

Svi. completely, with the exception that, as Âvi., it adds paṁchakappa and jiakappa to nisîha, dasâ, k. and vav. In the metrical portion at the close, the jôgavihâṇapagarana, however, the first four are treated of either as to be learned together in 30 days or as "savvâṇi vi chhêasuttâṇi," v. 22. In the next verse (23) there are statements concerning jîyak. and paṁchak. (mahânisîha is not discussed till vv. 63, 64). In the Vichârâmṛitas. the chhêasuam is called nisîha-m-âiyam — on jitak., paṁchak. see p. 430 —; and in the commentary on the śrâddhajîtakalpa — see below — śrî niśîthâdi chhêdagranthasûtra is spoken of. We find that this agrees with Bühler's list (above, p. 226).

Besides this arrangement which places niśîtha at the head we meet with statements in modern sources in which the number composing the series varies in many ways. The series, as we have seen above, was never fixed, continually varying between 4 and 7 members.

[449] In the Ratnasâgara (Calc. 1880) we find the following arrangement: vyavahâra-vṛihatkalpa, daśâśruta, niśîtha, mahâniśîtha, jîtakalpa. These names are the same with an exception in the case of jîtakalpa (Bühler has pañchakalpa; Âvi. has both names). The arrangement of Râj. L. Mitra and after him that of Paṇḍit Kashinath Kuntê, taking its rise from the Siddhântadharmasâra, is very remarkable. See my remarks on p. 227.

The uncertainty of modern tradition may, it is true, create an impression unfavourable to the age of the chhêdasûtra texts which we possess. On the other hand, there are sufficient arguments which permit us to ascribe a relatively ancient date to the chief group at least, *i. e.* the three texts: dasâ-kappa-vavahârâ. The order which I have here followed is, without doubt, the old arrangement, though, for convenience sake, I adopt that of Bühler from this point on: vavahâra, dasâ, kappa. We must here consider the **statements of tradition in reference to the origin and composition of these texts.**

Haribhadra, on Âvaśy. 6, 88, explains the third of the three forms of the sâmâchârî which are mentioned in the text: ôhê dasahâ payavibhâgê, the padavibhâgasâmâchârî by chhêdasûtrâṇi, and, as we have seen above, p. 357, he states that this is chhêdasûtralakshanân navamapûrvâd êva nirvyûḍhâ. On Âvaśy. 7, 64 he limits the equalization of the padavi°chârî to kalpa and vyavahâra (sâ cha ka°hârarûpâ). The same statement exists in the avachûri composed A. D. 1383 by Jnânasâgara on the Ôghaniryukti: [450] padavi°chârî kalpavyavahârau; and pûrva 9 (vastu 3, prâbhṛita 20) is referred to as the source — see above, p. 357 — whence this Bhadrabâhusvâminâ nirvyûḍhâ. The composition of these two texts, kalpa and vyavahâra, is frequently referred back[69] to Bhadrabâhu, who is said to have made use of the same sources as they. But in the ṛishimaṇḍalasûtra (Jacobi, Kalpas, p. 11), (p. 472) the same is asserted of the third member of this group of texts, the dasâu. We have consequently here, as in the case of upâṅga 4, to deal with an author whose name is specially mentioned. Whether this claim is correct or not (we will refer to this question below), the connection with the puvvas according to tradition, is significant.

The **contents** of the existing chhêdasûtras makes it probable that a large portion of them is of considerable antiquity. This contents refers in general to the clergy and the rules of conduct prescribed[70] for them, though there is a large admixture of subsidiary matter of a legendary character (*e. g.* the entire Kalpasûtram). The first two rules, according to the existing order, refer to expiations and penances (prâyaśchitta)[71]; while all the rest contain general matters referring to discipline.

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[69] The same is asserted of the nisîham; see p. 453n.

[70] It corresponds consequently to the vinaya of the Buddhists with which, despite all differences, it is closely connected in contents and in style of treatment.

[71] The expression gîatthâ in the last verse of Dharmaghosha's śrâddhajîtakalpa (see p. 478), treating of the prâyaśchitta, is explained in the anonymous scholiast thereupon by gîtârthâḥ śrîniśîthâdichhêdagraṁthasûtrârthadharâḥ, *i. e.* gîta is explained by chhêdagraṁthasûtra. Dh. recommends to the gîattha the correction of his work, which he conceives of as being closely connected with the chhêdasûtras. This name gîta does not agree particularly well with the form of the text of the existing chhêdasûtras, since a large portion of the latter is composed in prose, and ślôka not gâthâ is the prevailing form of metre in the metrical portions. Cf., however, the name of the sixth book of the second chhêdas.

[451] There is other testimony of an external character which makes for **the antiquity of the chhêdasûtras.** The first of these is, as is well known, closely connected with aṅga 1, and is, in fact, called a part of the latter (p. 254). Chhêdasûtras 2, 4 bear the stamp of antiquity because they resemble aṅgas 1—4 as regards the introduction; and because chhêdas. 2 — 5 resemble the same aṅgas as regards the conclusion.[72] The ancient date of chhêdas. 4 is *eo ipso* attested by the thoroughgoing mention of it and its ten sections in aṅga 3, 10.

The testimony is not so favourable in the case of chhêdasûtra 2. It must be ascribed to a somewhat later date from the fact that it contains a polemic against the ninhaga, a mention of the dasapuvvin etc. See below. We have exact chronological data for the Kalpasûtram, inserted in chhêdas. 4. See p. 472.

It is remarkable that there are **old commentaries called bhâshya and chûrṇi,**[73] composed in Prâkṛit, the first kind of texts written in gâthâs, the second in prose, on three of our texts: — nisîha, vavahâra, kappa. The Nom. Sgl. M. of the 1. Decl. ends invariably in *o* and not in *e*; and extensive use is made of the insertion of an inorganic *m*. The Prâkṛit shows many traces of a later age, *e. g.*, we find the thematic instead of the declined form. Furthermore, the fact that these bhâshyas [452] are, for the most part, composed in gâthâs, whereas the verses in the chhêdasûtras are mostly ślôkas, deserves our attention.

The extent of each of the texts is as follows: — 1. nisîham 812 (or 815) graṁthas, — 2. mahânisîham 4504 gr., — 3. vavahâra 500 gr., — 4. daśâśrutaskamdham 800 gr., exclusive of the kalpasûtra, that contains 1254 gr., — 5. bṛihatkalpa 475 gr, — 6. paṁchakalpa (is wanting).

XXXV. First chhêdasûtram, the nisîhajjhayaṇaṃ. This name is explained, strangely enough, by niśîtha, though the character of the contents would lead us to expect nishedha. In the scholiast on Uttarajjh. 26 2, nisîhiyâ is paraphrased by naishedhikî; and so in the scholiast on Dasavêâlia 5, 2, 2; asamaṁjasanishedhân naishedhikî; in the scholiast on Âvaśy. 7, 1, and on Anuyôgadv. introduction (2b in A) where Hemachandra explains it by śavaparisthâpanabhûmiḥ. The statements in the text in Âvaśy. 7, 33 fg. are decisive: — jamhâ tattha nisiddhô têṇaṁ nisîhiâ hôi || 33 || . . jô hôi nisiddhappâ | nisîhiâ tassa bhâvaô hôi | avisuddhassa nisîhia kêvalamittaṁ havaî saddô || 135 ||; in 10, 40, 41 we read baddham abaddhaṁ tu suaṁ, baddhaṁ tu duvâlasaṁgaṇiddiṭṭhaṁ | tavvivarîaṃ abaddhaṁ, nisîham anisîha baddhaṁ tu || 40 || bhûê pariṇayavigaê saddakaraṇaṁ tahêva anisîhaṁ | pachchhannaṁ tu nisîhaṁ nisîha nâmaṁ jahajjhayaṇaṁ || 41 || Scholiast here[74]) : iha baddhaśrutaṁ nishîdham anishîdhaṁ anishedhaṁ cha, tatra rahasya[453]pâṭhâd rahasyôpadêśâch cha prachhannaṁ nishîdham uchyatê, prakâśapâṭhât prakâśôpadêśâch châ 'nishîdhaṁ, . . . nishîdhaṁ guptârtham uchyatê. From this we may indubitably[75] conclude that the explanation by niśîtha[76] is simply an error, and is to be classed in the same category as the explanation of uvavâiyam by aupapâtikam and of râyapaseṇaïyyam by râjapraśnîyam.

Whether we are to understand *our* text under the nisîhajjhay° mentioned in aṅga 4 (see p. 280) as part of the first aṅga or under the nisîha nâmaṁ ajjhayaṇam in Âvaśy. 10, 41, is a matter of doubt, since its title is perhaps not passive =pachhannaṁ (s. below), guptârtham, but active in sense. Nevertheless the statements, which (see p. 254 ff.) are found in aṅga 1 in relation to its fifth chûlâ called nisîha (cf. also nisîhiya as the name of ajjh. 2 of the second chûlâ, *ibid.*), and in the introduction of the niśîthachûrṇi in reference to the identity of the chhêdasûtra with

[72] It must, however, be noticed that (p. 448) in Syi. and V. the chhêda texts are treated of between aṅga 4 and aṅga 5.

[73] See Jacobi Kalpas. pp. 16, 25.

[74] padyagadyabandhanâd baddhaṁ, śâstrôpadêśavad; dvâd. âchârâdigaṇipiṭakaṁ . . lôkottaraṁ; abaddhaṁ laukikaṁ.

[75] In the enumeration of the 10 sâmâyârî (aṅgas 3, 10, 5, 7, uttarajjh. 26, Âvaśy. 7) the âvassayâ, commandments, are always found together with the nisîhiyâ, prohibitions (Leumann).

[76] Intermediate forms are nishîdha — see just above — and nishîtha in the scholiast on aṅga 1.

this fifth chûlâ[77], make at least for the conclusion that tradition regards the nisîham ajjhayaṇam in our chhêdasûtra as originally forming a part of aṅga 1 and separated from it at a later period. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the text in question existed originally as it exists to-day in an independent condition, and that it was at a later period joined with aṅga 1, whence it was again separated.

In the Nandî — see below — [454] the nisîham is mentioned after dasâ kappô vavahârô and before mahânisîhaṁ. It is, therefore, certain that our text is referred to. The statements, which are found[78] in Âvaśy. 16, 114 (s. p. 255n) in reference to the three-fold division of nisîham into three ajjhayaṇas, by name ugghâyam, aṇugghâyam and aruvâṇâ, are not in harmony with the constitution of our text, which contains no trace of such a three-fold division, but on the other hand is divided into 20 uddêśakas,[79] containing hardly anything but prohibitions for the bhikshu.[80] The words ugghâtiya and aṇuggh° are, it is true, made use of, but this does not presuppose a direct division into 3 ajjh.[81] All these prohibitions commence with the following words (cf. the formula in the Pratimokshasûtra of the Buddhists): — je bhikkhû . . karêi and end with kareṁtaṁ vâ sâtijjaï.[82] We have here then a fixed canonical rule, which makes upon us the impression of being very old. At the conclusion of the udd. a penitence of one or, as the case may be, of four months is prescribed: taṁ sêvamâṇê âvayyati mâsiyaṁ parihâraṭṭhâṇaṁ ugghâtiyaṁ (or aṇuggh°, or châu°) ṇisahê.

The 20th udd. treats especially of this penitence and appeals thereby to the first udd. of the vavahâra.

[455] At the end there are three âryâs, in which Visâhâgaṇi is stated to be the writer (!): tassa lihiyaṁ nisîham. These âryâs are counted as constituent parts of the text, since they are followed by the words iti nisîhâjjhayaṇê vîsamô uddêsaü sammattô.

There is a very detailed **commentary (bhâshya)** in Prâkṛit in âryâs, akin to the prose commentary, which Jinaprabhamuni, author[83] of the commentary on the paryushaṇâkalpaniryukti, mentions as his source of information under the name niśîthachûrṇi. The bhâshya offers but little assistance in regard to the explanation of the words of the text, but contains general remarks concerning the contents of each of the uddêśakas. It starts with a very lengthy introduction,[84] which at the end is called peḍhaṁ, *i. e.* pîṭhaṁ, cf. pîṭhikâ in Malayagiri. Each of the paragraphs of the text is called sûtram in every case. This commentary does not discuss the three concluding verses of the text. The writer of the Berlin MS. (Ahmedâbâd Saṁv. 1629) belonged to the stock of Ahhayadêva.[85]

XXXVI. Second chhêdasûtram, the mahânisîham. Instruction of Gôyama in reference to transgressions (salla) and punishments (pâyachhitta, pachhitta), in 8 ajjhayaṇas, of which [456] ajjh. 1, 2 have a text composed partly in ślôkas or trishṭubh, (Nom. in *o*) and partly in prose (Nom. in *e*); and in ajjh. 3 ff. many ślôkas are inserted. The single copy which I have by me, and that a very incorrect one, reproduces the text so very imperfectly that even the writer,

[77] Śîlâṅka, in the introduction to the second śrutask. of aṅga 2 says that the "âchâraprakalpô niśîthaḥ" is "nirvyûḍha" from pûrva 9, 3, 20. (Leumann); see pages 357, 450n.

[78] Haribhadra makes no statement on this head, since he holds the verses to be nigadasiddha. Cf. the five-fold division of the âyâra in aṅga 3, 5, 2 into: mâsiê ugghâiê, m. aṇugghâiê, châummâsiê u., châ. aṇuggh., châ. aṇugghâiê ârôvaṇâ. (Leumann.)

[79] 1 with 48 paragraphs, 2 with 59, 3 with 74, 4 with 62, 5 with 76, 6 with 22, 7 with 37, 8 with 19, 9 with 26, etc.

[80] According to Kash. Kuntê the niś. treats "of the duties of Sâdhus, and the fines and penalties to be imposed on them when they neglect them."

[81] The 20 udd. are, however, divided into 3 groups (1—5, 6—19, and 20; Leumann).

[82] "Who does this or that and who does not do it." See Leumann, *Aup. Glossar*, p. 159 *s. v.* sâjj (Pâli sâdiyati) "take," "receive," accept, "permit."

[83] A. D. 1307, see Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 25; also author of the Vidhiprapâ, above p. 223.

[84] Begins: navabaṁbhachêramaïo aṭṭhârasapadasahassiô vêtô (vêdaḥ, see p. 457) | havati ya sapaṁchachûlo bahu bahutaraô padaggêṇaṁ || 1 || âyârapakappassa tu . . || 2 || âyârô aggaṁtuyapakappa taha chûliâ nisîhaṁ ti . . || 3 || pakappammi chûliyâê nisîhê ya . . V. 1 is cited in the same form, by Śîlâṅka from Bhadr.'s âchâraniryukti according to Leumann.

[85] Saṁvat 1569 under Pâtasâha Mahamûda.

overcome by the difficulties in his way, at the conclusion of the first ajjh., begs[86], in Prâkṛit, that the fault be not laid at his door. He says that it is not a kulihiyam, but a text *sui generis* with its mixture of verses, half-verses, prose and even single aksharas. See my remarks on p. 472. If my explanation of his words be correct the writer speaks also of marginal glosses and of leaves that have fallen out from his original (puvvâyarisa, pûrvâdarśa). Since these words too are very corrupt, they are not to be ascribed to the writer of the present MS., which is well written to say the least, but to an earlier scribe, whose comments have always been copied together with the text.

A statement in Sanskṛit, of not less peculiar nature, but handed down in a very corrupt state, is found at the end of the fourth ajjhayaṇa, and is directed, not against the condition of the text, but against its contents. According to this statement Haribhadrasûri had declared that it was impossible for him to believe some of the wonderful accounts contained in the text. [457] The writer first asserts that this scepticism of Haribhadrasûri has reference solely to a few of these statements and not to the entire fourth ajjh. or to the other ajjh. This scepticism, he says, was caused by the fact that in aṅgas 3, 4 and in upâṅgas 3, 4 nothing was said of these matters, "na kathaṁchid idam âchakhyê yathâ." We must refer yathâ to what follows, and regard the words as a kind of citation from ajjh. 4. The latter, however, does not suit the sense, which amounts to this: — cave-dwellers are able to undergo hardships for a year. The meaning of the very obscure words at the end appears to be that since this sûtram according to ancient tradition is an ârsham, and in this śrutaskandha there are contained many excellent "gaṇadharôktâni vêdavachanâni," it is the conclusion of the writer that there is no occasion for unbelief even as regards these remarkable statements.[87] The great Haribhadrasûri[88] is undoubtedly referred to here, [458] who must have played an important *rôle* at the date of this remark of the copyist, to whom the polemic appeared as a bitter necessity.

The wretched condition of the text is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact that the authority of the mahânisîthasûtra found many opponents even among the Jains themselves. That the text is corrupt is manifested externally first of all in the imperfect tradition as regards its division. According to a special statement[89] in the commencement of the third ajjh., after v. 3,

[86] mahânisîhasuya*sk*aṁdhassa padhamam ajjhayaṇaṁ salluddharaṇaṁ nâma || 1 || êyassa ya kulihiyadôsô na dâyavvô suaharêhiṁ | kiṁ tu jô chêva êyassa puvvâyarisô âsi, tatthêva kattha ya silôgô katthai silôgaddhaṁ katthai payakkharaṁ katthaiṁ akkharapaṁtiyâ katthai pattayaputthiyaṁ ("marginal notes"?) kai bê tinni pannâṇi êva ghâi (?) bahu gaṁshpa (gaṁtha?) parigaliyaṁ ti.

[87] atra chaturthâdhyayanê bahavah siddhâṁtikâh kêchid îlyâpakânna (?) samyak sudadhyêty (?) êvîṁtair aśraddadhânair asmâkam api na samyak śraddhânam ity âha Haribhadrasûrih; na punaḥ sarvam êvê 'daṁ chaturthîdhyayanam anyâni vâ 'dhyayanâni asyai 'va katipayai(ḥ) parimitair âlâpakair aśraddhânam ity arthaḥ; yatah sthâna-samavâya-jîvâbhigama-prajnâpanâdishu na kâthaṁchid idam âchakhyê, yathâ | prêti (?) saṁtâpasthânam asti, tai (?) guhâvâsinas tu manujnâs, teshu cha param*a*dhârmikâṇâṁ punah punaḥ saptâshtavârîn yâvad upapattês, teshâṁ cha tair dârunair vajra*s*ilâgharaṭṭasaṁpuṭair *g*alitânâṁ paripîḍyamânânâm api saṁvatsaraṁ yâvat prâṇavyâpattir na bhavatî 'ti; vṛiddhavâdas tu punar yathâvad idam ârshaṁ sûtram, vikṛit*a*r na tâvad atra prat*i*shṭâ, prabhûtâś châ 'tra śrutaskaṁdhê arthâh sushṭv *a*piśayêna (?) sâtiśayâni gaṇadharoktâni vêda(see p. 455n)vachanâni, tad êvaṁ sthitê na kiṁchid âśaṁkanîyam.

[88] See pp. 371, 372. In Jinadattasûri's ganadharasârdhaśata, v. 55, 114 payaraṇas are ascribed to him; and Sarvarâjagaṇi cites in the scholiast the following works: paṁchavastûka upadêśapadapaṁchâś*a*kâ 'shtaka shôḍaśaka lôkatat(t)vanirṇaya dharmaviṁdu lôkabiṁdu yôgadṛishtisamuchchaya darśanasaptatikâ nânâchitraka vṛihanmithyâtvamaṁthana paṁchasûtraka saṁskritâtmânuśâsana saṁskṛitachaityavaṁdanabhâshya anêkâṁtajayapatâkâ 'nêkâṁtapadapravêśaka paralôkasiddhi dharmalobhasiddhi śâstravârttâsamuchchayâdiprakaraṇânîṁ, tâtha âvaśyakavṛitti daśavaikâlika vrihadvritti laghuvṛitti piṁḍaniryuktivritti jîvâbhigamaprajnâpanôpâṁgavritti paṁchavastûkavritti anêkâṁtajayapatâkâvṛitti chaityavamdanavṛitti anuyôgadvâravṛitti naṁdivritti saṁgrahaṇîvritti kshetrasamâsavṛitti śâstrâvârttâsamuchchayavrîtti arhachhrîchûḍâmaṇi Samarâdityacharita kathâkôśâdiśâstrâṇâṁ. Not so complete are the statements in the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha which contains, however, a large number of the names. In the Vic. H.'s death is placed (§ 8 begin.) in the year 1050 after Vîra.

[89] Probably in four âryâs, though the metre or rather the text itself is very difficult to make out. The last verse reads: — nikhittavibhi*tt*apâṇêṇâṁ saṁghattêṇaṁ imê mahânisîha(ṁ) | varasuyakkhaṁdhaṁ vottavvaṁ cha âuttagapâṇagêṇaṁ (?) ti || In the preceding verses the word aṁbilê is found three times: taîê sôlasa uddêsê aṭṭha tathêva ambilê | jaṁ taṁ itaṁ chautthê vipaṁchamaṁmi (!) 'chhâmi yambilê || dasa, chhaṭṭhê dô, sattamê tinni, aṭṭhamê 'bilê dasa a |; this is probably a vocative to ambilâ, "little mother," and to be explained in the same way as suṁdari! in painna 7 (see p. 442).

(a statement that perhaps did not belong to the text originally) the mahâniś. consists of 8 ajjhayaṇas, each of which contains a certain number of uddesas, which is stated. But in our MS. there is no trace whatsoever of any uddesas. In the first ajjh. there are between the beginning and the end some §§ numbers (31, 33, and 16, 17 for which 36, 37 are to be substituted), [459] and at the end the number 49. These numbers do not, however, refer to uddesa sections, since these are generally of greater extent, as is proved in the case of our text from the number of udd. ascribed to ajjh. 2—7. We have no statement of the kind in the case of ajjh. 1. These numbers are nine for 2, sixteen for 3, eight for 4, ten for 5, two for 6, three for 7, ten for 8. Of the eight ajjhayaṇas only the first six are specially distinguished, four having special names, though only those ascribed to the first two ajjh. are in harmony with the contents. The sixth ajjh. closes on f. 70ᵃ; the remainder is characterized at the close (96ᵇ) as : piiyâ, perhaps biiyâ, dvitîyâ, chûliyâ, so that two chûliyâ chapters are here indicated,[90] which, if added to the 6 ajjh., gives the desired number 8. In this faulty condition of the MS. it is worth while to note the statements of the three sâmâchârîs in reference to the mahân. Âvi. treats of this subject (see pp. 447, 448) in discussing the chhêaggantha, and states that there were 8 ajjh. with 83 uddesas. The first ajjhayaṇam had then no divisions of this kind and was êgasaram; the second had 9, the third and fourth 16 each, the fifth 12, the sixth 4, the seventh 6, the eighth 20. The difference between this account and the information to be drawn from the MS. is very great indeed. (See above.) Svi. and V., on the other hand (see p. 448), separate the mahânisîham from the other chhêda texts, and treat, at the conclusion, of the jôgavihi of the sacred texts after the païnnagavihî. [460] They too agree with Âvi. as regards the number of ajjh. and udd. The seventh and eighth ajjh. are expressly called by V. chûlârûva (donni chûlâô, v. 64). Forty-three days are necessary to learn the mahân., têyâlîsâê diṇêhim ajjhayaṇasamattî, but as two days are requisite for suyakkhaṁdhassa samuddesa and for aṇuṇṇâ, the total number is 45. The chhêdas. 1, 3—5 required together only 30 days. See page 448.

A statement in Wilson Sel. W. I, 341 (ed. Rost) is of particular interest : — "Vajrasvâmî[91] instituted the Mahâniśîtha-sect;" and of equal interest are the remarks of Râjendra Lâla Mitra (p. 227) in reference to three different recensions (vâchanâ) of the Mahâniśîtha. The question which is proposed in the introduction of chapter 22 of the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha substantiates the belief that the Mahâniśîtha is tolerably old. This question is : — how is it to be explained that the prâyaśchitta prescribed in the Mahâniśîtha is not practised ? The answer to this includes chhêdas. 1, 3, 5, and reads : — adhunâ maṁdasattvaiḥ kalpavyavahâraniśîthamahâniśîthâ dînâm êkatarasyâ 'pi graṁthasyâ 'bhiprâyêṇa prâyaśchittâni yathâ chaddoḍhaṁ (? 'vasoḍhuṁ) na śakyamtê atas tê sarvagachheshu jîtavyavahârêṇa prâyaśchittân(y) anucharaṁto dṛiśyaṁtê.

The first mention of the mahânisîham, of which I am aware, is found in the enumeration of the anaṅgapaviṭṭha texts in the Nandî etc., where the schol. on N. explains the word as follows : — niśîthât paraṁ, yat graṁthârthâbhyâṁ mahattaraṁ tam mahâniśîtham. [461] We have already mentioned (p. 445) that the gachhâyâra states that it is based upon the mahân. as its source.

The introductory words are the same as in aṅga 1 etc. : suyaṁ mê âusaṁ, têṇaṁ bhagavayâ êvam akkkâyam, and each of the ajjh. closes correspondingly with ti bêmi. Besides this, there is nothing which directly savours of antiquity with the single exception that the dialogue form between the bhagavant (who is addressed with (sê) bhagavaṁ and not with (sê) ṇaṁ bhaṁtê) and Indrabhûti (Gôyamâ !) is retained. This form, however, ill suits the introductory formula by which the whole is attributed to the bhagavant himself.

The name of the text occurs shortly after the introduction, and is accompanied by laudatory epithets. This fact, together with the epithet mahâ° in the name, makes it probable

[90] The conclusion of the first chûlâ is not directly marked off, but is to be placed on 80ᵇ, where a section closes with bêmi.

[91] Nominally 584 Vîra, see pp. 219, 251, cf. Âvaśy. 8, 41 fg. Gaṇadharasârdhaś. v. 23 fg. In reference to the statement above, cf. pp. 463n and 464.

that it is of later date. It had need of a special sanction because of its secondary character. The words are: pavara-vara-mahânisîhasuyakkhaṁdha(ṁ) ssuyânusârêṇaṁ tivihaṁ — but there follows no three-fold division.

The first book is entitled salluddharaṇaṁ and treats of the most various kinds of salla, śalya. The repeated references to the savvaṁgôvaṁga are worth our notice; whence the existence of the uvaṁga at the time of its composition — see above, p. 373 — is *eo ipso* clear. Then follows the figure of the useful co-partnership of the lame with the blind man which is specially emphasized: — hayaṁ nâṇaṁ kiyâhîṇaṁ, hayâ annâṇaô kiyâ | pâsaṁtô paṁgulô daḍḍhô dhâvamâṇô a aṁdhaô || . . aṁdhô ya paṁgû ya vaṇê samichchâ tê saṁpaüttâ nagaraṁ paviṭṭhâ ||. Furthermore [462] stress is laid upon reverence (vaṁdê, vaṁdiyyâ) for pictures (paḍimâ) and temples (chêia, chêiâlaya). A special formula seems to have been made use of in this connection, an enigmatical treatment of the letters of which occurs[92] after the fashion of the treatment of *a u m* (*om*) in the Upanishads and in similar formulas in the tantra ritual. This entire subject was a riddle to the copyist — cf. p. 456 — and so it remains for us. After the real conclusion of the work, in an addition, a similar subject is treated of in like manner merely by means of single letters.

Book II. is entitled kammavivâyaṇaṁ, perhaps karmavipâchana (cf. pp. 270, 280, 335). At the end is found an obscure statement which perhaps has reference to ajjh. 1, 2 and which reads: êêsiṁ tu doṇhaṁ ajjhayaṇâṇaṁ vihî puvvagêṇaṁ savvasâmannaṁ vattêhiṇaṁ ti (?).

Books III. and IV., without specific titles, are composed almost entirely in prose, and treat especially of the kusîla. It is noticeable that in Book III. frequent reference is paid to the duvâlasaṁgaṁ suyanâṇaṁ and the saṁgôvaṁga duvâlasaṁgasamudda. The commencement with sâmâiya is retained (cf. p. 243), and the suyanâṇaṁ is then characterized as sâmâiya-m-âi lôgabiṁdusâgara (sâra!) payyavasânam (p. 245). [463] We find in the text the following statements which are very characteristic as regards the origin and history of Book III.: tattha tattha bahuêhiṁ suyaharêhiṁ sammiliûṇaṁ saṁgôvaṁgaduvâlasaṁgâu suyasamuddâu anna-anna-uvaṁgâsuya(kkha)ṁdha-ajjhayaṇa-uddêsagâṇaṁ samuchchinêûṇaṁ kiṁchiṁ kiṁchiṁ saṁvayyamâṇaṁ etthaṁ lihiyaṁ ti, na uṇa sakavvakayaṁ (svakâvyakṛitaṁ) ti. This is an example of the saying *qui s'excuse s'accuse*. It is more probable that the above is a production of the author himself than that it emanates from the hand of a copyist who is inclined to doubt.

Book IV. contains a legend of two brothers, Sumati and Nâila,[93] in which we may observe an occasional reference (in Sanskṛit!) to an old elucidation (!) of aṅga 10: śeshaṁ tu praśna-vyâkaraṇavṛiddhavichâraṇâd avasêyaṁ. — Whoever, bhikshu or bhikshuṇî, should praise the adherents of hostile systems or schismatics (parapâsaṁḍîṇaṁ pasaṁsaṁ kareyya, jê yâ vi ṇaṁ niṇhagâṇaṁ p. k.), whoever speaks in favour of the schismatics (niṇhagâṇaṁ aṇukûlaṁ bhâsêyyâ), visits their temples (niṇh. âyayaṇaṁ pavisiyya), studies their texts (niṇh. gaṁthasattha payakkharaṁ vâ parûvêyyâ), or follows their ordinances (niṇh. saṁkaliê kâyakilêsâiê tavêi vâ saṁjamêi vâ jâṇêi vâ vinnâvêi vâ suêi vâ paḍivvêi vâ avimuhasuddhaparisâmayyagâê salâhêyyâ), his fate will be as disastrous as that of Sumati, sa vi ṇaṁ paramâhammiêsuṁ uvavayyêyya jahâ Sumatî. The hate against the heterodox and schismatics is here so bitter, [464] that the conjecture is not too bold if we assume that the heterodox and schismatics had at that time got possession of the text of this book, see pp. 293, 368.

Book V., duvâlasaṁgasuyamâṇassa ṇavatîyasâra (?), mentions the duvâlasaṁga, but

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[92] amaṇa | a | maü | kaüttha ava | addhaîṇa | amaa um | ṇ am | up ay | âṇ u | s âraî ṇa am | â um ṇ | amaü | sa am bh i | ṇ nas u | î | ṇ amaü | khaî rê â | sabaddha îṇ | a u m | ṇam u etc. — In a similar manner (each of the single consonants having virâma) we find the mantra composed which the Vidhiprapâ cites in mentioning the âyariyapayaṭṭhâvaṇavihî and uvajjhâyapay°. These, however, commence with a | u | m |; cf. the Upanishade. Have we here an example of the mâuyakkharâ? see page 281 (with note) and page 350.

[93] In the thêrâvalî of Kalpas., one of the four scholars of Vajra (svâmin), p. 460, or of Vajrasêna, is called by this name. He was the founder of a school which bore his name. Bhûadinna, the scholar of Nâgajjuna, was fro the Nâilakula; see v. 44 of the Thêrâvalî in the Nandîs.

merely in a general way. It treats especially of the relation between the teacher (guru) and scholar (sîsa), of the âyâra (gachhâyâra, see p. 445), and aṇâyâra.

Book VI., gîyatthavihâra (see pp. 437, 450), treats of the pachhitta prâyaśchitta, and contains a legend of a teacher Bhadda and the ayyiyâ (âryikâ) Rayyâ. The mention of the dasapuvvi in the introduction brings *eo ipso* the date of its composition down to a period subsequent to that of Bhadrabâhu, the last chaturdaśapûrvin, and to that of Vajra, the last daśapûrvin. See pp. 219, 460.

Books VII., VIII., which (see p. 459) are characterized as two chûliyâs, a name which *per se* marks them as a secondary addition, treat likewise of the pachhitta, and, in fact, in such great detail, that the words kiṁ bahuṇâ,[94] together with the formal frame-work enclosing them, are occasionally repeated several times in immediate succession. Shortly before the close these words occur again. A legend of the daughter of Suyyasivi in Avanti plays a very prominent part in these books.

The solemn adjuration (found also in another passage) to save this sûtraṁ from any damage, is another indication of its secondary origin: — jayâ ṇaṁ Gôyamâ! iṇam-ô pachhitta-suttaṁ vochchhiyyihii tayâ ṇaṁ chaṁdâichchá-gaha[465]rikkha-târagâ ṇaṁ satta ahôrattê ya ṇô viphuriyyâ, imassa ṇaṁ vochhêdê Gôyamâ! kasiṇasaṁjamassa abhâvô.

To the conclusion (samattaṁ mahânisîhasuyakkhaṁdhaṁ) are joined the reverential invocations to the 24 titthaṁkaras, the tittha, the suyadêvayâ, the suyakêvalî, all the sâhu, siddhai to the bhagavaṁt arahaṁt. Then follow the incomprehensible separate aksharas etc., mentioned on page 462. The actual conclusion is formed by the statement concerning the extent of the whole book (4504 ślôkas): chattâri sahassâiṁ paṁcha sayâiṁ tahêva chattâri | chattâri (again!) silôgâ viya mahânisîhammi pâênaṁ ||

The mahânisîham is indisputably much younger than the nisîham, and is almost six times its size. It is noteworthy that this sûtram, just as the fourth chhêdas., according to its own statements (see above and pp. 456, 458, 461) receives suyakkhaṁdha, śrutaskandha as an addition to its name. This is a title that is used in the case of the aṅgas for larger divisions of an aṅga. But in the case of aṅgas 3—5, 7—10, up. 8—12 the expression also holds good for the whole and not merely a part. There is no commentary, as in the case of the nisîha, with the exception of the chûrṇi. See above, p. 445, for the origin of the gachhâyâraṁ from the mahânisîha.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 1. — *The Prince and his faithful friend, the son of the Wazîr.*[1]

There was once a king who had a son, and his wazîr also had a son. Both were of the same age and were great friends. One day both of them planned to go and see their wives. So they went and told their fathers. Their fathers objected to their going, but they would not be dissuaded, and secretly mounted their horses and went off. The king's son first reached his father-in-law's house, where he was treated with great respect, and at night his bed was placed on the top of the roof, but the *wazîr's* son slept below. At midnight the prince's wife got up and dressed herself in her finest clothes, put some sweetmeats and fruit in a tray and came down the stairs[2]. The prince was asleep, but the *wazîr's* son woke and watched her going out. Then he followed her, and what did he see? She went to a *faqîr*, who beat her soundly with a whip, and said: "Why are you so late?" She replied: "I was delayed because my husband

[94] The words, however, occur Anp. § 48.

[1] A folktale recorded from the lips of Mahtâbô, an old Musalmân cook-woman of Mirzâpur, and literally translated.

[2] There is an incident like this, in the *Arabian Nights*, of the Princess who loved the negro.

came to-day." The *faqîr* answered: "Well! Go, cut off your husband's head and bring it to me. Then I will be assured that you love me." So she went, cut off her husband's head and brought it to the *faqîr*. Then the *faqîr* beat her again, and said: "Since you do not belong to your husband, whose are you? Go, and never come near me again." Then she took her husband's trunk and head and placed them near the *wazîr's* son. He rose, tied them up in a cloth, put them on his horse and rode off to his wife's house. There he was treated with great respect and exactly the same events occurred. For at midnight *his* wife got up and went out. He took his sword, followed her and saw her go to a *faqîr*. He asked her why she was late, and she answered that her husband had come and delayed her. On hearing this the *faqîr* was greatly pleased, and said: "I will give you whatever you ask." She said: "I will consult my father and mother, and then say what I want." So she went and consulted them. They said: "God has given us all we want. Ask your husband: perhaps he may want something." Then she asked her husband and he replied: "My friend has had his head cut off. I wish him to be restored to life." So the lady went again to the *faqîr* and asked him to restore her husband's friend to life.

The *faqîr* gave her some water, and told her to instruct her husband to sprinkle it on the head and trunk of his friend and he would recover. So this was done, and when the prince's head was joined on to his trunk and the water sprinkled over him he revived, and said: "I have had a fine sleep. What time is it?" But when he looked round he said: "This is not the place where I went to sleep." Then the *wazîr's* son told him the whole story. The prince thanked his friend, and they stayed there.

Some days afterwards they both went out to hunt, and being tired out the prince became very thirsty. The *wazîr's* son seated him under a tree, and went to search for water. With difficulty he found a tank and brought some water. When the prince drank he said: "This water is very sweet. I want to see the place where you got it." So the *wazîr's* son took him there. But on the way he recollected that on the edge of the tank he had seen the image[3] of a very lovely woman, and he thought: "Perhaps he may want her." So he excused himself by saying the place was very dirty. But the prince insisted on going there, so the *wazîr's* son could not help taking him there, but he tried not to take him in that particular direction. However, the prince would walk all round the place, and when he saw the image, he said: "I will never leave this till you marry me to the original of this image." The *wazîr's* son remonstrated, but in vain. Finally, the *wazîr's* son had to promise to search for the woman, and told the prince to sleep in a tree there until he returned. When night fell, the prince ascended a tree on the edge of the tank, and at midnight a snake came out, who had a jewel in his mouth. When he touched the water with the jewel, it all dried up; and in the middle of the tank a door appeared. Then the snake put down his jewel, and by its brilliancy the whole place was illuminated. Then the snake began to drink the dew. When morning approached he again touched the tank with the jewel and the water returned.

In the morning the prince descended from the tree. Then the prince prepared an iron trap and a rope, and again at night climbed up the tree. At midnight the snake appeared and put down his jewel under the tree, where the prince was. When he had gone a little distance, lapping up the dew, the prince put the iron trap down on the jewel, and the moment its brilliancy was obscured the snake came up in a rage, and began to beat his head with such violence against the trap, that at last he died. Then the prince came down, secured the jewel and entered the tank. The water gave way before him; so he opened the door and entered.

When he came into the first room, what did he see but a bed of silver and over it a coverlet of silver, and on it was sleeping a silver fairy (*chândî kî ek parî*). She was extremely lovely, and there were two necklaces of silver — one at her feet and the other at her head. These he took up and examined and put them down, but by mistake he placed the necklaces in the

[3] The word used is *taswîr*.

[4] Or ruby fairy (*la'l parî*).

reverse order: and as he did so the fairy got up and said: "Why have you killed my master the snake, and dared to enter here?" The prince answered: "Yes, I have killed him. Had you killed him, you would have been my mistress."

Then the prince went into another room and saw a golden fairy sleeping on a golden couch. She was even lovelier than the silver fairy. Her necklaces also he displaced and she woke. She asked him the same question and he gave the same answer.

Then the prince entered the third room and there he saw the red fairy[4] (*lâl parî*) asleep: and she was even lovelier than the other two. Her necklaces he also displaced. She also awoke, asked the same question and got the same answer.

Then he went into the fourth chamber and there he saw the jewel fairy (*jawâhir parî*) and she was the queen of all, and it was her image which was set up at the tank. When the prince saw her loveliness he was confounded and bit his finger (*dânt se unglî dabâî*). The fairy was greatly surprised how a human being managed to get there. So she asked him: "How did you find me out, and how did you manage to kill my master the snake, by a blast of whose breath a man will die?" So the prince told her how he had seen her image, and how the moment he saw it he had fallen in love with it. "I made a vow," said he, "that I would never leave this place until I married the woman, of whom this was the image." So he described to her the end of the snake, and she said: "We are all slaves of him who is master of the jewel," and she married the prince and they lived together.

One day the prince and the fairies went for a walk on the edge of the tank, when suddenly they saw an army approaching and retired into the tank. But as she ran in the jewel fairy dropped one of her shoes on the ground.[5]

Now, there was a king of another land, and he had a son, who had only one eye.[6] He had gone out hunting and by chance came to the tank and saw the fairy's shoe. He took it and went home, and threw himself on his couch and refused to eat or drink. Then his father thought he was sick and asked him what was the matter with him. So the one-eyed prince told him the story, and said: "Until I marry the owner of the shoe I will neither eat nor drink." Finally his father induced him to get up, on the promise that he would send a wise old woman to trace the fairy. So the king called all the wise women, and asked each what her powers were. The first said: "I can make a hole in the sky." The king said: "That is no use." The second said: "I can put a patch in the sky." "You are no use," said the king. The third said: "I can neither make a hole in the sky nor patch it, but if you want any particular woman I can get her by fraud and trickery." "You are the person I want, and I will reward you nobly if you bring this fairy."

So the wise woman made a flying bed (*urân khatôlâ*) and came to the tank. There she stayed some days until one evening the fairies came out, and when she saw them the wise woman began to weep. Then the jewel fairy asked her what was the matter. She replied: "Why are you asking me? Don't you know me. I am your family barberess (*nâîn*). Your mother was exactly like you, but she is dead, and you never think of me, and now I am dying of hunger." The jewel fairy believed her, and in pity took her home and entertained her.

When the old woman had been there some time, one day, when the prince was asleep, she asked the fairy where his life was — whether in his heart or in something else.[7] The fairy replied: "Formerly it was in his heart, but since he has become master of this jewel his life has come into that." Then she had to go into the other room and the old woman snatched up the jewel. She went to the jewel fairy and found her feeding her parrot Hîraman. So she said to the fairy: "Let us take the parrot out for an airing." She agreed, and they went

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[5] We are now embarked on a variant of Cinderella.

[6] *Kânâ*, always an evil sign in India.

[7] There is an incident like this in *Old Deccan Days*, Seventee Bai's necklace held her life. [For many other instances of the life index, see *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 404, ff. ED.].

outside the tank. There the flying couch was placed, and the old woman asked the fairy to sit on it. At first she objected, but finally agreed, and the old woman flew off with her, and while she was in the air threw into the sea the jewel, which contained the life of the prince. But, as it fell into the ocean, Hîraman, the parrot, was watching her.

When they reached the king's palace he was much pleased, and his one-eyed son was delighted and wanted to marry the fairy straight off. But she replied: "Take care! this old woman has stolen me by deceit from my husband, and if you say a word to me now I will burn you up into ashes. But this I will do. If any one comes to claim me within six months, I will go with him. If not I will marry you." Then she began from that day to give daily alms (*sadâ bart*) to the poor.

When the wazîr's son went to search for the woman, with whose image the prince had fallen in love he went wandering about through woods and lands and cities. One day he met a demon (*dêô*) and they became great friends; and the demon promised to accompany him and assist him in his enterprise. Soon after they met a monkey, and him also they took as their companion. Six months all but passed and the jewel fairy was distributing alms daily, but no one appeared to rescue her, and she was forced to agree to marry the one-eyed prince. On the last day the *wazîr's* son appeared by chance, and he came to get alms, because he had become quite destitute. When he saw the jewel fairy he took out a picture (*taswîr*) of the lady's image and examined it. When the fairy saw him looking at the picture she took him aside, and he told her the whole story. She told him that she was married to the prince, with whom she was well pleased, and that the old woman had stolen her away by fraud. Then the *wazîr's* son told her to prepare to escape with him, that he would arrange to burn the city and destroy the king's people that night, and that she was to keep the flying couch, on which she had been brought, ready.

Then he went to the demon and the monkey and told them that he intended to carry off the fairy. So he instructed the demon to stand at the gate and kill all that passed, and he told the monkey to go, when an hour or two of night had passed, to the shop of a confectioner (*halwâi*) and take a burning stick from there and set the city on fire. So he went and sat near the place where the fairy was staying, the demon took his post at the gate, and the monkey fired the city. When the people rushed to the gate in confusion the demon began to devour them. Then the *wazîr's* son climbed up to the upper storey.

So he carried off the fairy and the old woman on the flying couch, and as they passed over the ocean the parrot Hîraman dived down and recovered the jewel; and the wazîr's son dropped the wicked old woman into the sea. When they came to the tank he left the flying couch outside, and went into the underground palace. When he placed the jewel near the prince he woke and said: "I have had a good sleep." But when his glance fell on the *wazîr's* son he was sore displeased and wanted to drive him out. But when the fairy told him how the old woman had abducted her, and how she had been recovered by the *wazîr's* son, he embraced his friend, wept over him and thanked him.

They stayed there some days, and the prince proposed to go home. When preparations were made they came out of the tank and there saw an old woman, who was weeping with one eye and laughing with the other. The *wazîr's* son asked who she was: and he signed to the king's son to go on ahead. Then the *wazîr's* son asked why she was both weeping and laughing. Then she said: "I am weeping because on the road by which the prince is going there is a tree, and as he passes under it the thickest branch will fall on him and he will be crushed to death. Hence he ought to avoid this tree. Then, when he comes into a certain forest a tiger will charge out and carry off him and his horse. Hence the horses should be sent alone and the tiger will carry off one of them. Then, when he arrives at the palace the iron gate will fall on him. Hence the gate should be knocked down before he approaches it and replaced by a gate of flowers. Then, when the prince sits to eat with his father there will be a great thorn in

the first fruit he touches, which will stick in his throat and kill him, but he will escape if any one snatches the fruit from his hands and flings it away. Then the first night that he sleeps in his father's palace a snake will come down from the ceiling and bite him and his wife, so that they will die. But if any one were to sit in the room and kill the snake when he appears, both the prince and his wife will live many days. But if you speak a word of this to them you will be turned into stone and will remain stone until the prince and princess dash their eldest son upon you; but when they fling the child at you speak not a word. But behind the palace is a tree and on this a large winged bird (*garpankh*) has built its nest: take some of its dung, rub it on the child and it will come to life again."

So the *wazîr's* son left the old woman and went to the prince, and they all started together. On the way they came to the tree and the *wazîr's* son prevented the prince from approaching it. Suddenly a branch came crashing down, which would certainly have crushed him, and the prince thanked the *wazîr's* son for saving his life. Further on the *wazîr's* son kept the prince away from the horses, and lo! a tiger rushed out and carried off one of them. Again the prince thanked him for saving his life. When they approached the palace the *wazîr's* son asked the prince to wait a little, and he would go ahead and announce his arrival. He went ahead and removed the iron gate of the palace and replaced it with a gate of flowers. Then he invited the prince to follow him. When the prince saw a gate of flowers instead of the iron gate he was sore displeased and said: "You have caused my father great loss." But when the gate fell down he saw that he again owed his life to his faithful friend, and promised in future to obey his advice.

His father was delighted to see him again. So, when the prince sat down to eat with his father, the *wazîr's* son stood on his right, and as he tried to eat the first morsel his friend knocked it out of his hand. Then the prince was wroth and called to one of his attendants to seize him. But the *wazîr's* son said: "First look at the morsel you were about to eat:" and lo! it was found to contain a deadly thorn. So the prince again asked his pardon.

When the prince and princess retired to their chamber the *wazîr's* son remained sitting outside, and when it was near midnight he took a sword and entered the room, and immediately a poisonous snake descended from the roof and approached the bed of the prince. Then the *wazîr's* son cut the snake in pieces, but two drops of the blood fell on the face of the fairy princess and she awoke, and as she awoke, this roused the prince, who raised a sword and would have slain the son of the *wazîr*. But he shewed him the dead snake under the bed. So he again begged the *wazîr's* son to pardon him, and asked: "How did you learn about all these events?" So the *wazîr's* son said: "All your dangers are now passed; and you will live in safety. But do not ask me how I acquired this knowledge, or you will repent it." But the prince said: "You shall not leave this until you explain the matter." So the *wazîr's* son perforce had to tell all he learnt from the old woman: but as he went on with the story, so he began to turn into stone; and when he had turned into stone as far as his breast the prince began to weep and said: "I have been very careless. Don't go on with the story." He replied: "What is the use of my living on in this state?" If you wish to revive me again you must dash your first child at me." So saying he turned into stone, and the prince never ceased lamenting him until the princess had her first child. Then he threw the baby at the wazîr's son, and he became a man again, and without saying a word to any one he went off and got a piece of the dung of the large winged bird, which he rubbed on the baby, whereupon it revived and they all lived happily ever after.[8]

[8] [I have never read a stronger instance than this tale in support of my old arguments, that in the incidents and not in the thread of a story is to be found the true folklore tradition. Our friend Mahtâbô, the cook, has jumbled together, in the most interesting fashion to the 'folklorist,' an extraordinary number of incidents properly belonging to different classes of tales. There is not an idea in it that could not easily be found in the various Indian tales reported already in these columns, but the general thread of the story is the well-worn theme of the friend who saves the hero at the risk of his own life. — ED.]

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON THE TASHON AND BAUNGSHE CHINS, WITH REMARKS ON THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND AGRICULTURE.[1]

Races:— Beginning from the north, we have first the Kànhôs or Kàntôn-Kànhôs, who inhabit the hills immediately south of Maṇipûr.

South and south-east of these come the Siyins and Sagyîlaings, while farther south lies the great Tashôn country, lying in the hills drained by the Nànkaþè River south of Maṇipûr and extending to the Tyau, the north-eastern tributary of the Kôladain; farther south lies the Baungshê country inhabited by the Hâkà, Tlantlang, and Yôkwà tribes, and containing, besides these, many independent villages stretching down to 22° 10′ of latitude.

My work has lain entirely in the Tashôn and Baungshê country, and it is about these that I propose to make a few remarks.

Tashôns.—The capital of the Tashôn country is Falam, a village of about 400 houses Here live Sònpêk, Mànlôn, Kalyàn, Bwêmôn, Winsau, and the other Chiefs who rule the Tribe. Falam is situated on the north-west face of the Balumà range, and looks down into the Nànkaþè River and across its deep valley on to the steep slopes of the northern side, where many villages can be seen nestling on the hillsides.

During our visit to Falam the chiefs showed the greatest reluctance to give information about their country or its resources. Moreover, they pretended to be unable to give us a list of their villages, and we had to be content with knowing their boundaries, which they said were the following:—

On the North.—The Siyin, Sagyîlaing, and Kànhò Country.

On the South.—The Yôkwà, Hâkà, and Tlantlang Tracts.

On the East.—The Myitþâ Valley and the Yômàdung, west of Minlèdaung.

On the West.—The Tyau River.

For the reasons given above, we could get little information regarding their manners and customs, but, from what we could see, it was abundantly clear that some sort of law and order prevails, and that there is considerable security for life and property. This last was evidenced by the fact that in the Karôn Laiyò Valley we came upon single homesteads built here and there like farmhouses; and, except at Minkin, which is a frontier village, there was no attempt at stockades, except such as had been hastily erected near Falam for our reception.

We could also see that the authority of the chiefs, who seem to act collectively and not individually, is very much respected and feared.

The country, so far as we could see, seemed to be thickly populated, considering the enormous areas which it is necessary to cultivate in order to produce sufficient food. Indeed, I should think that, unless improved methods of agriculture are introduced, many of the Tashôns will be obliged to seek fresh fields before many years. Nowhere in the Tashôn country did I observe any virgin forest, except small patches near the tops of high hills. Elsewhere the country is covered with small-growth trees, shrubs, and grass, which are cut down every three or four years and the land cultivated, as other clearings become exhausted through continuous cropping.

It struck me that there was a greater struggle for existence in the Tashôn than in the Baungshê country, and that this probably accounted for the greater love of order which prevails. Moreover, the people have little time to give to raiding, and it is a curious fact that there are no slaves in the Tashôn country. Altogether, to a casual observer, the Tashôns are much in advance of the other neighbouring tribes, and I have great hopes that, as their country opens up and their people begin to find that money and food can be easily obtained by labouring in Burma, we shall get them to work on our roads and other public works.

Baungshês.—The Baungshês are known as Poi to the tribes on the Bengal border. They are also called Poi by the Tashôns. The term Baungshê is a Burmese word which simply means "long turban." I could see no difference between the head-dresses of the Hâkàs and the Tashôns, but to the Burmese the word Baungshê has a well-defined meaning, and does not include the Tashôns, who are known by the latter name only. I have already defined the area inhabited by the Baungshês, by which term I propose to denominate them.

Baungshê Language.—The language spoken by the Baungshês resembles that of the Tashôns in so many respects, that both appear to me to be simply dialects of the same language. Even amongst the Baungshês themselves there is some

[1] Printed originally as a Government paper, by the Chief Commissioner of Burma. The notes were made by Mr. D. Ross, Political Officer in the Chin Hills.

diversity of tongue, but the differences are dialectic, and are never so great that an intelligent man from Hâkà could not find his way about any part of the Baungshê country.

To the south of the Baungshês, between them and the Chinbôks, there are a number of large villages, whose inhabitants are said to speak a tongue which is not understood either by Baungshês or Chinbôks. These people dwell about the headwaters of the Myitþâ, and seldom or never come down to Burma. Consequently little is known about them, but I hope it will be possible to study them soon.

Origin of the Baungshês : — To return to the Baungshês and their origin. I have been unable to meet anyone who can throw even a legendary light on their history beyond five or six generations.

This is not hard to explain, when we remember that they have no written language and no means of recording dates. **The Chin has no names for the months or the days of the week, and no division of time except into the wet, cold, and hot seasons, and the changes of the moon, day and night, and morning, noon, and evening.**

The headmen of Hâkà, while knowing nothing of their origin, say that all the other villages of the circle are offshoots from the parent village.

Religion.—The Chins are spirit-worshippers, and offerings are made to the spirits who control their destinies. The *nàts* (spirits) have each a local habitation and a name. There are five altogether near Hâkà, and of these the greatest of all and the most powerful is the Rông Nàt, whose home is in the thick forest on the Rôngtlang Peak. After the Rong Nàt comes the Mwê Nàt, whose favourite haunt is the neighbourhood of a large tree below Hâkà village. Other minor *nàts* are the Hêngtàn Ar'man Nàt, the K'òring Nàt, and the Naurai Nàt.

In Hâkà there is a high priest, called the Tlang Bwê, without whose presence no sacrifice may be made to the Rông Nàt or the Mwê Nàt. He it is who makes the incantation over the animal before it is slaughtered. In general the Rong Nàt and the Mwê Nàt are asked that the rains may be abundant, that sickness and pain may not come amongst the people, that they may be successful against their enemies, &c. These festivals take place at no stated times, but generally once a year. When it is decided to sacrifice to either of these spirits, the whole of the people in the Hâkà circle subscribe something towards the purchase of the necessary animal, which is generally a *maiþan* or a pig, together with a black hen. These are killed outside of the village and the head is cut off and roasted on the spot and is eaten by the Tlang Bwê and the people of the village. The rest of the flesh is divided into portions, one for each family, the Tlang Bwê taking two shares.

Sacrifices to the minor spirits can be made without the intervention of the Tlang Bwê. When a man decides to make a sacrifice he hangs up a bunch of green leaves at the entrance to his house, which the neighbours know to be a sign that he is offering to the spirits and, therefore, must not be disturbed.

During the day the person making the offering must not talk to any one, neither may he do any work. For sacrifices of this kind a young cock or a mole suffices.

The office of Tlang Bwê is an hereditary one in Hâkà, and some peculiar privileges are attached to it. For instance, if a *maiþan* cow anywhere in the Hâkà circle outside of the mother village gives birth to a calf, the Tlang Bwê receives a basket of millet or some other grain.

Funeral ceremonies.—The Chins bury their dead in deep graves dug inside the house enclosure. A chief is buried in a sitting posture with his chief's plume on his head and his best clothes on. In cases where a chief leaves no son his gun is buried with him The funeral, like all other events in a Chin's life, is celebrated with feasting and drinking, tinged with a strain of mourning. If a Chin is killed by enemies, it is not considered lucky to inter his body in the village, and accordingly it is buried outside. I saw an instance of this at Yôkwà, where a new-looking grave was pointed out to us as the burial-place of a man, who a few weeks before had been shot by a patrol west of Gangò.

Laws.—Amongst the Chins certain customs have obtained the force of law, but in general they have no recognized means of enforcing these customs, except in very small matters, and the only real law is the law of might. Adultery is theoretically punishable with death, but the carrying out of the law depends on the social standing of the parties. For example, a chief's son may commit adultery with the wife of a poor man, or of a slave, and he is protected by his position and the influence of his friends. And this is the same in other cases. Theoretically men are punishable, but practically they are seldom punished. A case in point occurred in our own time. Shwêlên, son of Chief Lwê Shàn, in a drunken brawl injured one of his father's servants so badly that he died. Shwêlên then ran away to Aibur, not to escape from justice,

but to escape from the wrath of his father, who had lost a valuable servant. In a few days the father's anger melted away and a younger brother went and called Shwêlên, who was received like the prodigal son. After his return it was necessary for him to " wash his hands," to use a Chin metaphor, which consisted in slaying a bullock, of which the whole village partook, and thus the guilt was washed away.

Chiefs.—The Chief or Boi class is a numerous one amongst the Chins. A chief's son is also a chief, and descent from a chief is regarded with as much pride as a lofty lineage in Europe. A Chin, be he ever so dirty or poor, has only to prove his descent from a chief to be at once accorded an honourable position.

In Hâkà there are two principal chiefs, Lwê Shàn and Lyen Mô; but, besides these, there are scores of others, who are related to them, and who claim a voice in the affairs of the tribe. The same may be said of all the other Chin tribes and villages, not only those which are independent, but also those which pay tribute. All the villages in the Hâkà circle pay some tribute to the Hâkà Chiefs, but it is very difficult to find out the exact relations which exist between them. This will be understood, when I explain that the right to levy taxes (I use this term for want of a better) is an hereditary one, and a landlord has the right to subdivide it on his decease. Owing to this subdivision, and the intermarriage of members of one family with those of another in a distant village, the claims to get something are often curiously mixed up. One person has the right to get a pig once a year, another gets a basket of grain, another gets a quarter of any animal slaughtered, and so on.

Agriculture.—Agriculture is practised by the Chins in its rudest forms. The only implements used are small axes, *damás*, and a little hoe. The axe and *damá* are used for felling the jungle, and the hoe for planting the seed and for hoeing up the weeds and grass.

The principal food-grains grown by the Chins are *fang* or millet, *fungvai* or Indian-corn, *mum* or Jacob's tears, *bè* or beans and peas, *farsung* or paddy, *rah* or giant bean. There are ten varieties of millet, three of Indian-corn, four species of legume with many varieties, and three varieties of paddy. The food-staples are *fungvai*, or *fang* with yams. The only fruits cultivated by the Chins are plantains, peaches, figs, oranges, and apples; but strawberries, raspberries, cherries, pears, and plums are found wild. The raspberries are quite equal to those found wild in England, but the other wild fruits are not fit to eat.

The work of the season is commenced by cutting down the jungle and hoeing up the grass and weeds. This is done in December and January, and the clearings are burnt early in March. Seed is sown early in April, when showers may be expected. *Fang* is the first to ripen and begins to be harvested about the middle of July. This is quickly followed by *fungvai*, after which almost immediately come the peas and beans. Sweet potatoes are grown near streams and are obtained throughout the year, but the principal crop is dug in the cold weather. Pumpkins of various kinds, brinjals (*aubergines*), beans, and peas are the only green vegetables grown.

Trade.—Trade amongst the Chins may be divided into two heads, internal and external.

The internal trade is confined to exchanging property, such as guns, knives, cattle, or grain for food or drink; but trade, as such, can hardly be said to exist.

The external trade is somewhat brisker. The articles in most demand are salt, cotton blankets, iron, silk, and gongs. These are purchased or exchanged for money, beeswax, fishing-nets, an occasional elephant's tusk, saltpetre, plantains, chillies.

The Chins have considerable herds of common cattle as well as *maiban*, but they show no disposition to sell them and ask extravagant prices. They are used only for slaughter purposes, the hides being eaten and the horns remaining attached to the head, which is impaled on a post outside the village. Goats are also found at most villages, but never in large numbers. These also are killed and eaten.

Fowls and eggs are largely produced and are sold freely. These, however, are articles of local trade and could not be exported at a profit.

Population.—Tashôns.—I have already stated that the Tashôns were unwilling to afford information about their country, and I am therefore unable to do anything but guess at the population. It is said, but I know not with what authority, that they can collect 10,000 fighting men, which I take to mean that they have 10,000 houses, and, allowing an average of five persons to each house, we thus arrive at a total of 50,000, which I think is not an extravagant estimate.

Hâkàs.—The Hâkàs possess about 2,500 houses which, at five persons to each house, gives them a total population of 12,500.

Yôkwàs.—The Yôkwàs, estimated in the same way, have a population of about 3,000.

Tlantlangs.—The Tlantlangs are about 7,500, but about them I am not so certain as about the Yôkwàs and Hâkàs.

Independent Baungshês.—I estimate the independent Baungshê villages south of Yôkwà and Hâkà at 2,500 houses, which, computed as above, gives a population of 12,500.

The totals therefore are—

Tashôns	50,000
Hâkàs	12,500
Yôkwàs	3,000
Tlantlangs	7,500
Independent Baungshês.	12,500
Total ...	85,500

NOTES AND QUERIES.

GOOD AND BAD OMENS IN MADRAS.

If a person comes across the following when starting on a journey, or on a special errand, it is a good omen : — a married woman, a virgin, a prostitute, two Brâhmaṇs, the playing of music, any money, fruit, a light, an umbrella, any food, milk, curds, mutton, precious stones, sandalwood, rice, a cow, a bull, an elephant, a horse, a pot full of water, a pot of *tâḍî*, a black monkey, a dog, a deer, a corpse, a royal eagle, any honey, fish, the recital of the *Vêdas*.

But if he comes across any of the following, it is a bad omen:—one or three Brâhmaṇs, a widow, any fuel, smoke, a snake, a new pot, a blind man, a lame man, a pot of oil, any leather, salt, a tiger.

If a person places his head always towards the east in the sleeping posture, he will obtain wealth and health: if towards the south, a lengthening of life: if towards the west, fame: if towards the north, sickness. So a person should not lay his head to the north while sleeping.

If you dine with a friend, or relative, on Monday, Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday, it is well: if on a Tuesday, there will ensue an ill-feeling: if on a Thursday, endless enmity: if on a Sunday, hatred.

If, when you are leaving the house, your head or feet strike accidentally against the threshold, you must not go out, as it foretells that some mischief will befall you.

When the *thalî* or the sacred jewel on a thread worn round the neck of a Brâhmaṇ woman is lost, it is an omen that her husband will fall ill or be lost soon.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN MADRAS.

When an elderly person calls on his friends or relations and expects to see their children, he should generally take with him some sweetmeats to be given to the children.

Upanayanam is the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread. In this rite a mark is made on the forehead with a paste of cummin seed and sugar, which is called the *upanayanam* (*upa* = extra, *nayanam* = eye, or extra eye), and also the mental eye. This ceremony generally takes place before a Brâhmaṇ boy attains his twelfth year. If it is delayed longer the boy is classed with the Sûdras.

Puṇyavâchanam are rites of purification. Literally the term means "something said on a good day," (*puṇya* = good, *vâchanam* = word). The rites consist in bathing the body (*snânam*): seating the principal persons upon wooden seats in the midst of assembled guests and relations, and announcing the ceremony of *saṁkalpam* : *i.e.*, the worship of Gaṇêśa as the god of wisdom, who is adored in the shape of a cone made of turmeric powder and water, placed upon rice contained in a silver tray. This ceremony is performed on the twelfth day after confinement or delivery, on which day the days of pollution are said to cease. The husband, who has grown his hair from the day of conception till now, may shave when the ceremony is over.

Among the Brâhmaṇs the host and the hostess call with the family priest on their friends and relations in the place on the day previous to a marriage, generally towards the evening, and invite them to the ceremonies and to all meals during the days of the marriage celebration. In token of the invitation the priest presents them with a little holy rice or *mantarakshadai*. The invitation party is always accompanied with music. Among the lower castes printed invitations are distributed with *pân supâri* by some male member of the house, told off for this duty, to the friends and relations in the place.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

SANSKRIT WORDS IN BURMESE.

(1) Thinjàn. In the *Rangoon Gazette* of the 6th April, 1892, there appeared the following paragraph:—

"At 8 hrs. 34 m. 48s. p. m. on Monday, the full moon of 'Naung Tagû, 1253, (11th April, 1892,) three guns will be fired from the Port Officer's Flag Staff at Rangoon and from the

Court House at Mandalay on account of the Burmese Thingyan (Thinjàn). The new year, 1254, B. E, will begin at 0 hrs. 36 m. p.m. on Thursday, the 2nd waning of 'Naung Tagû, 1253, (14th April, 1892)."

Thinjàn (*th* as in 'thin') means to the Burmese, the occasion on which the head of Brahmâ in the custody of seven female spirits, is transferred from one to another at the commencement of each new year, and has several interesting derivatives, *e g.*, *thinjànjà* and *thinjàn-atájà*, letting go the head: *thinjànjàt* and *thinjàn-atájàt*, the passage of the head: *thinjàndet* and *thinjàn-atádet*, taking up the head: and lastly *thinjank'ò*, the state of washing the king's head at the new year in order to wash away the sins of the people, one of the many curious Court expressions now passing into oblivion.

The word *thinjàn* is, however, the Skr. *saṅkrama*, the passage of a planetary body through a zodiacal sign, by which the Burmese understand the passage of the sun at the commencement of the new year, the *sankrânt* of the modern Hindu. The word in Burmese is spelt both *saṅkran* and *san8kran*, pronounced *thinjàn*. The Pâli word is *saṅkama*. The Skr. derivation of *thinjàn* is therefore clear.

(2) Thinthagayaik = the Sanskṛit Language. This word is written *Saṁsakaròk* = *Sanskṛita*. Compare *amròk* (*ante*, p. 94, there misprinted *amrôt*) for *amṛita*. The Pâli word for the Sanskṛit Language is *Sakkata* or *Sakkaṭa*. The Skr. derivation of the Burmese word is here very clear.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, LAHORE. COMPILED BY CHAS. J. RODGERS, M.R.A.S, etc. Published by order of the Pâñjâb Government Quarto, paper cover, Calcutta. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1891.

Uncatalogued cabinets of coins are little better than useless collections of old metal, whereas a cabinet of very modest dimensions, if provided with an adequate catalogue, may prove to be the source of much valuable historical and numismatic information. India, unfortunately, does not possess any collection of coins which can compare with the European cabinets of the first rank, and, until a very short time ago, can hardly be said to have possessed any public collection. Now, thanks to the exertions of Mr. Rodgers, Dr. Hoernle, Dr. Bidie, Mr. Edgar Thurston, Dr. Führer, and others, helped by the patronage of the Government of India and the Local Governments, valuable public collections have been accumulated, and continue to grow, at Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, and Lahore. I have not heard of the Bombay Government forming any cabinet of coins.

The principal public collection in India is that in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and I understand that Mr. Rodgers is engaged in cataloguing it. Mr Edgar Thurston has done good sound work in the issue of several little catalogues of the coins in the Madras Museum. No catalogue of the Lucknow collection has, so far as I am aware, been published. The subject of this notice is a catalogue of the coins in the Lahore Museum, compiled by Mr. C. G Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.

Before proceeding to discuss the book under review I shall take the liberty of recording a protest against the scandalous indifference shown by the Pañjâb Government to the encouragement of archæological research, that is to say, to the reconstruction of the history of India prior to the Muhammadan conquest. Madras used to be open to reproach on the same account, but the Government of that Presidency is now wide awake, and is engaged in directing well-planned and well-executed measures for the recovery of the lost history of the territories under its charge. The Bombay Government has given ample proof of its intelligent interest in the past by the magnificent series of volumes of the Archæological Survey of Western India. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, ever since the time when Sir John Strachey was Lieutenant Governor, early neglect has been atoned for by considerable, though not lavish, patronage of archæological investigations. The efforts of the Government of Bengal have not always been happily guided, but, at any rate, something has been done, and the administration is not open to the reproach of absolutely neglecting all enquiry into the history of the vast regions committed to its care. For the past thirty years the India Office and the Government of India have been most liberal in their support of archæological enquiry, and have done, I think, all that could reasonably be expected of them. It has been reserved for the Government of the Pañjâb to earn the ignominious distinction of displaying an utter indifference to the early history of its territories, which cannot be paralleled by any other administration in India. Yet, as all readers of the *Indian Antiquary* well know, the Pañjâb is to the archæologist, as it is to the statesman, by far the most interesting province of India.

Mr. Rodgers' catalogue of the coins in the Lahore Museum is apparently the only archæological publication issued under the patronage of the Pañjâb Government for many years past. The book is enclosed, it cannot be said that it is bound, in a flimsy paper cover which falls off at the first perusal. It is to be hoped that the authorities in the Pañjâb, when next they issue a book for the use of historical students, will harden their hearts, and at least venture on the expense of boards.

In Mr. Rodgers' work nineteen pages are devoted to a general introduction, including an extremely imperfect bibliography, one hundred and forty-nine pages to the main catalogue, thirty-one pages to a supplementary catalogue of coins recently acquired by the Museum, and four pages to Pâlî coin inscriptions, with transliterations, and a plate of monogrammatic emblems.

It is a great thing to have a printed catalogue of the Lahore cabinet at all, and I fully appreciate the difficulties of the compiler's task, and the abundant labour and learning which he has expended upon it. Yet it is impossible for any reviewer not to regret the chaotic arrangement of the work, and the neglect of the small details which make perfection. It is confusing to find the early Buddhist Kuninda coins and the Yaudhêya pieces (*page* 23) inserted between the Guptas and the Khalîfas, the Indo-Scythian coins with Hindî legends (*page* 52) placed at the end of the series of the coins of the Sultâns of Dehli, and followed by a class dubbed 'Miscellaneous Old Indian Coins,' which includes pieces of the Indo-Scythian, Gupta, and mediæval periods. Many other instances of eccentric arrangement might be quoted.

Inattention to minor details is shown in a multitude of misprints, in the neglect to distinguish Indian from Bactrian Pâli (Kharôshṭrî) in the table of inscriptions, and in various other ways. The book is printed in such a manner that much space is wasted.

So much for fault finding. I now turn to the pleasanter task of pointing out some of the items of interest to be found in the book.

Mr. Rodgers, in his Introduction, notices sundry *desiderata* in Indian numismatics, and it may be of some practical use to call the attention of readers of the *Indian Antiquary* to the enormous amount of special work, which is required before it can be said that anything like a general account of the coinages of Northern India becomes possible. Mr. Rodgers remarks "how necessary is a *Coin Manual* for India, which should, in one volume, show how much is known at the present day on the subject" That one volume would, I fear, have to be a terribly thick one, and many and grievous would be the gaps in its contents.

It is odd (page v.) that the Lahore Museum should not contain a single specimen of the Mitra Dynasty, generally identified with the Puranic Sungas. Many of the coins of these princes have been described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleyle, but a monograph on the subject is wanted.

"The numismatics of Kaśmîr are full of anomalies (p. vii)." This puzzling subject was long ago treated by Sir A. Cunningham, but there is plenty of room for a more exhaustive treatise on it.

"Much work remains to be done to the coins of Jaunpur. The various types are, as yet, but imperfectly known" At present the brief notice in Thomas' *Chronicles* is the standard account.

The coinages of the local dynasties, such as those of Mâlwâ and Kâṅgṛâ, all require further elucidation.

"The neighbouring (*i. e.*, to Kâṅgṛâ) state of Chambâ also had a coinage of its own. The coins were of copper only, and the characters on them were a kind of Hill Sanskṛit or Ṭhâkurî. On some of the coins are the Râja's name, and that of one of the gods of Chambâ. They have never been written about."[1] (p. xiii). Ten of these coins are catalogued (p. 121).

Pages xiii to xv of the Introduction contain some valuable observations on the coins of the Mughal Emperors, which, as is truly observed, "form an immense series." Nothing approaching a comprehensive account of this immense series exists, and perhaps the most pressing need of the Indian numismatist is that of a fairly complete description of the Mughal coinages, from the time of Bâbar to that of Bahâdur Shâh II., a period of a little more than three centuries. An absolutely complete catalogue is out of the question, because the number of varieties is almost infinite, but the compilation

1 [The States and petty principalities of Paṭiâlâ, Nâbhâ, Jînd, Mâlêr-Kôtlâ, Kaithal, Kapurthalâ, Bahâwalpur, Ambâlâ and Jagâdhrî all had coinages of their own, and, so I am told, had many others besides; George Thomas of Hissâr, for example. Since I wrote my paper on the subject, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 321 ff, I spent but a day or so in Patiâlâ, and picked up gold, silver and copper specimens of some of these mintages new to me, and so far as I know, not even suspected to exist by numismatists. — ED.]

of a sufficiently satisfactory treatise is quite possible, though the task would be far from easy, and it might be difficult to find a publisher.

The absence, throughout the greater part of Mr. Rodgers' catalogue, of references to published catalogues of particular series renders it extremely troublesome to discover whether the Lahore collection contains any remarkable novelties or not, and, as regards most of the coinages, I cannot attempt to examine the collection in detail.

In a recent paper I ventured to doubt the rather hesitating assertion of Mr. Thomas that coins exist bearing the names both of Prithivî Râja and of his conqueror Muḥammad bin Sâm. But the billon coin described at page 35 sets my doubts at rest. The description is as follows :—

"*Billon* :—one specimen, very rare, 48 [*scil.* grains]. *Obv.* Horseman, श्री पृथ्वीराज दव. '*Srî Prithvî Râja Dêva.*' Thos. p. 18, no. 15. *Rev.* Bull, श्री महमद साम, '*Srî Mahammad Sâm.*' "

Paṇḍit Ratan Nârâyan of Dehli also possessed a specimen of this rare type. It is entered as unique in the privately printed catalogue of his collection.

The confused arrangement of the book under review must be my apology for referring next to coins of earlier date.

Nos. 5-8, described at page 53, are coins of the Gupta period, or possibly a little later. No. 5, the only one at all distinct, is thus described by Mr. Rodgers :—

"Wt. 113-2. Diameter. 75. *Obv.* King in armour, standing to right, left hand grasps a staff, right hand is making an offering at an altar. Above right arm is a *trisûl* with fillet. Under left arm *Pasana* or *Pasata*, letters one above the other as on Gupta coins. To right शृ (?) indefinite. *Rev.* Female seated on throne, holds cornucopiæ in left hand, and in right a wreath, as on Gupta coins. To left a monogram not well defined."

I am indebted to Mr. Rodgers for inspection of another specimen of this class. The metal seemed to me to be brass (possibly very impure gold) and the obverse legend clearly to be *Pasata*. The legend outside the spear (staff) was illegible, and the reverse was without legend. I cannot assign these coins.

A copper coin of Toramâṇa is catalogued on page 54. "*Obv.* Seated figure to right (जय). *Rev.* Standing figure to left, श्री तो ...." Coins of this type are said to be common Mr. Rodgers seems to have overlooked the paper by Mr. Fleet on "The Coins and History of Toramâṇa," *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 225-230.

Like so many branches of Indian numismatics, the coinages of Toramâṇa and Mihirakula require further examination. Mr. Rodgers catalogues a few specimens of Mihirakula's copper coinage at page 141, but characteristically omits the king's name from his index.

In his notice of 84 specimens of punch-marked coins (page 110) Mr. Rodgers makes the odd observation that "no paper that I am aware of has ever been written on these punch-marked coins." A good deal has been written on the subject.

The description of a few specimens of the well known Varâha coins, (p. 112) ignores the demonstration by Dr. Hultzsch that they were struck by King Bhôja of Kanauj in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 155, note.)

The Supplement contains some novelties, thus ;—

Two small silver coins of 'Alî, an early Governor of Sindh (page 6) are stated to be "now published for the first time."

On pages 8 and 9 several new coins of the Sulṭâns of Ghaznî are described.

An unpublished variety of the coins of Raẓia (Rizîya) is noticed on page 17.

Two of the exceedingly rare silver coins struck by Humâyûn at Kandahâr are catalogued on page 26.

One of the rare zodiacal coins of Jahângîr, with the sign Taurus, is described on page 27.

V. A. SMITH.

31st Jan. 1892.

Postscript.

Since the above review was written, I have received a copy of a most valuable little book entitled, *Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century, A. D.*, by Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, (Quaritch, 1891). This work, which is illustrated by thirteen autotype plates of coins, and a map of N.-W. India, describes the punch-marked mintages, and the coins of Taxila, Odumbara, the Kunindas, Kosambi, the Yaudhêyas, Pañchâla, Mathurâ, Ayôdhya, Ujain, Êraṇ or Êrakaina, the Andhras, Kârwâr, and Nêpâl. It marks a great advance in the study of Indian numismatics. I hope to have an opportunity of noticing it more at length.

14-2-92. V. A. S.

EKAMRANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GANAPATI; DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 1172.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

THIS inscription is engraved on the north wall of the second *prâkâra* of the Saiva temple of **Êkâmranâtha**, the largest of the numerous temples at **Kâñchîpura**. It consists of 17 Sanskṛit verses in the Grantha character and professes to be an edict (*śâsana*, verses 1, 15, 16, 17) of king **Gaṇapati**, who traced his descent from the **race of the Sun** (verses 5 and 11) and whose immediate ancestors were :—

Betmarâja (v. 8).
His successor : **Prôḍarâja** (v. 9).
" " : **Rudradêva** (v. 10).
The eldest of his four younger brothers : **Mahâdêva** (v. 11).
His son : **Gaṇapati** (v. 12).

Prôḍarâja is said to have constructed a large tank, which he called **Jagatikêsari-taṭâka** after a surname of his (v. 9). **Gaṇapati** claims to have defeated **Siṁhaṇa** and the **Kaliṅga** king, and to have the kings of **Lâṭa** (Gujarât) and **Gauḍa** (Bengal) for vassals (v. 14). His minister (*sachiva*) and general (*sainyapâla*), **Sâmanta-Bhôja**, who belonged to the race of **Dôchi**, appears to have held the appointment of governor (*chakradhârin*) of **Kâñchî**. He was probably a Brâhmaṇa, as he claims to be a member of the Kâśyapagôtra (v. 15). By order of the king, he gave to the **Êkâmra** temple at Kâñchî the village of **Kaḷattûr**[1] (v. 16). The date of the grant was Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyaishṭha of Śâka 1172 (in words), the cyclic year *Saumya* (v. 17). According to Mr. Sewell's *South-Indian Chronological Tables*, the corresponding European date is Tuesday, the 8th June, 1249 A. D.

The dynasty to which Gaṇapati belonged, is not named in the inscription. But the names of two of his predecessors, **Prôḍarâja** and **Rudradêva**, are identical with two kings of the **Kâkatîya**[2] dynasty of Worangal,[3] **Prôla** and his son **Rudradêva**, who are known from the Anumakoṇḍa inscription of Saka 1084.[4] This close agreement and the mention of Gaṇapati as one of the Worangal kings in unpublished inscriptions and local records[5] leave no doubt that the two pairs of names are identical, that the **Gaṇapati** of the subjoined inscription was the nephew of **Rudradêva** of Worangal, and that, at the time of his reign, **Kâñchî** was included in the territories of the Kâkatîya kings. According to the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, Prôla's father was called **Tribhuvanamalla**, while the subjoined inscription mentions **Betmarâja** as the immediate predecessor of Prôḍarâja. It follows from these two statements that Betmarâja was the real name of the father and predecessor of Prôḍarâja, and that Tribhuvanamalla was a *biruda* of his. Thus a combination of both inscriptions furnishes the following short genealogy of the **Kâkatîyas** of Worangal :—

1. Betmarâja, surnamed Tribhuvanamalla, of the race of the Sun.
2. Prôḍarâja or Prôla,[6] surnamed Jagatikêsarin.
   - 3. Rudradêva (Saka 1084).
   - 4. Mahâdêva.
     - 5. Gaṇapati[7] (Saka 1172).
   - *Three other sons.*

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[1] Kaḷattûr is now a large village, after which the next Railway station south of Chinglepnt is called.

[2] Thus the word is spelled in the *Pratâparudrîya*. The Anumakoṇḍa inscription has the forms Kâkatya and Kâkatiya.

[3] This name is spelled Oraṁgallu in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. In a Telugu chronicle (*Madras Journal for* 1881, p. 238) we find the form Orugallu, 'Single Rock,' which tallies with the Sanskṛit name Êkaśilâ; see below, note 12.

[4] Published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff.

[5] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 114 ff. and 172 ff.

[6] *Prôḍa* or *prôla* is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *praudha*; see Brown, *s. v.* prôḍa.

[7] According to local records, Gaṇapati was the son of Rudradêva and nephew of Mahâdêva; see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 77, and Taylor's *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 483. An unpublished inscription, which is quoted by Sir W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 83, agrees with the Êkâmranâtha inscription.

The **Siṁhaṇa** who is reported to have been afraid of **Gaṇapati** (v. 14), was probably the **Yâdava** king **Siṅghaṇa** II. of **Dêvagiri** (Daulatâbâd), who reigned from Saka **1131** to **1169**, and who, in his turn, calls himself 'the uprooter of the water-lily which was the head of the king of **Teluṅga.**'[8] In the Paithan grant of the Yâdava king **Râmachandra,**[9] Siṅghaṇa II. is said to have overcome the **Andhra** king. The predecessor of Siṅghaṇa II., **Jaitugi I.** (Saka 1113 to 1131), is said to have slain the king of **Trikaliṅga** in battle and to have seized the whole of his kingdom. Further "(this) ocean of compassion fetched **Gaṇapati,** the speech of whose mouth was sweet, from the prison-house and made (him) lord of (his) country." Accordingly, Gaṇapati was a contemporary of both Jaitugi I. and Siṅghaṇa II. The king of Trikaliṅga, who was defeated and killed by Jaitugi I., may have been either Gaṇapati's father Mahâdêva or his uncle Rudradêva.[10] The words of the Paiṭhan grant leave it doubtful if Gaṇapati, before he was installed on the throne by Jaitugi I., had been kept imprisoned by this king, or by his own father Mahâdêva, or by his uncle Rudradêva. A still earlier synchronism between the Kâkatîyas and Yâdavas appears to be contained in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription, which states that **Rudradêva** defeated one **Mailigidêva.** This may have been the Yâdava king **Mallugi,** who, according to the Paiṭhan grant, was the predecessor of **Bhillama** (Saka 1109 to **1113**).

Some additional information on the Kâkatîya dynasty may be gathered from the *Pratâparudrayaśôbhûshaṇa* or *Pratâparudrîya*, a treatise on Alaṁkâra. The author of this work, Vidyânâtha, must have been a contemporary of Pratâparudra, as he illustrates the rules of Sanskṛit composition almost exclusively by verses in praise of that king. For the subjoined extracts I am using an edition in Telugu characters, printed at Madras in 1888 with the commentary of Kumârasvâmi-Sômapîthin, the son of the well-known Kôlachala-Mallinâthasûri and younger brother of Peddayârya. The **Kâkatîya**[11] king **Pratâparudra** resided at **Êkaśilânagara,**[12] the capital of the **Andhra** or **Triliṅga** country. The second of these Sanskṛit names of the Telugu country is supposed to owe its origin to three famous *liṅgas* of Siva[13] at **Srîśaila,**[14] **Kâḷêśvara**[15] and **Drâkshârâma.**[16] The hermitage of **Hiḍimba** (Hiḍimbâśrama, p. 130, or Hiḍimbâlaya, p. 131) must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Worangal. Anumakoṇḍa, the former capital of the Kâkatîyas,[17] is referred to by its Sanskṛit name **Hanumadachala** 'the hill of Hanumat' (p. 109). The crest (*mudrâ*) of Pratâparudra was the figure of a boar[18] (*varâha*, pp. 35 and 119, or *krôḍa*, pp. 203 and 307). The name of his mother was **Mummaḍambâ** (p. 12).

Further details about the king and two of his predecessors are given in a panegyrical drama, which forms the third chapter of the *Pratâparudrîya.* The father of **Pratâparudra**

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[8] Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 72.

[9] Published by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 314 ff.

[10] Taylor, *l. c.* states that "Gaṇapati, making war against the Dêvagiri ruler, who had killed his uncle Mahâdêva, conquered that chief, and took his daughter, named Rudramadêvî, to be his wife." But see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 82.

[11] As noticed by Dr. Burnell (*Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 53 f.), the commentary (p. 7) derives this word from Kâkati, a name of Durgâ: — काकतिर्नाम दुर्गा शक्तिरेकशिलानगरेश्वराणां कुलदेवता । सा शक्तिर्भजनीयास्येति काकतीयः.

[12] Êkaśilâ is the Sanskṛit equivalent of Orugallu, on which see p. 197, note 8. The form Êkaśaila (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 12) does not occur in the *Pratâparudrîya* and is probably due to a mistake.

[13] Page 143: — यैर्देशास्त्रिभिरेष याति महतीं ख्यातिं त्रिलिङ्गाख्यया येषां काकतिराजकीर्तिविभवैः कैलासशैलाः कृताः ।
ते देवाः प्रसरत्प्रसादमधुराः श्रीशैलकाळेश्वरद्राक्षारामनिवासिनः प्रतिदिनं त्वच्छ्रेयसे जाग्रतु ॥

[14] In the Karnûl district.

[15] The temple at Kâḷahasti in the North Arcot district.

[16] In the Gôdâvarî district. The commentary notices the form Dâkshârâma, which does really occur in an inscription of Vîra-Chôḍa (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 424), and quotes the following derivation of it from the *Skândapurâṇa*:—दक्षस्यारामभूमित्वाद्दाक्षारामोभिधीयते.

[17] *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 9 f. The original form of this Telugu name seems to be Hanumatkoṇḍa, 'the hill of Hanumat.'

[18] This crest is alluded to in verse 13 of the subjoined inscription.

was **Mahâdêva(?)**;[19] but his immediate predecessor was the daughter of **Gaṇapati** (pp. 132 and 136) by **Sômâ**.[20] Her father **Gaṇapati**,[21] who appears to have been without male issue, had called her his "son" and conferred on her the male name **"Rudra"** (p. 102). At his death she seems to have succeeded him on the throne. In the text of the drama she is always styled "the king" (*râjâ*) and once (p. 123) **Mahârâja-Rudra**,[22] while the commentary (pp. 101 and 104) calls her **Rudrâmbâ**. At the command of the god Svayambhû (Śiva) she adopted her daughter's son **Pratâparudra** and appointed him as her successor.[23] Thus the *Pratâparudrîya* furnishes the following pedigree: —

1. Gaṇapati, md. Sômâ.
   - 2. Rudrâmbâ.
     - Mummaḍambâ, md. Mahâdêva(?).
       - 3. Pratâparudra.

The local records further suggest that No. 1. **Gaṇapati** is identical with No. 5. **Gaṇapati** of the pedigree derived from inscriptions (p. 197, above). Accordingly, **Rudrâmbâ** will be No. 6 and **Pratâparudra** No. 7 in the list of the Kâkatîya dynasty. The only event of **Gaṇapati's** reign, which is alluded to in the *Pratâparudrîya*, is, that he founded a Śaiva shrine called **Gaṇapêśvara** (p. 143). Both Rudrâmbâ (p. 101) and Pratâparudra (p. 42) had the *biruda* **Chalamartigaṇḍa**. **Pratâparudra** is reported to have conquered a large number of distant countries on his *vijayayâtrâ* or grand tour. Repeated mention is made of the defeat of the **Yâdava** king of **Sêvaṇa**. This king had crossed the **Gautamî** (*i.e.* Gôdâvarî) river, north of which his territory must accordingly have been situated, and was put to flight by the commander of an army of Pratâparudra.[24] Among the kings of an early branch of the Yâdavas, which was settled in the Nâsik district, we find three times the name **Sêuṇachandra**.[25] The first Sêuṇachandra founded **Sêuṇapura** at, *i.e.* transferred his capital to, Sindînagara or Sindinêra, the modern Sinnar in the Nâsik district.[26] Later on, the term **Sêuṇadêśa** was employed as the designation of the territories of the Yâdavas of **Dêvagiri**. For, in Hêmâdri's account of the reign of Mahâdêva (Śaka 1182 to 1193), Dêvagiri is said to be included in the country called Sêuṇa;[27] and in the Paiṭhan grant of Râmachandra (Śaka 1193 to 1230), it is stated that the granted village belonged to the country of Sêuṇa and was situated on the northern bank of the Gôdâvarî.[28] This country of Sêuṇa is evidently identical with the country of

[19] This statement rests on the commentator's explanation of a verse (p. 91) which, in my opinion, rather refers to king Gaṇapati than to Pratâparudra. The local records call Pratâparudra's father Vîrabhadra.

[20] Page 102: — सैवोमा चेति निर्दिष्टा सोमा चेति प्रथामगात् । तव माता शिवा [*read* शिवः] साक्षाद्देवो गणपतिः पिता ॥

[21] According to the local records, she was not the daughter, but the widow of Gaṇapati.

[22] Thus the coins of queen Lîlâvatî of Ceylon bear the legend श्रीराजलीलावती, and those of queen Raẓîya of Delhi bear the title السلطان الاعظم.

[23] On page 104, Śiva addresses the queen thus:—

स्वीकृते पुत्रभावेन दौहित्रे प्राङ्ममाज्ञया । अस्मिन्निधेहि धौरेये गुर्वीमुर्वीधुरामिति ॥

The commentator explains प्राक् by जन्मकाले.

[24] Page 156:—रे रे सेवण कस्तवायमनिदंपूर्वो य गर्वो महानुत्तीर्णा किल येन गौतमनदी प्राप्तोसि मृत्योर्मुखम् ।

एषा काकतिवीररुद्र इति किं नाश्रावि सत्ताक्षरी प्रक्षुभ्यत्प्रातिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतप्रहोच्चाटनी ॥

Page 291:—राज्ञो यादववंशपार्थिवमणेः प्रख्यातशौर्यश्रियस्त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरंगसैन्यमहतो मानैकवित्तस्य च ।

सद्यो रुद्रनरेन्द्रनायकचमूनाथेन केनाप्यधिक्षिप्तस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जानाति सा गौतमी ॥

[25] *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 128.

[26] *ibid.* p. 124, and Vol. XVII. p. 118.

[27] Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 87.

[28] *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 315.

Sêvaṇa,[29] which, according to the *Pratâparudrîya*, was situated north of the **Gôdâvarî** and ruled over by a **Yâdava** king. As Pratâparudra reigned from A. D. 1295 to 1323,[30] his Yâdava antagonist must have been **Râmachandra**, the last independent king of Dêvagiri. As suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar,[31] the name Sêuṇadêśa is perhaps preserved in the modern term Khândêś.

The only inscription of **Pratâparudra**, of which I have a copy at hand, is a fragment discovered by my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, on the west wall of the second *prâkâra* of the **Jambukêśvara** temple near Trichinopoly. It is written in the Grantha character, but in the Telugu language. Of the two first lines only the following words are preserved :—

1 . . . . [मे]श्वरकाकतीयप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहारा[जु]लु

2 . . . . [ग]ारु पृथिवीराज्यम् सेयुचुण्डगानु आ राजु

TEXT.

1 स्वस्ति श्रीः [॥*] एतन्निखिलभूपालमौलिमण्डलमण्डनम् [।*] गणपत्यवनीन्द्रस्य चन्द्रार्क्कस्थायि शासनम् । [१*] तेजश्श्रेयसाय स्याद्दृप्यद्दन्तावळाननम् [।*] अनन्यास्वादितस्तन्यशैलकन्या-

2 स्तनन्धयम् ॥ [२*] कुशलमविकलं करोतु कोलस्स किल सरोरुहवासिनीसहा[य]ः [।*] तराति यद्गुरुपोत्रपोतपात्र्या प्रतियुगमेव महोदधिन्धरित्री ॥ [३*] शाश्वतीम् मुदमुदञ्चयता[द्व]श्चन्द्रचूडमुकुटेन्दुकला सा [।*]

3 यामुना स्पृशति नौरिति मौक्ती मौलिमण्डननदीजलकेळौ ॥ [४*] यस्सामग्र्यज्जुषाम् प्रमेयपदवीसीम्नो महिम्नः पदम् यस्तेज[ः*] स्तबकीकृतम् क्रतुभुजाम् कोटयास्त्रयस्त्रिंशतः [।*] तन्नेत्रादुदपद्यते-

4 ष भगवानम्भोजिनीब[ा*]न्धवो । बाह्याभ्यन्तरबन्धुरान्धतमसाहंकारसंहारकः ॥ [५*] तस्मादपथनिपातुकजगतीकरदीपकरणिनीतिकरः[32] [।*] मनुरादिमो नृपाणाम् [सी]मेवाभूदुपाय[ा*]नाम् ॥ [६*] सगरभगी-

5 रथपतिरघुरामाद्यास्तदनु सन्दधुर्द्धरणिम् ॥ अथ गच्छति बहुकाले तदन्वये दुर्ज्जया भियाम् प्राप्तेः ॥ [७*] अभिमतभुजभाजाम् बाहुजानां कुलेस्मिन्नजनि जनित[की]र्त्तिर्भूपतिर्बेत्मराजः [।*][33] अथिगरुड-

6 तुरंगम् प्रेक्ष्य साक्षात्कृतन्तम् प्रथमगरुडवाहम्मेनिरे यम्मनुष्याः ॥ [८*][34] द्विषदुपहृतदृप्यत्दन्तिमेघंकराशो निरविशदथ भूमिम् भूपतिः प्रोडराजः ॥ प्रतिनिधिमुदधीनां सञ्चयन्तोयसृष्टे-

7 रकृत जगतिकेसर्य्याख्यया यस्तटाकम् [॥ ९*] तदनु पवनवेगप्रत्यनीकाश्वधाटीविहितमहितभूभृद्विद्रवो रुद्रदेवः ॥ अलमकृत कुलन्तत् क्ष्मापकोटीरहीरप्रकरमुकुरबिम्बत्पादबिम्बोक(लक)लक्ष्मीः[35] ॥ [१०*]

8 तदनुजगणमुख्यश्श्रीमहादेवराजस्तपनकुलसमुद्राद्याद्दृशः पारिजातः [।*] अलभत दिनदीपच्यापदं यस्य कीर्त्तेरसदृशरुचिजालैरन्यराजन्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ [११*] महादेवमहीपालाज्जातो गणपतिर्न्नृपः [।*] अमी-

9 भिर्व्विक्रमैरेभिर्ग्गुणैराभिर्व्विभूतिभिः ॥ [१२*][36] कोलांक्रोभून्मृगांको [नि]वसति कमले श्रीरिति श्रीवराहः प्राप्तो नैषा प्रियस्योरसि रतिविरतौ लग्नगण्डम् प्रसुप्ता [।*] इत्यालापे सखीनामुषसि सकुतुकम्

10 सत्रपम् सानुतापं हस्ताभ्यां यद्रिपुस्त्री विनमितवदना गण्डपाळी पिधत्ते ॥ [१३*] यदुदयकृतचेतोरिंखणस्सिंहणो यच्चटुलसुभटधाटीदत्तभंगः कालिंगः [।*] अपि च यदुपसेवाजीविनौ ला-

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[29] A further reference to a king of Sêvaṇa is found in Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 68 :—"An inscription of (the Hoysaḷa king) Narasiṁha II. gives a graphic account of a battle between his father (Ballâḷa II.) and a certain Semana or Sevuna, whom he besieged and defeated at Soraṭur near Gadag, and pursued from there up to the Krishṇavêrṇâ, where he slew him, and who was probably the commander-in-chief of Jaitugi's army." Mallinâtha-Oḍeyar, the commander-in-chief of king Bukka of Vijayanagara, claims to be the commander of the Sêvaṇa army (*Sêvana-dala*) and of other armies.—See Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 2 and 5 ; I am quoting from impressions of these two inscriptions, the originals of which are in the Sampige-Siddhêśvara temple at Chitaldroog.

[30] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 173.

[31] *Early History of the Dekkan*, Supplement, p. iv.

[32] Read °करण°.

[33] Read अधि°.

[34] The प of द्विषदुप° is entered below the line.

[35] Read ° बिव्वोकलक्ष्मीः.

[36] The syllables लांको are entered over the line.

11 द्गौडौ गणपतिनृपतेः क[ः] श्लाघते विक्रमाय ॥ [१४*] तस्याज्ञाचक्रधारी प्रथितभुजरुचिस्सै[न्य]पालाग्रगण्यो[37] वाचां वा ताम्रपर्ण्णीमसृणमणिवरः काश्यपश्लाघ्यगोत्रः [।*] काञ्च्यामाकल्पका-

12 लम् गणपतिनृपतेश्शासनं संव्यधत्त श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो गणपतिसचिवो दोग्धिदुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१५*] देवस्यैकाम्रधाम्नो बहुमहिमसपर्य्यावसुन्याससिद्ध्यै ग्राममन्नाम्ना कळत्तूरिति भु-

13 वि विदितं सस्यहृद्यं निवेद्य [।*] काञ्च्यामाकल्पकालं गणपतिनृपतेश्शासनं संव्यधत्त श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो गणपतिसचिवो दोग्धिदुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१६*] शाकाब्दे तु त्रिसप्तत्यधिकशिवशतख्यातसंख्यानमाने सौम्याब्दे

14 [38] श्रेष्ठमासे बहुलहरिदिने भौमवारे समेह्नि [।*] काञ्च्यामाकल्पकालं गणपतिनृपतेश्शासनं[39] संव्यधत्त श्रीमत्सामन्तभोजो गणपतिसचिवो दोग्धिदुग्धाब्धिचन्द्रः ॥ [१७*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

Verse 1. This (*is*) an edict (*śâsana*) of king **Gaṇapati**, which adorns the heads of (*i. e.* which is obeyed by) all kings, and which shall endure as long as the moon and the sun.

2. Let the power (*Gaṇêśa*) which has the face of a rutting elephant, and which has sucked the breast of (*Pârvatî*) the daughter of the mountain, whose milk was tasted by no other, — produce happiness!

3. Let that boar (*Vishṇu*) who is the consort of (*Lakshmî*) that dwells in the lotus, and on whose big snout, as on a boat, the earth crosses the great ocean (*at the end of*) each *yuga*, — produce complete welfare!

4. Let that sickle of the moon on the head of Śiva, which Umâ, sporting in the water of the (*Gaṅgâ*) river that adorns the head (*of Śiva*), touches, (*exclaiming*: "*Here is*) a boat of pearls!" — procure you everlasting bliss!

5. From the eye of (*Śiva*) who is the abode of the greatness (*which is reached*) at the end of the path that is to be known from the *Sâman*, *Ṛich* and *Yajus* (*Vêdas*),[40] and who combines the power of the thirty-three crores of gods, — was produced that god (*viz.* **the Sun**), who is the friend of the lotus plant, and who dispels intensely deep darkness without and egotism within (*the mind*).

6. From him was born **Manu**, the first of kings and master of expedients,[41] who produced (*a treatise on*) right conduct, which supplies a handy lamp to men who are apt to stumble on the wrong path.

7. After him, **Sagara**, the lord **Bhagîratha**, **Raghu**, **Râma** and other (*kings*) of his race, who were hard to be overcome by approaching dangers, ruled the earth in the course of a long period of time.

8. In this race of warriors,[42] whose arms were respected, was born the renowned king **Betmarâja**, whom people, when they saw him on his horse (*called*) Garuḍa, took for the first rider on Garuḍa (*i. e.* for Vishṇu) appearing visibly.

9. Then the earth was enjoyed by king **Prôḍarâja**, who covered the horizon with clouds, (*viz.*) the rutting elephants offered (*as presents*) by his (*conquered*) enemies, and who constructed a tank (*taṭâka*) (*which he called*) by (*his*) name **Jagatikêsarin**[43] (*i. e.* the lion of the earth), which equalled the oceans, and which accumulated the downpour of water.

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37 The first *â* of °पाला° is entered below the line.

38 Read ज्यैष्ठ°.

39 The syllable सं is entered below the line.

40 Śiva is here identified with the universal soul of the Vêdânta philosophy.

41 Literally, 'the limit, as it were, of expedients.'

42 The Kshatriyas are called *bâhuja*, 'arm-born,' because they are supposed to have been produced from Brahmâ's arms.

43 In this compound, as in Kâlidâsa and other names, the final *î* of the first member (*jagatî*) is shortened in accordance with Pâṇini, vi. 3, 63. The synonymous *biruda* Avanisiṁha occurs in verse 20 of an unpublished Pallava grant from Kaśâkûḍi.

10. After him, this race was adorned by **Rudradêva,** who put to flight exalted kings by the attack of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness, and the proud splendour of whose feet was reflected, as by mirrors, by the multitude of the diamonds in the diadems of (*prostrated*) kings.

11. The first of the multitude of his younger brothers, the illustrious king **Mahâdêva,** (*was produced*) from **the race of the Sun,** as the *pârijâta* (*tree*) from the ocean.[44] In consequence of the unequalled splendour of his fame, the fame of other kings experienced the fate of a lamp at day-light.

12. From king **Mahâdêva** was born king **Gaṇapati,** (*who was endowed*) with the same courage, the same virtues, and the same power.

13. "The deer-marked (*moon*) has become boar-marked." "The blessed boar (*or* Vishṇu) has come, because beauty (*or* Srî) dwells in the lotus." "This lady has not slept with her cheeks pressed to the breast of her husband after dalliance." (*Successively*) experiencing curiosity, shame and grief during this morning talk of her maids, the wife of his (*viz.* Gaṇapati's) enemy bends her face down and covers the two marks on her cheeks with both hands.[45]

14. Who can boast of the courage of king **Gaṇapati,** at whose rise **Siṁhaṇa** lost his heart, by the attack of whose fine soldiers the **Kaliṅga** (*king*) was overthrown, and who is served by the **Lâṭa** and the **Gauḍa** (*kings*)?

15. He, who by his (*the king's*) order held a province,[46] the splendour of whose arms was famous, the foremost among generals (*sainyapâla*), who, as regards eloquence (?), was the best of the smooth gems of the **Tâmraparṇî** (*river*),[47] who belonged to the renowned *gôtra* of the **Kâśyapas,** the minister of **Gaṇapati,** the illustrious **Sâmanta-Bhôja,** who, as the moon from the milk-ocean, (*was produced*) from the **Dôchi** (*family*), executed at **Kâñchî** the edict of king **Gaṇapati,** (*which shall last*) to the end of the *kalpa.*

16. By presenting to the god who resides in the **Êkâmra** (*temple*), — in order that wealth might be deposited (*in the temple*) for conducting the worship with great splendour, — a village which is famed on earth by the name **Kaḷattûr,** and which abounds in grain, — **Gaṇapati's** minister, the illustrious **Sâmanta-Bhôja,** the moon of the milk-ocean of the **Dôchi** (*family*), executed at **Kâñchî** the edict of king **Gaṇapati,** (*which shall last*) to the end of the *kalpa.*

17. In the **Śaka** year, which was measured by the famous (?) number eleven hundred[48] increased by seventy-two, in the *Saumya* year, in the month of *Jyaishṭha,* in the dark fortnight, on the day of Hari (*Vishṇu*),[49] a Tuesday, at noon (?), — **Gaṇapati's** minister, the illustrious **Sâmanta-Bhôja,** the moon of the milk-ocean of the **Dôchi** (*family*), executed at **Kâñchî** the edict of king **Gaṇapati,** (*which shall last*) to the end of the *kalpa.*

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[44] This simile implies, that the last king, Rudradêva, had four younger brothers, and that Mahâdêva was the eldest of these. In the *Amarakôśa* (i. 1, 53), the *pârijâta* tree takes the second place among the five celestial trees.

[45] As suggested to me by Paṇḍit Râjagôpâlâchârya of Chikka-Baḷḷâpura, the maids allude by the words 'moon' and 'lotus' to the face of their captive mistress, on which a boar, the crest of king Gaṇapati, was painted. She experiences curiosity and shame, because she does not immediately catch the allusion, but takes the two first remarks of her maids in their literal sense. The third remark, which clearly refers to the painted figure on her cheeks, undeceives her and reminds her of her past happiness and present misery. With the opening words of verse 13, कोलाङ्कोभून्मृगाङ्कः, compare page 35 of the *Pratôparudrîya:* —

मन्थानाचलमूलमेचकशिलासंघट्टनश्यामिकाकारं यत्तुहिनद्युतौ स्फुरति तत्सारङ्गमाचक्षते ।
मन्ये नन्विह वीररुद्रनृपतेः कीर्तिश्रिया निर्जितस्तन्मुद्राङ्कवराहमिन्दुरुरसा बिभ्रत्समुज्जृम्भते ॥

[46] *Chakradhârin* appears to have the same technical meaning, which the dictionaries attribute to *chakradhara* and *chakrapâla.*

[47] 'The smooth gems of the Tâmraparṇî' are the pearls, for which this river is celebrated. The epithet may also imply that Sâmanta-Bhôja was born on the banks of that river.

[48] Literally, 'Śiva's hundred.' Śiva is synonymous with Rudra, which, since there are eleven Rudras, is used as a numerical word for 'eleven.'

[49] *i. e.* the eleventh *tithi,* which is sacred to Vishṇu.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Concluded from page* 177).

CHAPTER V.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE EDICTS, AND THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF INDIA.

It is not sufficient to consider the language of Piyadasi as an isolated subject. His monuments form only the first link in the chain of Indian epigraphical documents. The facts which they reveal cannot fail to throw light on the period following, and our conclusions, if they are correct, cannot fail to find a more or less direct verification in later facts. It is this order of ideas which I propose to consider in this concluding chapter.

PART I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The most urgent task is to establish, as exactly as possible, the chronological classification of the monuments with which we have now to deal. I do not propose to examine once more in detail the thorny problems which the chronology of India presents for the period which extends from Aśôka to the kings of Valabhî: still less do I propose to bring forward here any original system of my own. These questions have been studied by such good judges, and have been replied to in so many different ways, that little room is left for new theories. I believe that the true solutions have been already indicated, and I intend simply to group dispersed elements together, and to connect them into a coherent whole, both by the consistency with which the principal dates fit into each other in one uninterrupted chain, and by the support lent to them by accessory considerations and coincidences.

Amongst the works which have thrown most light on a very obscure subject, Prof. Oldenberg's essay, *Ueber die Datirung der altesten indischen Münz- und Inschriftenreihen*,[1] certainly holds the first place. It is, I believe, sufficient to combine his conclusions with certain results obtained by the labours of Messrs. Bühler, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bhandarkar, and Fleet, I only mention the most recent publications, to obtain a chronological series, the main points of which appear to be firmly established.

With Prof. Oldenberg, I consider that the Śâka era starts from the coronation of Kanishka, and that it is in this era that the inscriptions of this king and of his Indo-Scythian successors are dated.[2] With him, I consider that the era of the Guptas, which was also adopted by the kings of Valabhî, should be calculated, in accordance with the evidence of Alberûnî, from the year 319 A. D., and that no sufficient reason exists for disturbing one of the rare positive traditions which we have the good fortune to possess.[3]

This being settled, it remains to determine the chronology of the Satraps of Surâshṭra and of the Andhrabhṛityas. Here several synchronisms come to our help.

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[1] *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, Vol. VIII. pp. 289 and ff.

[2] Prof. Max Müller holds the same opinion, *India; What it can teach us*, p. 291.

[3] With regard to the era of the Guptas, I would refer the reader specially to Appendix A. of Prof. Bhandarkar's work, *Early History of the Dekkan*. New arguments have been put forward quite recently, which have led Dr. Buhler to the same opinion (cf. Bühler, *Ueber eine Inschrift des Königs Dharasena IV von Valabhî*, in the *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akademie*, 1885, pp. 13 and ff. of the reprint). [Since the above was published the admirable researches of Mr. Fleet, contained in the 3rd volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, have put an end to all debate regarding the era of the Guptas. It has not been necessary for me to modify my original text in consequence, for it maintains the accuracy of the fact, of which Mr. Fleet has proved the certainty; but I cannot deprive myself, *en passant* of the pleasure of rendering a grateful tribute to the fertile labours of this skilful epigraphist.]

An inscription of Nâsik, dated the 19th year of the reign of Vâsiṭhîputa Pulumâyi, and emanating from his mother, Gôtamî Balasiri, refers to his father and predecessor Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi, as the 'destroyer of the family of the Khakharâtas' (*Khakharâtavaṁsaniravasêsakara*).[4] We also find at Nâsik a parallel series[5] of inscriptions emanating from Usavadâta, son-in-law of the 'Satrap Nahapâna, a Khaharâta king,' and even a dedication presented by a minister, Ayama, of this prince. **It is in the person of Nahapâna that Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi must have destroyed the dynasty of the Khaharâtas or Khakharâtas,** for the same locality has preserved for us a document, by which he exercises over it an act of sovereignty. He transfers to a community of ascetics certain lands, which come from Usavadâta, probably the very son-in-law of the dispossessed sovereign.

The reader can see in an ingenious article of Dr. Bühler's,[6] that the numismatic discoveries of Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal Indraji, on a comparison with epigraphic data, allow us to reconstitute the following series of sovereigns in the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas.

Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi, who reigned at least 24 years.
Pulumâyi Vâsiṭhîputa, who reigned at least 24 years.
Mâḍharîputa Sirisêna, who reigned at least 8 years.
Vâsiṭhîputa Chaturapana Sâtakaṇi, who reigned at least 13 years.
Siriyaña Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi, who reigned at least 16 years.

It is not certain, but it is at least probable, that the succession was immediate between the second, third, and fourth of these princes.

Rudradâman, the Satrap king, in the celebrated inscription of Girnar, tells us how he twice conquered Sâtakarṇi, the king of the Dekhan; he only spared him from total destruction by reason of their close relationship. Now, an inscription of Kaṇhêri[7] has preserved the memory of a queen, daughter of a Kshatrapa king, whose name was composed of two syllables commencing with *ru*, and wife of the king Vâsishṭhîputra Sâtakarṇi. Whether the Ru[dra], father of the queen was, as appears very likely, or was not, the Rudradâman of Girnar, it remains almost certain that the Sâtakarṇi of whom that prince was the contemporary and conqueror is one of the two last princes named in the foregoing table. Fortified by palæographical coincidences which tend to confirm the likelihood, which in itself is very strong, of these facts, we can hold it for proved that **Rudradâman belonged to the same time as Vâsiṭhîputa Sâtakaṇi, or Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi.**

The third synchronism, together with an indirect verification of the second, gives us a valuable means for approximately fixing the dates, not only relatively but absolutely, of these persons. In a well-known passage, Ptolemy mentions Tiastanes and Siri Polemaios, as sovereigns of Ujjayinî and of Paiṭhâna. These two names have been long identified, the first with that of Chashṭana, and the second with that of Siri Pulumâyi. Now Chashṭana is known by the inscriptions as grandfather of Rudradâman; and it is quite easy that he should have been a contemporary of Pulumâyi Vâsiṭhîputa, grandfather or great-grandfather, or at any rate third or fourth predecessor, of the Sâtakaṇi, of whom we have just seen that Rudradâman was the contemporary and the conqueror. A remark of Prof. Bhandarkar[8] contributes a still higher degree of probability to these identifications. Ptolemy tells us that, while the northern parts of the west coast were governed by Siri Polemaios, the southern parts were under the rule of Baleocouros. Now, there has been discovered at Kôlhapur a series of coins,[9] in which the name of Viḷivâyakura, whose identity with Baleocouros forces itself on our notice, is associated with that of Vâsiṭhîputa and of Gôtamîputa, to whom we have just been introduced.

[4] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 108.

[5] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* pp. 99 and ff.

[6] *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, pp. 272 and ff. It will be seen from what follows that I have not been able to place myself in entire accord with the learned author.

[7] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* V. 78.

[8] *Early Hist. of the Deckan*, p. 20.

[9] Cf. Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, in *J. R. A. S., Bo.* XIII., 303 and ff.

The terms in which Ptolemy speaks of these sovereigns, Tiastanes, Siri Polemaios and Baleocouros, give us naturally the impression that he speaks of princes of his own time. Without any doubt this conclusion is in no way a forced one. He could, it is true, have drawn upon previous authorities, and his information regarding such distant countries was not necessarily up to date; but, until the contrary is proved, every presumption is in favour of the most simple solution, which makes the princes reign at the same epoch as that in which he wrote the geography, or a short time before. Ptolemy is credited with having composed his book a few years after 150 A. D., and we are, therefore, entitled, *à priori*, to consider that **Chashṭana and Pulumâyi Vâsiṭhîputa must have been in possession of their power between about 135 and 145.** This conclusion, which is admitted by several scholars,[10] will impose itself with yet greater force upon our attention, if it is found to accord with the chronological *data*, which it is possible to collect directly in India. This is exactly the case.

Prof. Oldenberg[11] has strongly insisted upon the reasons which prevent us from fixing at a later date than the commencement of the second century the era of the Kshatrapa kings of Gujarât, that is to say of the dynasty, the founder of which was, as we gather from the inscriptions, Chashtana. The arguments on the basis of which he hesitates to make it coincide with the 'Sâka era of 78 A. D. appear to me to be less convincing. We know of a Kshatrapa coin bearing not only the date 300, but the date 310 of the Kshatrapa era;[12] the date 83 of the Gupta era, *i. e.* (319 + 83 =) 402 A. D., is the earliest one of their successors in Mâlava,[13] the Guptas, of which we have evidence, and it is hence impossible to bring down the commencement of the Kshatrapa era to a later date than 90 A. D. As it is, on the other hand, certain that the Kshatrapas were not the originators of the era which they employed, — we shall shortly see that it was also used by Nahapâna, — it seems to me that the strongest probabilities lead us to conclude, with Paṇḍits Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar, that it was the 'Sâka era of 78 A. D., the era of Kanishka, which they adopted.

Every one is now, I believe, agreed in considering with Messrs. Oldenberg[14] and Bhagwanlal,[15] that Nahapâna was, in Gujarât, the representative of the race of the Kshaharâtas, which was conquered by Gotamîputa Sâtakaṇi, and which immediately preceded this dynasty of Kshatrapa Sênas, of whom Chashṭana was the first representative.

It will now be sufficient to mention the dates supplied to us by certain inscriptions; and we shall see how they adjust themselves, and how happily they coincide with the presumptions to which we have come independently.

According to the Girnar inscription, Rudradâman was on the throne in the year 72 of his era, which we suggest to be the Sâka era. Coins of his son Rudrasiṁha bear the dates 102 to 117, and it is probable that the first-mentioned ones go back to the commencement of his reign.[16] It is, therefore, likely that the reign of his father Rudradâman could not have commenced much before the year 150 A. D., the date of the bursting of the embankment at Girnar. Every indication points to the conclusion that the reign of his father Jayadâman was short, and Chashtana, as founder of the dynasty, could only have come into power at a mature age. There is, therefore, small room for making mistakes, if we allow for these two reigns a period of 20 or 22 years. **The accession to power of the Sênas would thus be placed at about the year 128 or 130 A. D.**

An inscription of Junnar,[17] proves that Nahapâna was still king in the year 46 of the era which he employed: the inscriptions of his son-in-law Usavadâta, which are known to us, are earlier, bearing the dates 40, 41, 42. We can thus put the destruction of his power by the

[10] Cf. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.* Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, *art. cit.*

[11] *art. cit.* pp. 315 and ff.

[12] Buhler, in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* p. 73.

[13] Cf., for example, Thomas in Burgess, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. p. 20.

[14] *loc. cit.* pp. 319, and ff.

[15] *Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 258. al.

[16] Bhagwanlal Indrajî, in *J. R. A. S., Bo.* XIII. p. 315.

[17] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

Andhras, at about the year 48 or 50 of his era. What is that era? If, hypothetically, we suggest the era of Kanishka, the date 125 to 128 A. D. which we get, agrees so exactly with that to which we are led on the other hand as the date of the coming to power of his conqueror, that the proof seems to be decisive. I may add that, according to a restoration which Dr. Bühler[18] considers as 'almost certain,' Usavadâta, the son-in-law of Nahapâna, in one of his inscriptions calls himself a 'Saka. It is, therefore, probable that this family of Kshaharâtas held its power, as vassal satraps, from the Turushkas of the dynasty of Kanishka; and nothing could be more natural than that they should have used the era adopted by their suzerains. After them, the family of Sênas must have simply followed their official tradition, as the Valabhî kings did in later years when they succeeded the Guptas. The name of 'Sâlivâhana by which this era came eventually to be designated, appears to be a recollection of the similar procedure by which the sovereigns of the Dekhan, on their side, appropriated the era founded in the north by the 'Saka king.

Another result which follows from the above is that we now find the members of the Andhra dynasty, who more immediately interest us here, placed in their chronological position. I have mentioned their names above.

If we take 126 A. D. as the date of the victory of Gotamîputa Sâtakaṇi over Nahapâna, an inscription of the conqueror[19] proves, on the other hand, that this event must have occurred before the 14th year of his reign, for he sends orders dated in that year to the representative of his authority at Nâsik. Various epigraphical monuments testify that he reigned at least 24 years; and we thus get the year 126 + 11, say 137 A. D., for the end of his reign, and the coming to the throne of his successor Vâsiṭhîputa Pulumâyi. The rule of this prince having lasted at least 24 years, that of Mâḍharîputa Sirisêna at least 8, and that of Vâsiṭhîputa Sâtakaṇi at least 13, we arrive, for the conclusion of this last reign, at least at the date 137+24+8+13 = say 182 A. D. Rudradâman, the Kshatrapa, having ceased to reign before 180 A. D., it follows that it was certainly Vâsiṭhîputa Sâtakaṇi, and not his successor, who is referred to in the inscription of Girnar.

We see how completely all these *data* agree amongst themselves. The verification which is, in my opinion, the most important, consists in the complete accord which this system establishes without any effort, with the presumptions which we are entitled to draw from the mention made by Ptolemy of Chashṭana and Pulumâyi. It must be, as we have seen, about the years 135 to 145 A. D. that this mention should *à priori*, lead us to fix the reigns of these personages, and, that too, independently of any preconceived ideas, or of any clue obtained from Indian sources. On the other hand, our deductions, founded on absolutely independent calculations refer the former to the years 130 to 140 or 145, and the second to the years 137 to 161 A. D. In the face of so striking a result it appears to me difficult to avoid recognizing how artificial and how fine-drawn must be the suppositions, by which some writers have sought to weaken the induction which the text of the geographer at once suggests to us.

On the other hand, I must express my entire agreement with Dr. Bühler in the criticism to which he submits the rash attempts which have been risked to reconstitute the chronology of the period anterior to the Andhrabhṛityas. Their contradictions, and especially the positive *data* which are furnished by the monuments, shew how little confidence is deserved by the lists of the *Purâṇas*.

The more this epoch is still enveloped in obscurity, the rarer the means of marking out its historical development, the more important is it to cling with all our power to the marks which we have been able, in my opinion, to fix with confidence. I sum them up here.

1. **The 'Saka era of 78 A. D. is the era founded by Kanishka. His monuments and those of his successors,** the last of whom are lost in the obscurity which surrounds the commencement of the Gupta dynasty in 319 A. D., **are dated in that era.**

[18] *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* IV. 101.

[19] *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.* IV. 15.

2. **It is in the same era that the inscriptions and coins, — on the one hand of Nahapâna, the Kshaharâta, — on the other hand of the Kshatrapa Sênas of Gujarât, — are dated.** The monuments, known to belong to the former, relate to the years 118 to 124 A.D., and the rule of the latter dynasty extended from about the year 130 to the end of the fourth century A. D. The great inscription of Rudradâman at Girnar dates from the third quarter of the second century of our era.

3. **The reigns of the five Andhrabhṛitya kings, whose names I have given above, and the order of whose succession we are enabled to determine with the aid of various monuments, from Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi to Siriyaṇi Sâtakaṇi, fill the greater part of the second century of our era.**

These conclusions put us in a position to date several epigraphical monuments which are certainly of decisive importance for the linguistic history of India. It is desirable that we should be able to do more, and to attain to equal certainty both with regard to the preceding period which separates the inscriptions of Aśôka from those of Kanishka, and for the subsequent one. Unfortunately the elements for analogous deductions are not forthcoming, and we are, as a general rule, reduced to indications borrowed from palæography, to which it is prudent to accord but a limited confidence. I should add that, so far as regards the principal question with which we have to deal, this uncertainty very luckily does not appear to have very serious consequences.

There is one class of monuments, the coins, concerning which I have not much to say. M. de Sallet[20] has submitted the problems connected with them to an examination at once complete and thorough. I doubt whether the main lines of his conclusions can be seriously altered by later researches. Under any circumstances, I do not believe that the uncertainties which may remain unexplained, or the errors which may require correction, are of such an extent as to compromise the deductions which philology can draw from the legends of the coins.

It would be more essential, but it is more difficult, to fix with confidence **the relative dates, and the order of all the inscriptions which belong to the same period.**

By the side of those which bear the names of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, whose dates, as I admit, are certainly to be referred to the Śâka era, there are others which various indications connect more or less closely with the same series, without its being proved, or even shewn to be probable, that they employ the same era. I refer especially to two characteristic inscriptions in Indo-Bactrian characters, that of **Taxila**,[21] dated in the 78th year, and belonging to the great king Môga, and that of **Takhtibahi**,[22] dated the year 103, and the 26th year of the reign of a king whose name is read as Gudupharas, most probably the same as the Gondophares or Yndopherres of coins and of legend; but if this identification is admitted, and if, on the other hand, we also allow the identification, which has been proposed, of king Môga with the king Mauas of the coins, there are, from a numismatic point of view,[23] serious difficulties to be met in fixing the epoch from which to count this year 78, so as to calculate these two dates. All that is at any rate certain is that these monuments belong approximately to the same period as those of the Turushka kings; and the study of the former should not be separated from that of the latter.

As regards **the two inscriptions of Mathurâ**[24] (No. 8 and No. 9 of Dowson) which are dated in the year 135, and the year 280 respectively, I see no decisive reason against referring them to the series of the Śâka era.

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[20] *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien.* Cf., however, also Gardner and R. S. Poole, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum.*

[21] Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* XX. 221 and ff.

[22] Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.* VII. p. 376. Cf. now my *Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne,* in the *Journal Asiatique,* 1890, I, pp. 114 and ff.

[23] Cf. Sallet, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 51, 157.

[24] Cf. Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.* V. pp. 182 and ff.

A certain number of inscriptions, though undated, contain names which enable us to determine their age with some precision. Such are **the short dedications of Daśaratha,** the grandson of Aśôka, and **the inscription of Bharhut,** engraved 'under the rule of the Śuṅgas'[25] To the same category belong some texts of a higher value, — **the inscriptions of Nânâghâṭ.** They are connected with the most ancient of **the royal inscriptions of Nâsik,**[26] that which contains the name of king Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) of the family of the Sâtavâhanas. The reader may be referred to a learned essay which Dr. Bühler has devoted to these inscriptions and their date. It can be seen from what precedes, that I am not able to accept the whole of his conclusions. I consider at least that these monuments belong to the beginning of the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas or Sâtavâhanas. While I admit that it would not be safe to accept the discrepant evidence of the *Purâṇas* as a solid foundation for calculating the period which elapsed between the kings of Nânâghâṭ and the series of sovereigns who have left us at Nâsik authentic documents, we should not, at the same time, too lightly discard these confused traditions. Dr. Bühler has been perhaps led to display the more severity towards them because they disagree with the date, in my opinion too ancient, which he attributes to Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi and his successors. There remains the evidence to be adduced from palæography. Dr. Bühler calculates that this does not allow us to presume a space of more than a century between the inscription of Nânâghâṭ and those of Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi at Nâsik. Dr. Bühler's authority in matters of this kind is too considerable to allow me to venture to dispute his opinion, and I will only confess that, if an interval of a hundred years does not appear to him improbable between the characters of Aśôka and those of Nânâghât, I can scarcely understand how it can be certain that between the engravers of Nânâghâṭ and those of Nâsik, there did not elapse 200 years or even more. The truth is that, at least for this period, we have no scale of palæographical development graduated by documents to which exception cannot be taken. After all, vexatious as these uncertainties are, I do not undertake to reconstitute the history of the Andhrabhṛityas; so far as the aim which I have in view is concerned, **it is sufficient to remember that the inscriptions of Nânâghâṭ certainly fall in the period intermediate between Aśôka and Gôtamîputa Sâṭakaṇi, and that they are, at least, a century earlier than the latter.**

As for the other monuments of the period we are compelled to content ourselves with analogous, though still more valuable conclusions. It is a fortunate circumstance that however desirable it may be in many respects to fix the exact age of each text, these conclusions are in the present case sufficient for us. There are, I believe, very few instances in which we are not in a condition to assert that such or such an inscription is or is not anterior to the line of demarcation which marks the epoch of Rudradâman the Kshatrapa, and his contemporary Sâtakaṇi the Andhrabhṛitya. To the period which extends from Aśôka down to these sovereigns belong **the edict of Khandagiri and the inscriptions of Râmnâth,**[27] **the inscription of Kâṅgrâ,**[28] **as also that of Rêwâ,**[29] **and several epigraphs both in the caves of the west coast, as well as in the ruins of Sâñchi,**[30] **of Bharhut,**[31] **and Amrâvatî.**[32] Taking the word in the very wide sense which I have explained above, the dates of these texts are subject to no serious doubts.

It is a matter for regret, that, **for the period which follows, I mean the 250 years which extend from the commencement of the 3rd to the middle of the 5th century we are still worse provided. The absence of materials is here almost complete.** We shall see, when we explain the linguistic importance of this epoch, how much this is to be regretted. We are hardly entitled to include in this period **the inscription of Banavâsi**[33] **or those of the**

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[25] Cf. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.* 1885, p. 138.

[26] Bühler, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 98, No. 1.

[27] Cunningham, *Corpus*. Cf. *Ind. Ant.* 1873, pp. 245-246.

[28] *J. R. A. S.* XX. 254.

[29] *Ind. Ant.* 1880, 120.

[30] Cunningham, *Buddhist Stûpas.*

[31] Cunningham, the *Bharhut Stûpa*, and Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1881, 118, 255; 1882, 25; Hultzsch *Z. D. M. G.* XL p. 70.

[32] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Burgess, *Notes on the Amrâvatî Stûpa.*

[33] Burgess and Bhagwanlal, *Inscript. of the Rock-cut Temples*, p. 100.

Jaggayapeṭṭa Stûpa,[34] for they so closely follow the time of Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi that they really belong to the preceding group. **Towards the end of the 4th century, the series of Gupta inscriptions opens with that of Allahabad**, engraved in honour of Samudragupta, and with **the dedications of Udayagiri and Sâñchi**[35] contemporary with his successor Chandragupta,[36] and dated in the years 82 and 93 of that era, say 401 and 412 A. D. They are followed by the **inscriptions of Skandagupta at Girnar** (138 G. E., *i. e.*, 457 A. D.), and by others more recent.[37] From this period the series of monuments is prolonged in fairly sufficient number of specimens.[38]

But between the commencement of the 3rd century and the first year of the 5th, I know of no inscription which has been dated with certainty. Even those the palæographical character of which would probably place them in this interval are of great rarity. Amongst the numerous dedications of the caves of the west, there are very few which appear to belong to it.[39]

We must put aside the most ancient monuments attributed to the dynasty of the Gaṅgas;[40] for the most experienced authorities in Southern Indian Epigraphy have declared them to be apocryphal.[41] We are thus reduced to a few documents which emanated from the kings of Vêṅgi.

The earliest in point of date would appear to be the donation of king Vijayanandivarman,[42] which Mr. Burnell, and, agreeing with him, Mr. Fleet, refer to the 4th century. Both these gentlemen refer to the same reign **a donation of the 'yuvamahârâja' Vijayabuddhavarman** contained in the papers of Sir W. Elliot. It has since been published by Mr. Fleet.[43] It seems, however, that the name, which had originally led them astray, is in reality 'Vijayakhaṇḍavarman,' and various circumstances go against the idea of a close connexion between the author of this inscription, and that of the preceding one.[44] **It is**, however, none the less **one of the most ancient inscriptions of the dynasty of the Pallavas, and dates either from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the 5th.** The language in which it is couched renders it a monument of the very highest interest, and I shall subsequently deal with it again. It is either contemporary with or very little earlier than **the donation of Vishṇugôpavarman**,[45] **of his brother Siṁhavarman**,[46] **and of Ativarman**,[47] which are referred to the 5th century.

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[34] *Ind. Ant.* 1882, pp. 256 and ff. Burgess, *Amrâvatî Stûpa*, p. 55. [35] Prinsep, I. 233. [36] Prinsep, I. pp. 246-247.

[37] Inscription of Skandagupta at Kuhaon (142) (Prinsep, I. 250), at Indore (146) (*J. A. S. B.* 1874, p 363), of the column at Bhitari, belonging to a successor of Skandagupta (Prinsep, *loc. cit.* p. 240), of the column of Eran, under Budhagupta (165) (Prinsep, p. 248); the inscriptions of Tôramâṇa at Eran and at Gwalior. With regard to the other Gupta inscriptions I may also cite here the Jain inscriptions, dated in the year 186 of the Guptas, of which Dr. Hoernle has given a transcription and a revised translation (*Ind. Ant.* 1882, p. 309). — It is now enough once for all to refer to the excellent *Corpus* of Mr. Fleet.

[38] I quote, simply as examples, the plates of Gurjara Dadda (458) (Dawson, *J. R. A. S. N. S.* I. 248 and ff.; and Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1884, pp. 81, 115); the inscription of Umêtâ &c. The plates of Jayabhaṭa (*Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 109 and ff.) appear to be earlier (429), if Dr. Bühler is correct in referring them to the era of Vikramâditya, but this conjecture appears to me to be very improbable.

[39] Nos. 7 — 10 of Kuḍa, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, (IV. 85-86) seem to me to be of slightly later date. I may mention, however, No. 1 of Kaṇhêri, which Dr. Bühler dates in the 4th or 5th century. The inscription is both very short and very obscure, but its date has, nevertheless, in our eyes, an interest, which will become clear later on.

[40] I refer to the donation of king Chêra Arivarman dated Śâka 169, quoted by Dr. Eggeling (*Ind. Ant.* 1874, p. 152) and published by Mr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 212), and the inscription published by Mr. Rice (*Ind. Ant.* 1878, p. 168), and referred by him to the year 350 of our era. We should add the plates of Merkara (*Ind. Ant.* 1872, p. 360) for which the figures 388, calculated in the Śâka era, gave the date as 466 A. D.

[41] Burnell, *S. I. P.* p. 34. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, pp. 111 and ff.

[42] *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 175. Mr. Foulkes has published a donation of Nandivarman, which he believes to belong to the same prince (*Ind. Ant.* 1879, p. 167). The numerous discrepancies which exist in the genealogy, in my opinion, render this suggestion inadmissible; and, if the inscription is not apocryphal, as Mr. Fleet considers (*Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 101, note), it must emanate from another king of the same name, posterior to this first Nandivarman.

[43] *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 100. [44] Fleet, *loc. cit.*

[45] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 50. [46] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 154. [47] *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 102.

But, as I have already said, from this time the harvest of monuments again becomes sufficiently ample for it to be useless to undertake enumerations which would necessarily be incomplete. I lay stress neither on the plates of the earlier Kadambas,[48] nor on those of the first Gurjaras, Dadda,[49] or Jayabhaṭa.[50] They bring us down to a period too modern to affect the questions of formation and origin which alone interest us at the present moment.

These are the known dates of the monuments which enable us to put forward precise conclusions for the chronology of the linguistic history of India. The preceding summary has therefore, been indispensable. **By language, or more exactly by grammar and spelling, the epigraphical types divided themselves, in the period under consideration, into two series.** The two currents continually intermingle and become confused, but we are, nevertheless, compelled to follow them separately. Of the two sections which follow, the first will be devoted to Mixed Sanskrit and to classical Sanskṛit, and the second to monumental Prâkṛit and to the literary Prâkṛit. I shall commence in each case by detailing the characteristic facts which are furnished by a study of the inscriptions, and shall then examine the general questions which connect themselves with it.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from page* 185.)

XXXVII. Third chhêdasûtraṁ, the vavahâra. We have already seen above, pp. 447, 449, that the three texts dasâ, kappa and vavahâra, according to the Âvaśy. 16, 109, are connected as one group. In the arrangement found in the Âvaśy. and in that handed down in the Nandî, vavahâra is placed in the last place after dasâ and kappâ. This position after the kappa is also allotted to the vavahâra [466] in the penultimate verse of the bhâshya[95] belonging to it, and consequently in Malayagiri's comm., where there are two statements to this effect — in the introduction[96] and at the conclusion of the seventh udd.[97] The same conclusion may be drawn from the compound kalpavyavahârau in schol. on Oghaniry. (see p. 449), though there may be here nothing more than a mere reference to the greater brevity of the word kalpa. In the *Ratnasâgara* (see p. 449), however, the vavahâra stands at the head of the chhêdasûtra.

We have already seen (*ibid.*) that kalpa as vavahâra is attributed especially to Bhadrabâhu and considered as an extract from pûrva 9, 3, 20. According to Âvaśy. 2, 5, Bhadrabâhu (supposing that he is here the speaker) composed at least a niyyutti on it. And we have also seen (p. 446) that the text is divided into ten uddesas[98] in agreement with the statements in Âvaśy. 16, 109. The contents consists of general regulations in reference to the penances etc., of the clergy and of disciplinary statutes concerning right and wrong — kappati, no kappati.

Each of the uddêsas closes, after the fashion of aṅgas 1—3, with ti bêmi. The text is in prose and well preserved. The Prâkṛit bhâshya in âryâ, is found entire in Malayagiri's very detailed commentary, which is in reality rather a commentary on the bhâshya than on the text itself. [467] In the commencement of the very lengthy introduction[99] we find the relation of the text to the kalpa stated as follows: — kalpâdhyayanê abhavat prâyaśchittam uktaṁ, na tu dânaprâyaśchittaṁ dânaṁ; vyavahârê tu dânaprâyaśchittaṁ âlôchanâvidhiś chà 'bhidhâsyatê.

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[48] *Ind. Ant.* 1877, p. 22; 1878, p. 31.

[49] Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, I, 248; Bhâṇḍârkar, *J. R. A. S., Bo.* X. p. 19.

[50] Inscriptions of Kâvi, Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* 1876, p. 109; of Umêtâ, *ibid.* 1878, p. 61.

[95] kappavvavahârâṇaṁ bhâsaṁ muttûna vittharaṁ savvaṁ.

[96] uktaṁ kalpâdhyayanaṁ, idânîṁ vyavahârâdhyayanam uchyatê.

[97] pûrvaṁ kalpâdhyayaṇê bhaṇitâ.

[98] Or according to its own schol., also in 3 khaṇḍas (udd. 1, 2; 3—6; 7—10).

[99] pîṭhikâ (see p. 455), in 2355 gr., corresponding to 182 verses of the bhâshya. The entire commentary embraces 35122 gr.! The MS. which I have before me is dated Saṁvat 1565 A. D. 1509.

udd. 1 treats of parihâratthâṇam lasting 1, 2, 3 or 4 months, — 2 of the relation of two sâhammiyas, — 3 of teacher and scholar, — 4 of the mêrâ (maryâdâ) sâhûṇaṁ, — 5 of the mêrâ saṁjatîṇaṁ, — 6 of mischances (also niggaṁthîṇa), — 7 of the râjâdînâm avagraha, — 8 of the sâdharmikâvagraha, — 9 of the âhâra, — 10 of the abhigraha.

See above, p. 445, in reference to the vavahâra as source of the gachhâyâra.

XXXVIII. Fourth chhêdasûtram, the dasâô or âvâradasâu, daśâs, in fuller form daśâśrutaskandha, in 10 uddesas (uddesaṇakâla Âvaśy. 16, 109), of which 1 to 9 are called dasâ, the eighth is called also ajjhayaṇaṁ and the tenth ajjhayaṇaṁ only. In Âvaśy. 2, 5 the speaker declares himself to be author of a dasâṇaṁ niyyutti whose author tradition (see Jacobi, l. c. p. 12) calls Bhadrabâhu. The great antiquity of the text is proved by the fact that not only is it cited in aṅga 3, 10 under the title Âyâradasâu, but also the names of its ten ajjh. cited there are the same as those given here. See p. 272.

Each of the first seven dasâs begins after the fashion of aṅga 1 with the formula: suyaṁ mê âusaṁ! têṇaṁ [468] bhagavayâ êvam akkhâyaṁ and closes with ti bêmi. After akkhâyam there follows another formula, which briefly says that the contents of the following section is as "thêrêhiṁ bhagavaṁtêhiṁ pannatta," as in up. 3 (p. 388), see Abhayadêva on aṅga 3, 10 f. 288b. The doctrines in question it refers to the predecessors of the bhagavant (see also up. 10, p. 423). In the first dasâ 20 asamâhiṭṭhânâ are treated of, in the second 21 sabalâ[100] (śabalâni), in the third 33 âsâyaṇâu, in the fourth 8 gaṇisaṁpadâ, in the fifth 10 chittasamâhiṭṭhâṇâ, or, according to V, attasôhî (here there is a legend of a sermon of Mahâvîra at the time of Jiyasattu, king of Vâṇiyagâma, closing with 17 ślôkas), in the sixth 11 uvâsagapaḍimâu, in the seventh 12 bhikkhupaḍimâu. All this deals with regulations having reference to the department of the viṇaya, and treats of the course of life and the discipline of the laity and clergy.[1] The method of treatment is short and compact.

The eighth section is called ajjhayaṇam, but in aṅga 3, 10 as in V., pajjôsâvaṇâkappô, exceeds the first 7 dasâs in its contents and in its extent. Certainly its largest portion has been inserted here at a later period. It is formed of the work called **Kalpasûtra** and in fact of the entire work of this name in its three parts, according to the MSS. and the **Kalpântarvâchyâni.** Jacobi (Kalpas. pp. 22, 23) has already called our attention to the fact, that in reality only the last (the third) section, [469] which is called "sâmâchârî, rules for yatis," and also paryushaṇâkalpa — cf. the title of this book in aṅga 3 and V. — belongs in this place, and that it alone could claim, together with the remaining parts of the daśâśr., to be ascribed to Bhadrabâhu. The closing words tti bêmi, payyôsaṇâkappadasâ aṭṭhamaṁ ajjhayaṇaṁ are similar to those of the other dâsâu and substantiates this conclusion. The contents of this section refers to the varshâvâsa, and treats of that which thereby is kappaï and nô k. In the introduction commencing with the legendary formula — têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ — it is stated how Mahâvîra acted in these cases. The following portions, each of whose sentences invariably begins with a stereotyped refrain, is at the end ascribed to Mahâvîra in special legendary form likewise introduced by têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ. I will refer to the other parts of the Kalpasûtra below.

The ninth dasâ, also called môhaṇiyyaṭṭhâṇaṁ, has the usual legendary beginning: têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ . . , and tells of a sermon of Mahâvîra under king Kôṇiya of Champâ in reference to the 30 (so also aṅga 3) môhaṭṭhâṇâiṁ. The portion dealing with this sermon consists of 39 ślôkas, for the most part with the refrain: mahâmôhaṁ pakuvvaï. The conclusion is ti bêmi.

The tenth book, âyâtiṭṭhâṇaṁ[2] commences with the usual formula: têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ, and tells in great detail[3] how Sêṇia [470] Bhiṁbhisâra, king of Râyagiha, together with his spouse

[100] Cf. Âv. 18, 94 — 99, and Praśnavyâk. conclusion (Leumann).

[1] Cf. Âvaśy. 16, 17 fg.

[2] âjananam âjâtı(h) saṁmûrchhanagarbhôpapâtatô janmâ, tasyâḥ sthânaṁ saṁsârah Abhayadêva on aṅga 3, 10 (289a) in the introduction.

[3] It refers to up. 1.

Chellaṇâ, listened to a sermon of Mahâvîra. The sight of the princely splendour turned the thoughts of the followers of Mahâvîra to worldly things, to rebuke which Mahâvîra preaches a lengthy sermon on the excellence of his doctrine, divided into 10 §§ and beginning with the same refrain.[4] Nor does he forget to mention the rewards of those who follow his teachings. The result of this sermon was that his audience were delighted and Mahâvîra continued to preach in Râjagṛiha.

The legendary excursi of the last dasâu (5, 8, 9 and 10) in reference to Mahâvîra are doubtless the cause of the introduction of the Kalpasûtra, the first part of which treats especially of the life of Mahâvîra.

The Kalpasûtram was the first Jain text which was made known, in 1848, in the very faulty translation of Rev. J. Stevenson. It is now carefully edited by H. Jacobi, 1879, to whose instructive introduction I have so often referred.

We have already observed, that of the three parts of which it is composed, the last alone can claim to belong to the dasâu. The two other parts were originally not connected. Each of them is divided into three portions, the first of which contains the history of Mahâvîra, the second that of his 23 predecessors, the third a list of his successors, [471] Thêrâvalî, to Dêviddhi-khamâsamaṇa, the nominal redactor of the 45 âgama.

This Thêrâvalî agrees as regards each of its first twelve parts with those statements which are found in the thêrâvalî of the Nandî and of the Âvaśyakasûtra, and in the later tradition of the Jains (ṛishimaṇḍalasûtra of the Dharmaghôsha etc.). But from this point on there is no such harmony. The list found here is the most complete, since it embraces a large number of the lateral branches proceeding from each of the patriarchs; and contains all sorts of divergences from the other lists. Jacobi distinguishes "four or five distinct treatises" (p. 23).

It is self-evident that any connection is impossible between this Thêrâvalî and Bhaddabâhu, the nominal author of the Kalpasûtra — see below — who appears in the seventh place in the list of patriarchs. The Thêrâvalî contains eleven members more (ajja Vaira, Vajrasvâmin, as number 16) nor did it belong originally to the Kalpasûtra. This conclusion holds good also in the case of the account of the 23 predecessors of Vîra which introduces it. In this account we find some few details in reference to two of Vîra's immediate predecessors, Pâsa and Aritthanêmô, and in reference to Usabha who is placed first in the series. The other predecessors are treated of in a very few words. The relation is retrogressive, beginning with the 23rd. We find no mention that Malli (Mali in the text of Jacobi) was a woman.

The intention of collecting everything that had reference to Jainism is manifest in the addition [472] (see Stevenson, p. 99) of these two sections, in reference to the successors and predecessors of Mahâvîra, to the main part of the Kalpasûtra which treated of his life.

This main portion contains towards the close (§ 148) statements mentioning the dates 980 and 993 after Vîra. According to Jacobi (p. 23) it is self-evident that these dates do not "refer to the author, but to Dêvarddhigaṇim, the editor of the Kalpasûtra." Tradition places Bhadrabâhu, the nominal author of the Kalpasûtra, in the year 170 after Vîra (see Jacobi, p. 114). But as far as I can see, an error or confusion has brought it about that the Kalpasûtra has been ascribed to Bhadrabâhu, as tradition, *e. g.* the introduction to the Kalpântarvâchyâni, states. In the well attested statement (see above, p. 449) that the Kalpavyavahârau was extracted from pûrva 9, 3, 20 by Bhadrabâhu, we must not understand by "kalpa" the Kalpasûtram, but the chhêdasûtra 5, a conclusion that may be drawn from the statements in reference to the division of the two texts kappa and vavahâra, which is found in Âvaśy. 16, 109. The similar statement concerning the dasa-kappa-vyavahârâ in the Ṛishimaṇḍalasûtra (Jacobi, p. 11) is, after a consideration of this passage of the Âvaśy., not to be referred, as Jacobi refers it, to "the

[4] . . mâê dhammê pannattê, iṇam êva niggaṇthê pâvayaṇê, sa chê aṇuttarê padipuṇṇê kêvalê . . (cf. Aupapât, § 56, p. 62, ed. Leumann).

ten kalpas and the Vyavahâra," but (see p. 357, 450) to the three chhêdasûtras 3—5: the dasâu, the vavahâra and the kappa.[5]

Personally I am inclined on the strength of § 148 to hold Dêvarddhigaṇi as the editor, and and even as the [473] "author" of the chief part of the Kalpasûtra. I will even go a step farther and assert that in reality the Kalpasûtram, or its present essential part, has no claim to this title, which is at complete variance with its contents. It has received this name after its junction with the paryushaṇâkalpa, the eighth chapter of the dasâu. This ancient title (see p. 468) is cited in the beginning of the saṁdêhavishaushadhi as a collective title of the work. See Jacobi, p. 99.

The Paṁchanamaskâra, placed "keshuchid âdarśeshu" at the commencement of the text, is known to us from aṅga 3 and upâṅga 4. It is followed here as in up. 4 by the passage in its praise, which is supposed to date back to Vajra (see Kup. 811), and is designed to glorify this commencement. This passage of the paṁchanam. contains the form havaï — and not *hoi* as in up. 4 — which in more modern times is regarded as the only well attested form. See p. 393, §§ 1, 2, which contain the recital so obnoxious to the Digambara (see Jacobi, p. 22) — see p. 261 — that Mahâvîra first "entered the womb of (the mâhaṇî) Dêvânandâ[6] before he was placed (§ 21) in that of (the khattiyâṇî) Triśalâ"[7]), are borrowed outright from aṅga 1. Jacobi, p. 23, considers the portion containing the 14 dreams (§§ 33—46), with their long, complex compounds, as a secondary addition, since it is not in harmony with the prevailing "archaic style" of the text. I should prefer to regard the solemnity of the subject as the cause of these stylistic differences. [474] Upon such occasions the aṅgas contain numerous stylistic excrescences, which, it should be remarked, occur not infrequently in other parts of the Kalpasûtra. The differences of this kind in §§ 33—46 (or does J. extend the description of the dreams further than 46 ?) may therefore, I should think, be reduced to a minimum.

The historical kernel of the recital is exceedingly small. Up to § 96 (incl.) the events before the birth of Mahâvîra alone are treated of. The following §§ to 111 discuss the birth, naming, childhood of M. and his life as gihattha. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of foreign nurses, as is usual in the aṅgas and upâṅgas on such occasions, nor are the 72 kalâs etc. referred to. The enumeration of the Brahminical sciences in § 10 is the usual one, which we have already met with in aṅga 5. The recital as to how Mahâvîra: aṇagâriyam païvvaê (§ 116), and of his further development up to the time of his death (§ 132) is devoid of every particle of life. There is no trace of the many legends concerning him which we find scattered here and there in the aṅgas, etc. They have not been made use of at all; hence the whole makes a most unsavoury impression as regards any biographical information. In § 147 the mention of the 55 ajjhayaṇas of the pâvaphalavivâyâiṁ (see p. 271) is of interest, as also that of the 36 aputṭhavâyaraṇâiṁ, which, according to Jacobi, p. 114, are to be referred to the uttarajjhayaṇam.

We have in the work entitled **Kalpântarvâchyâni**, a production partly in Prâkṛit, partly in Sanskṛit, and in a mixture of the two [475]. After a self-evident introduction in reference to the ten forms of the kalpa: âchêlukka (achêlatvam), uddesia (auddeśika piṇḍa), sijjâyara (sijjâtarô [śayyâ°] vasatisvâmî), râyapiṇḍa (presents from the king), kiikammê (kṛiti°), vaya (vrata), jittha (jyeshṭhatvam), paḍikkamaṇê, mâsaṁ (mâsakalpaḥ), pajjôvasaṇakappê (varshâsu chaturmâsâvasthânarûpaḥ), in reference to the pûrvas, out of the ninth of which the śrîkalpa of Bhadrabâhu, "uddhṛita," etc., is the Kalpântar., in loose connection with the text of the Kalpasûtra, makes the text of the latter the point of departure for the insertion of a large number of legends and other statements in prose and verse. The frequent mention of Hêmachandrasûri and of Mânatuṁgasûri, Malayagiri, of the Vâmanaṁ, Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇam (as vyâkara-

[5] We find, however, mention made of a ten-fold division of the kalpa, *e. g.* in the introduction to the *Kalpântaryâchyâni*. See p. 475.

[6] Wife of Usabhadatta, cf. Wilson Sel. W. 1, 292 (see Bhagav. 9, 33, Leum.).

[7] Wife of Siddhattha of the Nâya race.

ṇam ! !) and Sârasvatam̐ vyâkaraṇam̐ shows that **it was composed at a tolerably recent date.** In general it may be said that there is a large amount of citations collected here. Of especial interest is the peculiar attempt made in the introduction to prove the great age of the Jinaśâsaṇam from supposed Vedic passages, as the two "vaiśvadêva-ṛichau Yajurvêdê[8] :" ôm̐ ṛishabham̐ pavitram̐ puruhûtam adhvaram yajneshu nagnam paramam̐ pavitram̐ | śrutadharam̐ yajnapatipradhânam ṛituryajana (!) paśum indram âhavê 'ti svâhâ, and : trâtâram im̐dram ṛishabham̐ vadam̐ti anitâram im̐dram tam arishṭanêmim̐ bhavê $_2$ subhavam̐ supârśvam im̐dram̐ | havê tu śakra ajitam̐ jinem̐dram̐ tad vardhamânam̐ puruhûtam im̐dram̐ svâhâ, and also Vs. 31, $_{18}$, Ṛik 2, $_{89}$, $_6$ etc. all of which is cited [476] incorrectly ![9] The detailed enumeration of the Brahminical sciences in § 10 contains much of interest (18 purâṇas, 18 smṛitis, 18 vyâkaraṇas). The foreign serving-women are enumerated in § 16, essentially in the regular way : — khujjâô chilâîô vâmaṇîô vaḍabhîô babbarîô paüsiâô jôṇiâô palhaviâô isiṇîâô châruiṇiâô lâsiâô laüsiâô ḍémalîô sim̐halîô âbarîô (!) pulim̐dîô pakkaṇîô marum̐ḍîô bahalîô sabarîô pârasîô jâtîyâ dâsyaḥ. — On § 108 : bhagavatô lekhanaśâlakaraṇaprâram̐bhô likhyatê (in Prâkṛit), — on § 209 a double enumeration of the 72 kalâs and of the 18 lipayas — see above p. 400 — on § 211, 64 mahilâguṇâs.

The **oldest of the commentaries** to which I have had access is the **Sam̐dêhavishaushadhir of Jinaprabhamuni**, composed in Ayodhyâ A. D. 1307 ; at the end there is added a commentary to a paryushaṇâkalpaniryukti. Both texts are composed in Prâkṛit, and the commentary is based especially on the niśîthachûrṇi. This fact recalls chap. 8 of chhêdasûtra 4.

XXXIX. Fifth chhêdasûtram, the bṛihatkalpa, in 6 uddêśas. Ordinances for the clergy of both sexes (niggam̐tha and niggam̐thî) in reference to that which is proper (kappati) and that which is not (nô kappati).

The agreement in reference to the division into 6 uddesas shews that it is our text which (p. 446 ff.) is designated in the Âvaśy. 16, $_{109}$ in connection with dasâ and vavahara and under the name of kappa simply.

[477] We shall have to recognize it under the designation of kappa, or kalpâdhyayana, in other passages (see pp. 449, 472) where there is mention made of the extraction of kalpavyavahârau from pûrva 9, $_3$, $_{20}$ by Bhadrabâhu. Its designation as bṛihatkalpa, or vṛihatsâdhukalpa is unsuitable if we regard the diminutive size of the text (only 475 gr.). The conclusion (ti bêmi) of udd. 4 and 6 is worthy of note.

The old bhâshya in Prakṛit âryâs, belonging to this text, is designated simply as kalpabhâshya, and is an enlargement of the "kappassa nijjutti," which the author of the Âvaśy. declares that he composed (2, $_7$). See Kielhorn (in the Report on the Search of Sanskṛit MSS. 1880-81, pp. ix. x.), in reference to an old MSS. of it (Sam̐vat 1218), and to **its very curious use of letters of the alphabet to denote numerical notation.**[10] The commencement differs considerably from that in a palm-leaf MS. similar to this, but much younger (Sam̐vat 1334), of which the Berlin Library possess a copy made on transparent paper. The commencement of the Berlin MS. — after prefacing the first 6 §§ of the text — is namô araham̐tâṇam̐, kâûṇa namokkâram̐ titthayarâṇam̐ tilôyamahiyâṇam̐ | kappavvavahârâṇam̐ vakkhâṇavihim̐ pavakkhâmi ||

XL. The sixth chhêdasûtram is called pam̐chakalpa[11] in Bühler's list ; — see p. 226. I have not had access to a text of this name, which is repeatedly mentioned (see pp. 448, 449)

[8] I am unable to explain the first passage, the second is manifestly Ṛik 6, $_{47}$, 11 (Ts. 1, 6, 12, 5) : trâtâram indram avitâram indram̐ havê havê suhavam̐ śûram im̐dram̐ | hvayâmi śakram̐ puruhûtam indram̐ svasti nô maghavâ dhâtv im̐draḥ || The words of the text which I have enclosed in brackets above do not occur here.

[9] na chê 'dam̐ Jinaśâsanam arvâchînam̐, vêdâdishv api tadvachanât, tathâ hi : vêdêshu jinapramâṇâm̐gulâ (?) darvî, tathâ Yajurvêdê vaiśvadêva-richau . . .

[10] On this see Bhagvanlal Indraji on the ancient Nâgari Numerals in the *Indian Antiquary*, 6, 42 fg. (1877) and Bühler, *ibid.* p. 47 fg.

[11] In Kielhorn's report, p. 94, there is mention made of a pañchakalpasûtrachûrṇi by Âmradêvâchârya.

both in Âvi. and V., together with a jîakappa. According to the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha, the pañchakappa is a work of Saṁghadâsavâchaka, while the jîtakalpa belongs to the Jinabhadragaṇikshamâ[478]śramaṇa.[12] We find in it citations from both texts. The jîtakalpa is also enumerated in the Ratnasâgara, p. 507, as the sixth chhêdasûtram. Raj. L. Mitra, however (see p. 227 above), mentions it as the last of his "five Kalpasûtras."

In lieu of commenting upon a text of the name of pañchakalpa I will at least remark on the jîtakalpa, which is mentioned together with it, that a śrâddhajîtakalpa in 141 Prâkṛitgâthâs actually exists. It treats of the prâyaśchitta, which suits the character of the chhêdasûtras exactly, but is referred to a definite author, Dharmaghôsha, scholar of Dêvêndramunîśvara. In the anonymous commentary on it it is designated as composed upanishatkalpa(!)-kalpa-vyavahâra-niśîthayatijîtakalpânusârêṇa. In the commentary reference is paid to the pravachanam as sâmâyikâdibiṁdusâraparyaṁtaṁ, and in v. 58 erroneous doctrines and pâshaṇḍin are treated of in detail. Then the gîatthâs (see above, pp. 437, 450, 464), to which the text refers in v. 141, are expressly explained as śrîniśîthâdichhêdagraṁthârthasûtradharâḥ.[13] From all this we may draw the conclusion that the text is closely, [479] if not directly connected with the chhêdasûtras.

We have already mentioned in reference to the mahâkappa, Âvaśy. 8, 55, above pp. 446, 447, that the Nandî in its anaṅgapaviṭṭha list recognizes the existence of a mahâkappasuam, a chullakappasuam, and a kappiyâkappiam. In the scholiast *ibid.* we find the following explanation: kalpâkalpapratipâdakam adhyayanaṁ kalpâkalpaṁ; tathâ kalpaḥ sthavirakalpâdiḥ, tat pratipâdakaṁ śrutaṁ kalpaśrutaṁ, tach cha dvidhâ: kshullakakalp° mahâkalp° cha, tatrai 'kam alpagraṁtham alpârthaṁ, dvitîyaṁ mahâgraṁthaṁ mahârthaṁ cha. There is, therefore, no doubt but that texts of this class existed.[14]

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE CHINBOKS, CHINBONS, AND YINDUS OF THE CHIN FRONTIER OF BURMA.[1]

Geography.—The Wêlaung Chins inhabit the villages on the head waters of the Myitþâ river. They are bounded on the north and west by Baungshê Chins, on the south by Chinbôks, and on the east by Taungȣâs of the villages round Wêþet, which is distant four days' journey.

The Chinbôks live in the hills from the Mò River down to the Sòchaung.[2] They are bounded on the north by Wêlaung and Baungshê Chins, on the east by the Burmans, on the west by the Arakan Yômàs, on the south by the Yindu Chins.

The Yindus inhabit the valleys of the Salinchaung and the northern end of the Môn Valley, bounded on the south by the Chinbôns,—the other boundaries being the same as those of the Chinbôks.

The Chinbôns inhabit the southern end of the Mônchaung and stretch across the Arakan Yômàs into the valley of the Pîchaung. They are bounded on the south by the Chinbôns of the Minbu frontier, on the east by the Burmans, on the west by the Arakanese.

History.—The Wêlaung Chins are stated to be of Baungshê origin. The Chinbôks claim a similar origin. The Yindus state that their origin is similar to that of the Taungȣâs, an industrious race, who inhabit the Yò and Myitþâ Valleys in Burmese territory, and who claim to have come

12 See above, pp. 427, 430, where both texts are counted in with the painnas. There are there several other texts ascribed to Jinabhadra. The passage reads: Jinabha° śramaṇa kṛitô jîtakalpaḥ, kshetrasamâsaḥ, saṁgrahaṇî viśeshaṇavatî cha.

13 In the scholiast on Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha the following explanation for Jîyakappa is found in citation from the Paṁchakappa: jaṁ jassa cha pachchhittaṁ âyariyaparaṁparâyaïviruddhaṁ | jôgâ ya bahuvihî yâ êsô khalu jîyakappô u || ; — and the word jîyam is *ibid.* explained as follows: — jaṁ bahûhiṁ gîyatthêhiṁ âiṇṇaṁ taṁ jîyaṁ uchitam âchittam ity anarthâṁtaraṁ vyavahârachûrṇipîṭhê, jîtaṁ nâma prabhûtânêkagîtârthakṛitâ maryâdâ, tatpratipâdanô graṁthô 'py upachârât.

14 Compare, also, the title of upâṅga 9.

1 Notes, dated the 20th April 1890, by Lieutenant R. M. Rainey, Commandant, Chin Frontier Levy, regarding the Chin tribes bordering on the Yò Country in the Pakôkku District, and printed originally as a Government paper by the Chief Commissioner, Burma. [The original paper is very difficult reading, owing to want of care in composition. — ò as *aw* in 'awful' throughout.—ED.]

2 [The word *chaung* in such compounds means 'stream' or 'river.'—ED.]

from Pôpâ Hill. The Chinbôns, further south, point out a rock, which they state is the body of a *min* or official, who was killed in a quarrel with his brother, when they were emigrating from Pôpâ, and was turned into a stone. The brother returned to Pôpâ. The Chinbôns claim Burman origin. Further than this the Chins appear to have no history. In appearance they resemble Burmans, though some have better features.

Languages.—The four villages on the head waters of the Myitþâ speak two dialects: the village of Wêlaung having a dialect of its own, differing from that of the other three.

There are three distinct dialects of the Chinbôk language,—the northern, spoken from the Mò to the north bank of the Chè with slight variation; the central, spoken by the south bank of Chè and the Chauksitchaung; the southern, spoken by the Kadin and Sòchaung Chins.

The Yindus speak a language of their own; while the Chinbôns speak a language which is identical with that spoken by the Chins, who live in the Laungshê township, and to whom they are related. There is no written language.

Government.—There appears to have been no attempt at government further than an incomplete village system. Each village has a *thugyi*.[3] The title is hereditary, and does not necessarily indicate a man of influence. There is generally in each group of villages some man (or perhaps two or three), who is looked up to and respected either for being a brave sportsman or raider, or for having a knowledge of Burmese, or for some special qualification. These are the men who really lead the people.

Quarrels are wiped out with blood only. There are no laws, but certain customs, which all observe.[4]

Religion.—There is no religion further than propitiating and consulting *nàts* or spirits. The Chinbôks appear to be perfect slaves to their *nàts* (spirits). To propitiate *nàts* an animal must be slaughtered; buffaloes, bullocks, *maiþan*, goats, pigs, fowls, and dogs are chiefly used for this purpose; the three latter being more commonly used as they are so prolific. All are afterwards eaten, if the offering was sacrificed near home; but when raiding, on a journey, passing through notoriously unhealthy jungles, &c., sacrifices are frequently made, animals being carried on purpose. For this purpose dogs are preferred, as they follow and require no carriage. *Nàts* are consulted in a similar manner, the direction in which the blood flows, &c., being one of the signs. Eggs are also used for these purposes, being blown as we blow them for egg-collections, *i.e.*, with a hole at each end. They are afterwards painted and stuck on a stick, as also are cocks' feathers. Rows of these sticks are frequently seen across paths.

Raids are frequently abandoned at the last moment and after travelling long distances, if the omens are unfavourable. When *nàts* are consulted or propitiated near home, every one gets drunk off home-brewed rice-beer. Tom-toms, music, and dancing accompany the ceremonies. *Nàts* are sometimes humbugged by the wily Chins, an example of which will be found under the heading **Marriages**. They do not trouble about a future world. There are no priests.

Medicine.—Medical science and surgery are unknown. No medicines are used. When a person falls sick the *nàts* are consulted or propitiated: consulted to ascertain if the patient will recover or not; propitiated in hopes that the patient will be spared The principal diseases are fever, bowel-complaints, skin diseases, and wounds.

Dress, Arms, Customs, &c.—The Wêlaung and Kwônàn Chins more closely resemble the Baungshês than the Chinbôks; but, as I have seen but little of them, I will not attempt to describe them.

The dress of all the Chinbôks from the Mò down to the Chè is much the same everywhere, though there are slight differences. Those who inhabit the Chauksit, Kadin, and Sò streams wear a sort of compromise between the dress of the Chinbôks and of the Yindus. The dress proper of a Chinbôk man (*see Plate A*) consists of a very small *laṅgôṭî*, as worn by natives of India when wrestling, and a piece of cloth, about three feet in length and one in breadth, which is folded and hung behind, being suspended by bits of string across the shoulders. The chief object of this cloth is apparently to have something warm to sit upon when the ground is cold. The women weave the clothes, and, when new, they are generally striped red and blue.

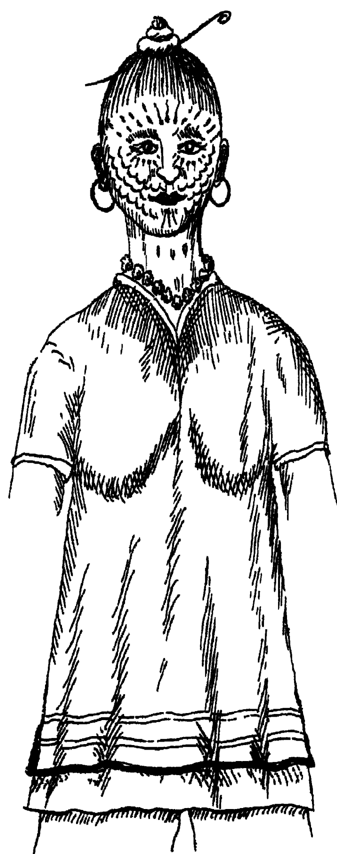
The dress of a woman (*see Plate A*) consists of a garment like a short jersey without sleeves and with an open V-shaped throat; also of a small *lûṅgî*, which shows about 6 inches below the jacket. These jackets are also home-made and of similar patterns to the men's garments.

[3] *i.e.*, *þûjî* = in Burma the man who actually collects the revenue and is a kind of village headman.

[4] [These have to a certain extent been reduced to writing: *vide* Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chin Tribe*. Rangoon, Government Press, 1884.—ED.]



A Chinbôk man.



A Chinbôk woman



Chinbôk woman.



Chinbôn woman



Yindu woman.

From Lieut Rainey's Sketches.



A Yindu man

Chinbôk in full dress



A Yindu woman.

From Lieut. Rainey's Sketches.

In the presence of strangers the women either stand or kneel. Any other position they could not with modesty or decency assume on account of their scanty skirts.

The men tie up their hair with bits of rag,—red for choice. The hair is grown long.

In the cold weather men and women wrap blankets of Burmese or European manufacture round their shoulders.

The Yindu man (*see Plate B*) wears a *laṅgôṭî*, similar to that worn by the Chinbôks, and also a loose blouse, without sleeves and open at the throat, which reaches down to below the knees. Except in cold weather, they take their arms out of the sleeve-holes and wind the upper part of the garment round their waists. The dress of the women (*see Plate B*) is similar to that of the Chinbôk women, except that the Yindu women, as well as the men, wear the blouse I have described above in addition to their other garments. The Yindus also use extra wraps and blankets in the cold weather.

The dress of the more civilized Chinbôns is exactly similar to that worn by the hundreds of emigrated Chinbôns, who live in the Laungshê township, and closely resembles the dress of the Burmans. The less civilized Chinbôns, who live on the Arakan side of the Yômàs, wear what can hardly be called even an apology for clothing. It is stated that some even use the bark of trees to hide their nakedness. The Biblical fig-leaf would be more covering than was worn by some of the villagers we met.

Ornaments.—The clothing above described is supplemented by various ornaments. To begin with, the head is often decorated with coils of beads of different colours, *kauṛîs*, &c. Brass skewers are generally stuck into the hair, and, in the case of the Yindus, are generally beautified by tassels of goat's hair dyed red or bunches of the teeth of the hog-deer. These skewers are used for scratching their heads, which are full of lice. Sometimes bone, ivory, bamboo, or porcupine quill skewers are worn. Feathers are universally used as head decorations by the men. Sometimes only a few, generally white cocks', feathers, are stuck into the topknot, for they wear their hair like Burmans: sometimes the whole of a cock's tail and part of the back is worn. In the latter case the bird is skinned, and the part to be worn is dried and stretched on a bamboo frame with a bamboo skewer to stick into the hair. This arrangement is worn at the back of the head and presents a peculiarly ludicrous appearance. Green parrots' feathers are also used. Women wear skewers in their hair, but no feathers.

Necklaces are much worn by both men and women. They are made of beads of all kinds, glass marbles with holes drilled through them, white metal bands, little bells like ferret-bells, cockspurs, teeth of hog-deer, cockle shells, *kauṛîs*, coral, and stones, according to fancy.

Earrings of one pattern only are worn by men; they are plain flat rings about two inches in diameter, supposed to be made of gold, but are probably generally of brass. They can be put on or off at pleasure by pressing the ends in opposite directions. The elasticity of the metal keeps them closed under ordinary circumstances. The holes in the ears are much pulled down by the weight of these rings. The women have large holes in their ears, in which they stuff thin strips of bamboo tightly rolled up. The only women I have seen actually wearing earrings were some Chinbôk women on the Maungchaung, who wore bits of telegraph-wire about five inches long bent into an oval-shaped ring!

Bracelets of brass wire are much worn by the men, sometimes nearly the whole of the right forearm being enveloped in rounds of wire. They seldom wear them on the left arm. The women do not wear brass, but a white-metal bracelet.

Wristlets to protect the left arm from the bowstring are always worn by men. Among the Chinbôks they are made of cane wicker-work lacquered over; but sometimes a strip of leather is used. These wristlets are about six inches in length and are frequently ornamented with bells. The Yindus wind a piece of string or rope round their wrists in lieu of the wristlets described above.

The Chinbôks of the Chèchaung wear long brass guards, enveloping the whole of the back of the left arm up to the elbow, which are kept in position by the wristlets. They are intended partly to protect the arm from dagger-wounds when fighting, and partly for ornament.

Arms and Accoutrements.—Among the Chinbôks and Yindus every male carries a bow (*see Plate C*) from the time he begins to toddle. It is made of bamboo, well seasoned by being smoked for several years over the fireplace in the hut. It takes five years' seasoning to thoroughly mature a bow. The length of the bow of an adult is usually about four feet. It is thickest at the centre and tapers to the ends, where it is notched to hold the string. The string is made of cotton, sometimes plaited with bamboo and other fibres. When bows are not in use they are frequently unstrung.

The arrows are carried in a quiver or basket (*see Plate C*) on the left side. They are about a foot and a half in length (the shaft being made of bamboo about the thickness of a pencil), and are neatly tipped with feathers or bamboo shavings. The heads (*see Plate C*) are of several kinds. For war purposes and for killing big game iron heads are used. These again are of different shapes and various sizes, some being barbed and some lozenge-shaped. The other heads they use are hardened-wood points spliced on bone-heads for shooting fish,—these are said to be very deadly for this purpose,—and, lastly, shafts with the points sharpened for shooting birds.

The arrows with iron heads carry 150 yards and further, and are very deadly, killing bear, tiger, deer, &c., at 80 yards range. Chins do not poison their arrows, and usually keep them bright and clean. But, as they use their arrows time after time whenever they can find them again, and as wounded animals frequently escape only to die afterwards in the jungles, and as these arrows, which are frequently pulled out of the carcasses of animals in a putrid state, are used indiscriminately with those that are clean, blood-poisoning is very likely to follow an arrow wound. This has probably given rise to the idea that they poison their arrows by sticking them into dead animals.

The only other weapon which every man carries is a dagger (*see Plate C*) a little over a foot in length, worn in war-time in a bone scabbard on the right side attached to the shield or rather to the leather breast-plate (*see Plate C*). When engaged in peaceful pursuits it is stuck into a basket, worn on the right side, in which there is a sheath to receive it (*see Plate C*). The bone scabbard mentioned above is the shoulder-blade of a buffalo or bullock with a bamboo back.

These daggers are used both for fighting and for cutting up food, &c. The people make great use of them when fighting among themselves, which they frequently do when drunk. It costs nothing to stick a knife into a man, while if he were shot with an arrow and afterwards escaped, the arrow-head, which is valuable, would be lost.

Many men carry spears (*see Plate C*), which resemble Burman spears:—in fact, many are obtained from Burmans.

Every man wears a kind of leather armour. It consists of a strip of bent buffalo hide, about nine inches to one foot broad, reaching from the waist in front to the small of the back behind. It is worn across the left shoulder, like the sash of a military officer, the ends being tied together at the right side with a string, to which the dagger in its bone sheath is attached. In the case of the Yindus this armour is frequently made of cane basket-work thickly covered with *kauṛîs*. The Chinbôks also frequently adorn theirs with *kauṛîs* and small bells like ferret-bells.

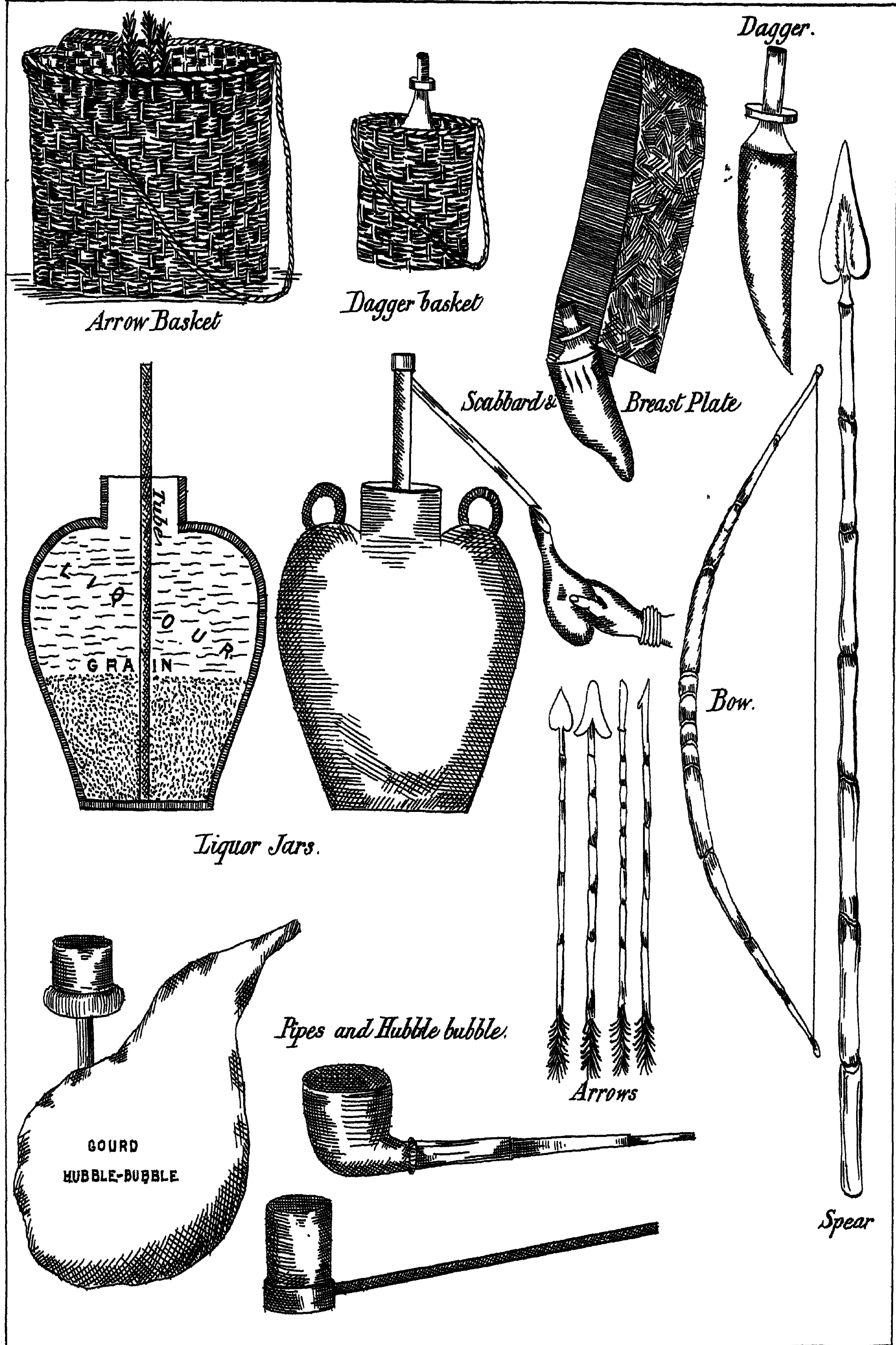
The arrows are carried as follows:— A neat basket, generally measuring about one foot four inches in depth, one foot eight inches in length, and eight inches in breadth, is slung on the right shoulder, hanging therefore on the left side. It is divided into compartments. Nearest the front a bamboo quiver containing the iron-headed arrows is kept in place by cane loops in the basket. This holds about twelve arrows, and has a top, sometimes of bamboo or canework lacquered over, and sometimes of bamboo ornamented with red beads. This top is attached by a string to the breastplate, the string being frequently adorned with small bells. The next compartment in the basket contains a somewhat smaller bamboo, which acts as a box for tobacco, tinder, steel, and flint. The tinder used generally consists of bamboo filings. The lid of this 'box' is generally ornamented with red seeds. The rest of the basket holds a pipe, arrows without heads, and odds and ends. Outside the basket at the back is fixed a small bamboo holding a spare bowstring.

On the left [? ED.] side a basket, measuring one foot in depth and length, and eight inches in breadth is generally worn. In this food, &c., is carried. It has a compartment, into which the dagger fits as already described.[5]

The pipes smoked by Chinbôks and Yindus (*see Plate C*) are of three kinds:—firstly, a plain bamboo pipe with a bamboo stem a foot long; secondly, a pipe with a baked bamboo bowl and bamboo stem; thirdly, a pipe on the principle of the hubble-bubble. This last consists of a gourd, in which some water is kept, and from which a bamboo tube fitted with a neat earthen bowl, projects about an inch from the upper side. The smoke is drawn into the mouth through the end of the gourd, where it tapers off at its stem. The tobacco the people smoke is grown by themselves, and is very rank and offensive in smell. They are always smoking. The women smoke as well as the men.

The Chinbôns for the most part carry nothing but spears. They have a few guns and a few

[5] [I make out from this that the dagger-basket, see Plate C, in the time of peace, is the food basket in time of war.—ED.]



From Lieut Rainey's Sketches.

bows and arrows. They have a square leather shield, which, when on the war-path, they carry in the left hand, and with which they ward off spear thrusts and arrows. They have no accoutrements.

Exports and Imports.—The principal exports of these Chin tribes are—

Plantains.	*Sàt* (a small millet).
Tobacco.	Ginger.
Indian-corn leaves (for cheroots.)	Pork.
	Honey.
Chillies.	Beeswax.
Turmeric.	Cane mats.

The principal imports are—

Salt.	Marbles.
Blankets.	Trinkets.
Sheets.	Spears.
Gaungbaungs.[6]	*Damauks.*[7]
Cotton (raw).	*Pauktûs.*[8]
Cotton (thread).	Iron.
Needles.	Sickles.
Dyes.	Cattle.
Brass-wire.	Goats.
Gongs.	Dogs.
Cymbals.	Fowls.
Small bells.	*Ngapî.*[9]
Beads.	*Ḍàmbyàs.*[10]

Agriculture.—The system of cultivation carried on by the different sections or tribes on the South Yò frontier is much the same everywhere, and the crops produced vary but slightly. It is all *taungyá*[11] cultivation. No cattle are used in ploughing. All the work is done by hand, a great deal being performed by women. The only exception to this system of agriculture is that a few villages of Chinbôns in the southern end of the Môn valley have a few buffaloes, with which they plough a few paddy-fields; but this industry does not prosper, as their more powerful neighbours carry off their cattle to sacrifice to the *nàts.*

The first operation in the *taungyá* system is to clear the jungle off the slopes to be brought under cultivation. This work is performed by the men in the month of October with *damauks*, which they buy from the Burmans. The jungle, thus cut, lies until quite dry, till it is burnt in the month of April. The ground is then cleared and, without further preparation, the grain is planted as follows:—In the right hand a sharpened or rather pointed, stick is held, with which holes are drilled into the ground. Into these holes the grain is dropped with the left hand. After this weeds have constantly to be kept down, and the work of weeding falls to the lot of the women, who also loosen the ground round the young shoots with *Ḍámbyás*, which are bought from Burmans, as soon as the crop is a few inches high.

The first crop of *sàt* is reaped in August; other crops are reaped in November and December.

The same ground is cultivated for two years only, as in the third year the grass grows so strongly that cultivation is impossible. It is therefore left until jungle has again grown on it, when,—usually after five years,—it can again be cleared and cultivated.

Threshing is performed as under:—The grain in the ear is collected in heaps near the grain-huts in the fields, and trodden out by foot on large cane mats, from which it is transferred into enormous cane baskets standing over four feet high. Some grains, such as Indian-corn, are stored loose in the ear in the grain-huts.

The principal crops are—

(1) *Taungyá* paddy.	(12) Sugarcane.
(2) *Sàt* (a small millet).	(13) Plantains.
(3) *Chaiksàn* (a large-grained millet).	(14) Pineapples.
(4) Millet.	(15) Chillies.
(5) Indian-corn.	(16) Brinjals. (*Aubergine*).
(6) Yams.	(17) Tomatoes.
(7) Sweet potatoes.	(18) Pumpkins.
(8) Ginger.	(19) Gourds.
(9) Beans (of various kinds, some an inch in length).	(20) Tobacco.
(10) Peas (of kinds).	(21) Cotton.
(11) *Dâl.*	(22) Turmeric.
	(23) Onions.
	(24) Garlic.

Much damage is done to the crops by bears, pigs, and deer, and also by birds. The Yindus build huts high up in trees, in which they sit at night to frighten off the bears. Various scarecrows are also used to frighten off birds.

Grains which require to be husked are treated as follows:—A log is planted in the ground protruding about three feet. The top is scooped out so as to form a deep cup, into which the grain is dropped and pounded with a club. The Chinbôns, who live in houses near the ground, have this log protruding through the floor of their houses and therefore perform this work inside the house. This work falls on the women, and very hard work it is. While cultivating, the

[6] Burmese turbans.
[7] *dâs* or knives used for household purpose.
[8] Spades.
[9] Preparation of putrified fish used as a condiment.
[10] Trowels.
[11] Temporary forest clearing.

villages are deserted, the people living in temporary huts in their fields.[14]

Local Products and Industries.—The only local products, besides agricultural, are—

(1) Pottery, which is confined to a few villages only, Myaing on the Môn and Myin on the Maung being the foremost in this industry:

(2) The manufacture of daggers, arrow-heads, and spear-heads confined to certain villages:

(3) The production of lac, which is abstracted from trees in most villages and used in the manufacture of accoutrements, &c:

(4) The production of salt. The largest salt-springs are on the Mò at a place called Sànnî, six *dains*[15] from Tîlin, where 200 viss of salt can be produced daily, and there are other springs further up the stream. These are, however, the only springs of importance. A small quantity of salt is procured at a place on the Chèchaung, three *dains* from Yâyin, a Burman village. The salt is produced by boiling down the water:

(5) Spinning, which is done by the women; all the clothes of a purely national character being made by them. The people import most of their cotton, but grow a little:

(6) The manufacture of mats, brooms, baskets, and such like articles; besides bows, arrows, and accoutrements:

(7) Hunting, as a means of filling the pot, though the people collect heads (of animals) and trophies with a thoroughly sportsmanlike interest. They track their game and shoot it with arrows, bringing down tiger, bear, *sâmbhar*, pig, &c. They frequently come to grief and get badly mauled, and many are killed by tigers and bears:

(8) Fishing, which is carefully and systematically carried out in various ways;—(*a*) by shooting the fish with arrows, at which the people are wonderfully skilful; (*b*) by catching the fish in basket traps, in the manner of the Burmans on this frontier; (*c*) by catching the fish with nets made locally; (*d*) by diverting a stream and isolating stretches of it with dams, and then poisoning the fish with the bark of a certain tree, which is stripped off, pounded, and thrown into the water prepared as above.

Forests.—The lower slopes on the Burmese side of the Chin Hills contain some fine teak, especially near the mouths of the Yò, Maung, and Chè streams. Bamboos are plentiful throughout the hills. On the higher slopes are fine fir forests, oaks of various kinds, rhododendrons, and so on. Dwarf bamboos, making excellent fodder, were constantly met with, even at heights over 7,000 feet above sea-level. There is some cutch on the lower slopes on the Burmese side.

Flora and Fauna.—On the lower slopes the usual flowers and vegetation seen in Burma are met with. Higher up flowers and plants of a colder climate are seen, including orchids, ferns, roses, lawn daisies, marguerites, thistles, mosses; also a shrub with a flower like hawthorn.

The wild animals are:—

Tigers.	Hare.
Bears.	Porcupine.
Leopards.	Otter.
Pigs.	Wild cats.
Deer of many kinds.	Jungle fowl.
Wild cattle (*sain* and *pyaung*).	Pheasants (silver).
Monkeys.	Partridge.
Apes (Hoolocks).	Many kinds of small birds.

The domestic animals are:—

Maiþan.	Dogs.
Pigs.	Fowl.

Goats.

All are used for food and sacrifices, and for marriage gifts.

Houses.—The houses resemble those of Burmans, except that they are stronger and better built; the thatch on the roofs being often a foot thick, well put on, and firmly tied down. The floors are frequently of teak or fir planks hewn out of a single tree. The floors are raised three to six feet from the ground. Pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls live underneath and all round, and the houses, though otherwise clean, are full of fleas. The fireplaces are similar to those in Burman houses.

During the cultivating season the villages are abandoned and temporary huts are built in the fields, as well as sheds for storing grain. To prevent rats from getting into the latter they are raised six feet or more off the ground, and branches of fir, stalk-ends uppermost, are tied to the posts, because rats cannot run up them. Flat circular boards are also used for the purpose of preventing rats from running up a post, the post passing through a hole in the centre.

Engineering Works.—There are no engineering works on a large scale.

Fishing dams are constructed to isolate reaches of streams in order to catch or poison the fish, or to divert the stream.

[14] [A Shân custom also. —ED.].

[15] *dain* = *kôs* = about 2 miles.

Bridges across streams are also made on the cantilever principle. These are wonderful constructions of bamboo and very clever. Other simple bridges are also made, including swing-bridges.

Aqueducts for bringing water into the villages are also ingeniously designed. They are made of bamboos, split so as to form a gutter, along which the water runs. The bamboo gutters are supported, according to the level required, on tripods. A spot higher than the village is chosen as the source of water-supply often nearly half-a-mile distant. The Chinbôns, who have paddy-fields, irrigate them in the same way as the Burmans.

The roads are mere tracks and are not in any way constructed.

Household Furniture, Dishes, &c.—The only articles of furniture to be found in a Chin house are the fireplace and cooking pots, similar to those used by Burmans. Water is kept in *gharás*, bamboos, or gourds. They eat with their fingers off bits of matting, which take the place of plates.

Each house has a rough loom, spindle, &c., for spinning. In Chinbôn houses the grain-pounders protrude through the floor.

In all houses are found a few baskets containing grain for present use and some liquor jars.

Trophies and Decorations.—In the verandah of each Chinbôk or Yindu house are the heads of every animal shot, captured, or killed by the houseowner. The Chinbôks also carve boards, or rather posts, about eight feet high, which they erect outside their houses. These indicate the number of head of game which the owner has killed. No man is thought much of unless he has a good show of heads and posts. The heads include tiger, bear, *sámbhar, sain*, and various kinds of deer, monkeys, and domestic animals. Chinbôns shoot but little.

Raids.—The objects of raids are to obtain possession of slaves, cattle, money, and property of all kinds; and are never undertaken with the sole object of (human) head-hunting. They are not only directed against British-Burman subjects, but also against those dwelling across the Yômâs, and even against another Chin tribe.

The captives taken in raids into Burma are usually held to ransom. The actual process of raiding is accompanied with much bloodshed and cruelty, but the prisoners are well treated if once they reach the village of their captors. Women are not outraged.

As captives, women, children, and *pôngyîs*, (priests), are preferred: the two former as there is less chance of their effecting their escape than men; the latter because they can obtain such enormous ransoms for their release. Captives are at first placed in stocks, but are afterwards allowed out with a log attached to their legs, and a string to carry it by. To secure the leg to the log a hole is cut through the centre of the log. Through this hole the foot and ankle are inserted, and also a wooden pin so as to make the hole too small to allow of the foot being withdrawn. A string is attached to either end of the log, which the prisoner holds in his hand when walking, thus taking the weight off the ankle. If it is thought that prisoner is not likely to attempt to escape, the log is removed. Prisoners are obliged to work in the fields, fetch water, husk grain, &c.

Captives, if not quickly redeemed by their own people, are sold from village to village, which renders it very difficult to trace and recover them. They fetch from Rs. 80 to Rs. 300, sometimes paid in cash, but generally in cattle.

Cattle are much prized, and are driven off from the plains, whenever opportunity offers.

Iron is greatly valued for spear and arrow heads, &c. When raiding in Burma the Chins frequently tear off the *t'is* (summit ornaments) from pagodas for the sake of the iron they contain.

Certain villages are notorious raiders, cultivating but little and living by raiding. They are a terror to the weaker and more industrious Chin villagers, whom they greatly oppress, and who are consequently frequently driven to raid on Burman villages to recoup themselves for the heavy losses they sustain at the hands of their more powerful neighbours. This system of terrorism keeps the Chins the savages we find them. They have no incentive to become prosperous, as they are liable to lose their all, including wives and children, at any moment. They can ransom their relations, if well enough off, but the price demanded is beyond the means of most Chins.

Raids are organized as follows. The leading man or chief, who wishes to get up a raid, gets men together from his own and other villages. He gives a feast and arranges for rations on the road. All these expenses he defrays, but gets the lion's share of the captives and loot. Quarrels frequently occur, attended with bloodshed, over division of the spoil. The *nâts* are always consulted and, if the omens are unfavourable, the raid is postponed and often abandoned altogether.

Moonlight nights are usually chosen for raids and a "surprise" is always attempted. While retreating they generally spike the path behind them with bamboos and, if pressed, they often kill their captives. On this account the Burmans frequently hesitate to follow them up.

Warfare.—The Chin system of warfare is almost identical with the system of raiding. When attacking an enemy's village, or a force encamped, they always attempt a surprise, and unless they consider themselves very strong, they content themselves with harassing a column on the line of march by creeping up and discharging arrows, generally at the rear-guard. They will also roll down boulders and rocks, if opportunity offers, upon an advancing force, and will attempt to burn the jungle through which a column is passing. They only attempt a front attack when confident of success, and then advance yelling and shouting. On the defensive they roll down rocks, spike roads, and discharge arrows from behind cover. They do not dig pits

Chinbôk villages are not fenced in any way. Yindu villages have a thorn or bamboo fence which presents no serious obstacle.

Chinbôns stockade with what is known as "Chin stockade-work" and form most formidable abattis by felling the bamboo jungle in which their villages are generally built, sharpening the ends of the bamboos, and planting innumerable spikes. There is only one gate to a Chinbôn village and it is a very narrow one, approached by a path which admits of men advancing in single file only. A few of the villages are not stockaded, but built on high poles.

Chin villages are generally built in dense jungle hollows on the sides of the hills. They can always be taken in rear and commanded, and should never be attacked from below. Approaches will always be found to be spiked, and rocks will be rolled on the advancing column.

Smoking and Washing.—Men, women, and even small children are never without their pipes and tobacco, and smoke constantly. A description has already been given of the different kinds of pipes they smoke. The tobacco used is grown by themselves and sun-dried. It is very rank.

Chins, especially the Northern Chinbôks, have the greatest dislike to water. They never wash their bodies, and very seldom touch their faces and hands, with water. Their clothes are never washed.

Food and Drink.—The food of the Chins consists of the grain and vegetables they grow, the domestic animals they keep, and the game and fish they shoot and catch. Grain and vegetables are boiled, except *chaiksàn*, which is generally roasted, as is also the flesh of animals. They cook like the Burmans, but do not use oil.

Except the beer they brew, water is their only beverage. The women draw water in *gharás*, gourds or bamboos.

Drunkenness.—The most remarkable custom of these people is their habit of getting drunk on every possible occasion Every and any incident is an excuse to bring out the beer jars (*see Plate C*)—the arrival of a stranger or visitor, the birth of a child, a marriage, a death, a case of sickness, an offering to or consultation of *nàts*,—are all sufficient excuses for every one present, men, women, and even tiny children, to get drunk. They frequently keep up these debauches for days. The liquor is made of grain, boiled and fermented, and varies much in quality, depending on the grain used (rice is the best) and the length of time the liquor has been kept. Good Chin beer is a very palatable drink, much resembling cider in taste, but more like perry in appearance. The liquor is stored in jars, standing over two feet in height and filled half full with the fermenting grain. As the liquor is drawn off the jar is filled up with water.

The liquor is drunk as follows:—A hollow bamboo, the thickness of a little finger, is thrust into the jar, and pressed well down into the grain. The company sit round this and take sucks in turn.

A more civilized way of drawing off the liquor is sometimes followed. A hole is made in the side of the bamboo above mentioned, the hollow top being stopped up; into this hole another bamboo is inserted sloping downwards over the side of the jar (*see Plate C*). The host gives a suck to start the liquor running: gourds are then filled and handed round.

Tattooing.—All women have their faces tattooed (*see Plate A*). The process is commenced when they are small children and gradually completed, the operations extending over several years.

The Chinbôks cover the face with nicks, lines, and dots in a uniform design, the women's breasts being also surrounded with a circle of dots. The Yindus tattoo in lines across the face, showing glimpses of the skin. The Chinbôns tattoo jet black and are the most repulsive in appearance, though often fair-skinned. The beauty of a woman is judged by the style in which the tattooing has been done. Men are not tattooed at all.

Proper Names.—Most Chin villages have Burmese names. Many have two names, one a Chin and the other a Burman name, which causes great confusion. Among themselves they usually talk of a village as So-and-so's village, naming the *Þjûi* (headman). Thus, a village of which the headman's name was Nga Tin would be called Nga Tinywâ (Nga Tin's[14] Village). The names of men resemble Burman names, but they invariably prefix *Nga* instead of *Maung*.

The women's names are curious; they prefix *Mi* and *Ba*.

The following are examples of names:—

Men.	Women.
Nga Kwai.	Mi Ba Do.
Nga Shain.	Mi Ba Laung.
Nga Cha.	Mi Ba Sôk.
Nga Tin.	

Sanitation.—The villages are kept cleaner than Burman villages, otherwise their sanitary arrangements are similar.

Carrying Loads.—Everything is carried slung across the forehead by a strap, usually in cane baskets about the size of a Burmese pack-bullock's basket. Sometimes there is a second strap, which passes across the chest Even water is carried in this manner, gourds being filled and placed in the basket, or, if *gharás* are used, the *gharâ* is placed in the basket. A Chin makes nothing of a sixty-pound bag of *âṭâ* (flour) going over the worst possible tracks.

Music and Dancing.—Musical instruments consist of gongs, cymbals, drums, and bells. There is also a curious kind of banjo made out of one piece of bamboo a little thicker than a man's wrist and about eighteen inches long. The bamboo used is hollow and cut off at both ends just beyond the joint. Narrow strips of the bamboo are then slit and raised on small pegs without severing the ends; four or five strings are thus formed, which are manipulated with the fingers. The music produced is rather pleasant.

There is no tune, but time is kept on the drums. Dancing, in which both men and women take part, is generally commenced when they are all primed with liquor.

The men brandish spears and *dâs* and shout, or rather yell. By firelight the sight is a curious and pretty one.

Oaths.—Oaths are of several kinds and are supposed to be binding. The one most feared is drinking water that has been poured over the skull of a tiger.

Another oath is partly Burmese, [? Chinese—ED.] in origin The terms of the oath are written on paper and burnt, while the swearing parties place the butts of their arms, spears, *dâs*, guns, bows, arrows, &c., in a basin of water. The ashes of the paper are then mixed with the water and drunk by the parties concerned.

Another oath is drinking blood.[15] In all oaths much liquor is drunk. It is doubtful whether oaths are of any value.

Births, Marriages, Deaths.—All these are great occasions and necessitate sacrifices to the *nâts*, feasting, and much drinking, accompanied by music and dancing.

When a child is born the *nâts* are consulted to ascertain if it will live or die.

Marriage among the Chinbôks is a love affair, and takes place at about twenty years of age. The young man proposes and, if accepted, the consent of the girl's parents is asked. They, if they approve of the suitor, consult the *nâts* to see if the marriage will be a lucky one.

If the omens are favourable, one *maiþan* at least must be given to the bride's parents. If the bridegroom has not got the value of a *maiþan*, he promises to pay by instalments and takes possession of the bride at once. If the girl has many necklaces, several *maiþan* must be given. A big drink and feast follows, and sacrifices to the *nâts*.

If, however, the omens prove unfavourable and the young couple are nevertheless anxious to be married, the *nâts* are periodically consulted until they are favourable. This always must happen in time, if the *nâts* are only consulted frequently enough.

The Yindu marriage customs are different. Among them the love is one-sided. The would-be bridegroom selects the lady of his fancy and goes to her father's house with ten pairs of earrings, or their value, and demands the girl, giving the father the earrings. The girl is immediately handed over to him, whether willing or not, and whether the parents approve of the match or not. The usual drinks and ceremonies follow.

[14] [This confusion is universal in the East, *e.g.*, an average Pathân village has six names; an average Sikkim village has five; a Kâsmîr village has four, and may have nine; in the Amherst District a village or place will have ordinarily a Burmese, Talaing, Shân and Taungṫû name, to which may be superadded a Pâli name also. See my papers on the Tal-Chotiali Route, *J. R. G. S.*, Vol. L., and *J. A. S. B.*, Part II. for 1882, and my Edition of Sir R. Temple's *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, 1887, preface, pp. xviii—xxi—ED.]

[15] [See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 423ff. ED.]

There are no divorces. If a man's wife is carried off by another man, as frequently happens, the husband kills his rival, if he can, and takes back his wife.

There is no restriction as to the number of wives allotted to one man. If a man dies, his brother must take his wife and children. In this way one man may accumulate many families.

On a death occurring all the friends assemble and drink. A *maiban*, or other suitable sacrifice, is slain. The number of days the body is kept, and consequently the duration of the festivities, depends on the age and importance of the deceased. The body is eventually carried far into the jungle to a burial-ground on the ridge of a hill, where it is burnt. The charred bones are collected and, together with the clothes of the deceased, are placed in an earthen pot.

The pot is, amongst the Chinbôks and Yindus, then placed on the ground under a slab of stone supported on four upright stones. In the Chinbôk and Yindu country there are large cemeteries of these stones, some of which are of enormous size and must have taken great labour to bring from the places where they abound to the burial-ground.

The Chinbôns do not use stones, but erect miniature houses, which are models of the style of architecture of the particular village to which the deceased belonged, being either raised on poles or not, as the case may be. In these houses, which form miniature villages, the pots are placed. Those Chinbôns who have emigrated to and died in Burma, are cremated where they die, but their bones are carefully collected and sent in a pot to be placed in the cemetery of the village, to which they or their forefathers originally belonged.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

When a young Brâhmaṇ visits or takes leave of an elderly man of his caste and sect, either in consequence of age or learning, the custom is for the younger to prostrate himself before the elder and to receive his blessing.

In poor Brâhmaṇ houses, a widow is the chief cook and she performs almost all the menial work in the house. She gets up early in the morning and shuns the presence of everybody else in the house, as it is superstitiously believed that if anybody sees a widow's face on rising from his bed he will have bad luck during the day. Even her own children, if she has any, are averse to seeing her face in the morning, and she herself, knowing the evil that would arise, will not approach them. When a person starts on a journey or on any special errand, if a widow comes before him, it is an evil omen. On entering upon her widowhood, a woman takes off the hair on her head, and a portion of her waist cloth is put round her head. She usually turns very religious, takes only one meal a day, and sets aside all worldly pleasures. She is also prohibited from singing on marriage occasions.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

SUPERSTITIONS AS TO SNAKES IN MADRAS.

Take half a measure full of native onions and make about three or four dozen small bags, put half a dozen onions into each and then tie up the bags at some small distance from each other to the rafters under the tiles, or tie up to the rafters about half a dozen peacock feathers. As snakes have a very acute sense of smell, and as the smell of these two things is very repugnant to them, they will always keep away. The above is said to be very effective in the case of cobras.

Snake charmers in Southern India have often been seen to catch cobras with their right hand, while keeping a small stick in their left hand. This stick is always besmeared with onion juice.

A pinch of tobacco snuff thrown over the head of a cobra acts as chloroform and the cobra is benumbed as it were.

It is considered a great sin to kill a cobra. When a cobra is killed the people generally burn it as they do human bodies. A man who has killed a cobra considers himself as polluted for three days or at least for ninety hours, and in the second day milk is poured on the remains of the cobra. On the third day he is free from pollution.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Indian screech owl or death-bird is held in great fear by the Hindus of Southern India. If this bird happens to sit on the roof of a house and screech thrice, it is said that the chief member of the house will die within one week from that date.

If bees build a nest in any part of a house, it is said that the chief member of the house will die within one month from that date.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

BHARAUT INSCRIPTIONS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE.

THE remains of the **Buddhist Stûpa of Bharaut**[1] were discovered in 1873 by General Sir A. Cunningham, who very judiciously saved most of them from destruction by removal to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. His richly illustrated monograph *The Stûpa of Bharhut* (London, 1879) contains eye-copies and tentative transcripts and translations of the Bharaut inscriptions, both of those which are now at Calcutta, and of those which remain *in situ*. Part of the Calcutta inscriptions have been minutely treated by Dr. Hoernle.[2] With the kind permission of Dr. Anderson, Superintendent of the Indian Museum, I prepared mechanical copies of all those at Calcutta in 1885 and published them with German translations.[3] The importance which the Bharaut inscriptions undoubtedly possess on account of their antiquity, now induces me to republish my German paper, with some additions and corrections, in English, and thus to make it more generally accessible.

The age of the Bharaut inscriptions is approximately fixed by the inscription No. 1, which records that the East gateway of the Stûpa was built "during the reign of the **Suṅgas,**" *i. e.*, in the second or first century B. C., by **Vâtsîputra Dhanabhûti.** From the manner in which he refers to the 'Suṅgas, it may be concluded that this king was one of their tributaries. One of those inscriptions which have not been removed to Calcutta[4] contains the name "of prince Vâdhapâla (*i. e*, Vyâdhapâla ?) the son of king Dhanabhûti." At the beginning of another fragment, one is tempted to conjecture *tisa* instead of *kasa*, the reading of General Cunningham's eye-copy,[5] and to translate : — "The gift of Nâgarakhitâ (*i. e.*, Nâgarakshitâ) the wife of king [Dhanabhû]ti." A gift by some later Dhanabhûti is recorded in a Mathurâ inscription, which has been removed to Alîgaḍh.[6]

With the exception of No. 1, the Bharaut inscriptions do not contain any historical information. They are simply labels which record the names of the donors of the pillars (*stambha*) or rails (*sûchi*) on which they are engraved, or explain the subjects which some of the reliefs represent. The following **towns** from which some of the donors hailed, are incidentally mentioned : — Bhôgavardhana, Bhôjakaṭa, Bi[m]bik[â]na[n]dikaṭa, Kâkandî, Karahakaṭa, Kubjatinduka (?), Mayûragiri, N[an]d[i]nagara, Pâṭaliputra, Purikâ, 'Sirîshapadra, Sthavirâkûta and Vaidiśa. The epithets Chikulaniya or Chekulana, Chudaṭhîlikâ and Dabhinikâ appear to be likewise derived from names of localities, the Sanskṛit originals of which are, however, doubtful. In General Cunningham's eye-copies of those inscriptions which were not removed to Calcutta, occur : — Karahakata (Plate lv. No. 96), Moragiri (No. 95), Nâsika (No. 87) and Vedisa (No. 100, and Plate lvi. No. 1); also Bhojakaṭaka, 'a resident of Bhôjakaṭa' (Plate lvi. No. 46), Kosabeyeka, 'a female resident of Kauśâmbî' (Plate liv. No. 53), and Selapuraka, 'a resident of 'Sailapura' (Plate lv. No. 91). Among these geographical names, **Kauśâmbî, Nâsika, Pâṭaliputra** and **Vaidiśa** are the modern Kôsam, Nâsik, Paṭna and Bêsnagar.

Of the **Buddhist scenes** which are represented in the sculptures and referred to in the inscriptions, part are still obscure, and part have been successfully identified by General Cunningham. The most interesting among these representations are the *Jâtakas*, or supposed previous births of the founder of the Buddhist creed. As will be seen from the subjoined table, a considerable number of them have been traced by the Rev. Subhûti, Professor Rhys Davids, and myself, in the **Pâli collection of Jâtakas,** for the publication of which we are indebted to the scholarship of Professor Fausboll.

1 As stated by Dr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 138, note 1, this appears to be the correct spelling of the name. General Cunningham uses the form Bharhut.

2 *ante*, Vol. X. pp. 118 ff. and 255 ff. Vol. XI. pp. 25 ff.

3 *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. pp. 58 ff.

4 *Stûpa of Bharhut*, Plate lvi. No. 54.

5 *Ibid.* No. 67.

6 *Ibid.* Plate liii. No. 4, and *Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. III. Plate xvi. No. 21.

Below, No.		Fausboll's No.	
Below, No. 3.	Maghâdeviya jataka.	Fausboll's No. 9.	Makhâdêva-jâtaka.
,, ,, 6.	Sujato gahuto jataka.	,, ,, 352.	Sujâta-jâtaka.
,, ,, 7.	Bidala-jata[k]a, (*alias*) Kukuṭa-jataka.	,, ,, 383.	Kukkuṭa-jâtaka.
,, ,, 10.	Isi-migo jataka.	. . . .	
,, ,, 12.	Kinara-jâtakaṁ.	,, Vol. IV. pp. 252 to 254.	
,, ,, 14.	Uda-jataka.	,, No. 400.	Dabbhapuppha-jâtaka.
,, ,, 15.	Sechha-jataka.	,, ,, 174.	Dûbhiyamakkaṭa-jâtaka.
,, ,, 17.	Bhisaharaniya jataka[ṁ].	,, ,, 488.	Bhisa-jâtaka.
,, ,, 32.	Nâga-jâtaka.	,, ,, 267.	Kakkaṭa-jâtaka.
,, ,, 37.	Miga-jâtakaṁ.	,, ,, 482.	Ruru-jâtaka(?).
,, ,, 72.	Yavamajhakiyaṁ jâtakaṁ.	. . . .	
,, ,, 85.	Chhadaṁtiya jâtakaṁ.	,, ,, 514.	Chhaddanta-jâtaka.
,, ,, 86.	Vitura-Punakiya jatakaṁ.	. . . .	
,, ,, 109.	Laṭuvâ-jâtaka.	,, ,, 357.	Laṭukika-jâtaka.
,, ,, 155.	M[u]ga[pa]k[i]y[a] j[â]ta[ka].	. . . .	
,, ,, 156.	Isis[iṁgiya jâ]ta[ka].	,, ,, 523.	Alambusa-jâtaka.
,, ,, 157.	Yaṁ bram[h]ano avayesi jatakaṁ.	,, ,, 62.	Aṇḍabhûta-jâtaka.
,, ,, 158.	Haṁsa-jâtaka.	,, ,, 32.	Nachcha-jâtaka.
Cunningham's Plate xxvii. No. 9.		,, ,, 206.	Kuruṅgamiga-jâtaka.
,, ,, ,, ,, 13.		,, ,, 181.	Asadisa-jâtaka.
,, ,, ,, ,, 14.		,, ,, 461.	Dasaratha-jâtaka.
,, ,, xxxiii. ,, 4.		,, ,, 407.	Mahâkapi-jâtaka.
,, ,, xliii. ,, 8.		,, ,, 12.	Nigrôdhamiga-jâtaka.
,, ,, xlv. ,, 5.		,, Nos. 46 and 268.	Ârâmadûsaka-jâtaka.

It appears from the above table that the titles of the single *Jâtakas* in the Bharaut inscriptions generally differ more or less from those which are adopted in the standard redaction of the *Jâtaka* book. A very curious proof for the antiquity of the verses which are handed down to us in the *Jâtaka* book, is afforded by the inscription No. 157, which quotes the first *pâda* of one of these verses.[7] As discovered by the late Professor Childers (*Pâli Dictionary*, p. ix. note 3), an almost literal quotation from the **Life of Buddha**, which is prefixed to the *Jâtaka* book (Vol. I. p. 92), occurs in the inscription No. 38. The announcement of the future conception of Buddha (No. 80), his descent to earth (No. 98), and the festival in honour of his hair-lock (No. 78), are referred to in the same introduction to the *Jâtaka*, Vol. I. pp. 48, 50, and 65. 'The assembly (of ascetics) with matted hair' (*jaṭila*, No. 13) is probably intended for Uruvêla-Kassapa and his followers (Vol. I. p. 82 f.). The Indraśâla cave (No. 99) corresponds to the Indraśaila cave of the Northern Buddhists, who also mention the visits of king Prasênajit of Kôsala and of the serpent king Airâvata to Buddha (Nos. 58 and 60). The visit of Ajâtaśatru (No. 77) is described in the records of both Northern and Southern Buddhists.

In the inscriptions, **Buddha** is generally designated Bhagavat, 'the Blessed one,' and once (No. 46) Sâkyamuni. Of the **former Buddhas** the following are named: — Vipaśyin, Viśvabhû, Kakutsaṁdha, Kôṇâgamana, Kâśyapa. The inscriptions also mention 'Sudharmâ, the hall of the gods,' 'Vaijayanta, the palace (of Indra),' the two classes of deities called Kâmâvachara and Suddhâvâsa, and give the names of four celestial nymphs (*apsaras*), three goddesses (*dêvatâ*), one angel (*dêvaputra*), one *vidyâdhara*, six male and two female *yakshas*,

[7] The chief story of the fifth book of the *Pañchatantra* is closely related to the *Chatudvârajâtaka* (Fausboll's No. 439). At the beginning of the *Pañchatantra* story occurs the following verse (No. 22 of the Bombay edition): —

अतिलोभो न कर्तव्यो लोभं नैव परित्यजेत्। अतिलोभाभिभूतस्य चक्रं भ्रमति मस्तके ॥

The fourth *pâda* of this verse is identical with that of the 5th verse of the *Chatudvârajâtaka*, the second half of which reads: — *ichchhâhatassa pôsassa chakkaṁ bhamati matthakê.*

and two serpent kings (*nâgarâja*). Buddhistical terms are: — *chaitya*, *bôdhi* or *bôdha*, *bôdhichakra* and *dharmachakra*. The mention of donors who were versed in the *Piṭakas*, (No. 134), in the *Sûtrânta* (No. 95) and in the five *Nikâyas* (No. 144) proves that **the Buddhist canon and its subdivisions** were known and studied in the second or first century B. C. Among the donors are one householder (*grihapati*), one trooper (*aśvavârika*), one sculptor (*rûpakâraka*), four preachers (*bhâṇaka*) and twelve nuns (*bhikshuṇî*). Others are characterised as members of the priesthood by the epithet 'reverend' (*ârya* or *bhadanta*).

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

No. 1 (Cunningham's Plate liii. No. 1).[8]

1 Suganaṁ raje raño Gâgî-putasa Visadevasa

2 pauteṇa Goti-putasa Âgarajusa puteṇa

3 Vâchhi-putena Dhanabhûtina kâritaṁ toranâṁ[9]

4 silâ-kaṁmaṁto cha upaṁṇa.[10]

During the reign of the **Suṅgas**, — **Vâtsî-putra Dhanabhûti**, the son of **Gauptî-putra Aṅgâradyut**[11] (*and*) grandson of king **Gârgî-putra Viśvadêva**, caused (*this*) gateway to be made, and the stone-work[12] arose.

No. 2 (liii. 1 b).

Aya-Nâgadevasa dânaṁ.

The gift of the reverend **Nâgadêva.**

No. 3 (liii. 2 b; Hoernle's No. 5).

Maghâdeviya jataka.

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of **Makhâdêva.**

No. 4 (liii. 3 b; Hoernle's No. 6).

Dighatapasi sise anusâsati.

Dîrghatapasvin instructs (*his*) pupils.

No. 5 (liii. 4 b; Hoernle's No. 7).

Abode châtiyaṁ.[13]

The *chaitya* on (*Mount*) **Arbuda.**

No. 6 (liii. 5).

Sujato gahuto jataka.

The *jâ taka* (*entitled*) " **Sujâta** caught. "[14]

No. 7 (liii. 6).

Biḍala-jatara[15] kukuṭa-jataka.

The cat *jâtaka*, (*also called*) the cock *jâtaka*.

No. 8 (liii. 7).

Daḍanikamo chakama.

The enclosure (*called*) **Daṇḍanishkrama** (?).

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[8] The text of Nos. 1 to 154 is transcribed from impressions which I prepared at Calcutta in 1885. A facsimile of No. 1 is found *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 139, and facsimiles of Nos. 2 to 15, 17 to 51, 55 to 151, and 153 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. pp. 60 and 70.

[9] Read *toranaṁ* (I instead of Γ).

[10] Read *upaṁno* (ㅗ instead of I).

[11] As suggested by Dr. Bühler, this name has to be explained by *Aṅgâra[ka] iva dyôtata ity Aṅgâradyut*, 'shining like (the planet) Mars.' The custom, in accordance with which each of the three kings bears a secondary name derived from the *gôtra* of his mother, has descended through the Andhras to the Kadambas and Chalukyas; see Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 5, note 2.

[12] See Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, s. v. *kammanto.*

[13] Possibly a clerical mistake for *chetiyaṁ.*

[14] *Gahuto* (Sanskrit *grihîtaḥ*) appears to mean either 'surprised' or 'understood' (by his father); see the *Sujâtajâtaka*, Fausboll's No. 352.

[15] This is a clerical mistake for *jataka* (i. e. *jâtakaṁ*).

No. 9 (liii. 8).

Asaḍâ vadhu susâne sigâla[16] ñati.[17]

The woman **Ashâḍhâ**, who has observed the jackals on the cemetery.

No. 10 (liii. 9).

Isi-migo jataka.

The *jâtaka* (*entitled*) "the antelope of the saint."

No. 11 (liii. 10; Hoernle's No. 1).

Miga-samadaka[ṁ] chetaya.[18]

The *chaitya* which gladdens the antelopes.

No. 12 (liii. 12).

Kinara-jâtakaṁ.

The *Kiṁnara jâtaka*.

No. 13 (liii. 13).

Jaṭila-sabhâ.

The assembly (*of ascetics*) with matted hair.

No. 14 (liii. 14).

Uda-jataka.

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of the (*two*) otters.

No. 15 (liii. 15; Hoernle's No. 4).

Sechha-jataka.

The *śaiksha*[19] *jâtaka*.

No. 16 (liii. 16).

1 Karahakaṭa-nigamasa
2 dâna.

The gift of the city of **Karahakaṭa**.[20]

No. 17 (liii. 17).

Bhisaharaniya jataka[ṁ].

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of the stealing of the lotus-fibres.

No. 18 (liii. 18; Hoernle's No. 8).

Veḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate.

Vêṇuka[21] milks[22] *katha*[23] on Mount **Naḍôda**.

No. 19 (liii. 19; Hoernle's No. 9).

Jabû Naḍode pavate.

The *jambû* (*tree*) on Mount **Naḍôda**.

No. 20 (liii. 20; Hoernle's No. 2).

U . . . . . Janȧko râja Sivala devi.

. . . . . King **Janaka**. Queen **Sivalâ**.[24]

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16 Read *sigâle* (acc. plur.)?

17 *ñati* probably represents the Sanskrit *jñâtṛi*, as *ketâ* in No. 38 stands for *krêtâ*.

18 It remains doubtful whether the vowel *a* in the second syllable of this word is due to a clerical omission of the sign for *i*, or if it is the expression of an indistinct pronunciation of the vowel *i*. Compare *Sabhadâ* for *Subhadrâ* an *Ajâtasata* for *Ajâtaśatru* in Nos. 52 and 77.

19 See Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, s.v. *sekho*.

20 Karahâkaḍaka, 'a resident of Karahâkada,' occurs in the Kudâ inscription No. 18, *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 87. Karahakata or Karahâkada is probably identical with Karahâtaka, which is referred to in a Râshtrakûṭa inscription of Śaka 675 (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 110), and with the modern Karhâḍ in the Sattârâ district.

21 According to No. 68, this person was a gardener. Vêḷuka, 'little reed,' occurs in the *Jâtaka* No. 43 as the name of a snake.

22 See the corresponding relief, *Stûpa of Bharhut*, Plate xlviii. No. 9.

23 This word may be meant for *kaṭha* (Pâli *kaṭṭha*, Sanskrit *kâshṭha*), or, according to Dr. Bühler, for *kvatha* or *kvâtha*, 'a decoction.'

24 Similar formations are Ahila and Vasula in the Kuḍâ inscriptions, and Himala, Isila and Sivalâ in the Amarâvatî inscriptions.

No. 21 (liii. 21; Hoernle's No. 3).

Chitupâda-sila.

The **Chitrôtpâta** rock.[25]

No. 22 (liii. 1 c).

Vedisâ Châpadevâyâ Revatimita-bhâriyâya paṭhama-thabho dânaṁ.

The first pillar (*is*) the gift of **Châpadêvâ**, the wife of **Rêvatîmitra**, from **Vaidiśa.**

No. 23 (liii. 2 c).

Bhadaṁtasa[26] aya-Bhutarakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa dânaṁ.

The gift of the lord, the reverend **Bhûtarakshita**, from **Kubjatinduka(?).**

No. 24 (liii. 3 c).

Bhagavato Vesabhuno bodhi sâlo.

The *śâla* (*which was*) the *bôdhi* (*tree*) of the blessed **Viśvabhû.**

No. 25 (liii. 4 c).

Aya-Gorakhitasa thabho dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Gôrakshita.**

No. 26 (liii. 5 b, 6 b).

Aya-Paṁthakasa thaṁbho dânaṁ Chulakokâ devatâ.

A pillar, (*representing*) the goddess **Kshudrakôkâ**,[27] the gift of the reverend **Panthaka.**

No. 27 (liii. 7 b).

1 Dabhinikâya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhika-

2 ya bhichhuniya dânaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Badhikâ**,[28] the daughter of **Mahâmukhi**, from **Dabhina(?).**

No. 28 (liii. 8 b).

2 Pâṭaliputâ Nâgasenâya Koḍi-

1 yâniyâ dânaṁ.

The gift of **Nâgasênâ**, a **Kôḍyânî**,[29] from **Pâṭaliputra.**

No. 29 (liii. 9 b).

1 Samanâyâ bhikhuniyâ Chudaṭhîlikâyâ

2 dânaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Śramaṇâ**[30] from **Chudaṭhîla.**

No. 30 (liii. 11 b).

Bhagavato Konâgamenasa[31] bodhi.

The *bôdhi* (*tree*) of the blessed **Kôṇâgamana.**

No. 31 (liii. 12 b).

Bhojakaṭakâya Diganagay[e] bhichhuniya dânaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Diṅnâgâ** from **Bhôjakaṭa.**[32]

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[25] *Chitrâ utpâtâ yatra sâ śilâ*, 'the rock where miraculous portents happen.' The Pâli *uppâda* represents both *utpâda* and *utpâta*; compare *Anâdha*° for *Anâtha*° in No. 38.

[26] *tasa* looks like *tâso*, and the *ta* of *Bhuta* like *tâ*.

[27] *i. e.* 'the little Kôkâ.' Her counterpart, 'the big Kôkâ,' is mentioned on Plate lv. of the *Stûpa of Bharhut*, No. 98, which reads :— *Mahakoka devata.*

[28] Perhaps Bôdhikâ has to be restored. The name Bôdhî occurs in three Kuḍâ inscriptions.

[29] Koḍiyâni, which is found again in No. 100, might be the feminine of Kodiya (No. 63); compare *arya—aryâṇî*, and *kshatriya—kshatriyâṇî*. On the Kôḍyas, a tribe residing near and related to the Śâkyas, see Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. I. pp. 174 and 295. Besides, Koḍiyâni might correspond to the patronymic Kauṇḍinyâyanî; compare Kachchâna = Kâtyâyana, and Moggallâna = Maudgalyâyana.

[30] It follows from Nos. 103 and 104, that Śramaṇâ is here used as a proper name.

[31] In the fourth syllable of *Konâgamenasa* we appear to have a case of short (Prâkrit) *e* for Sanskrit *a*. Short *e* for *i* occurs in *Peṭakin* (No. 134) for *Piṭakin*, and *Seri* (No. 149) for *Sirî* (Śrî); short *o* for *u* in *Aboda* (No. 5) for *Arbuda*; long *ê* for *â* in the termination *yê* (Nos. 65, 106, 120, 121, 146, 148 and 150) for *yâḥ*; and long *ô* for *â* in *dônu* (No. 130) for *dâna*.—The first syllable of *bodhi* is injured and looks like *be*.

[32] According to a grant of the Vâkâṭaka king Pravarasêna II. the village of Charmâṅka,—the modern Chammak in the Ilichpur district,—belonged to the Bhôjakaṭa-râjya; see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 236.

No. 32 (liii. 13 b).

Nâga-jâtaka.
The elephant *jâtaka*.

No. 33 (liii. 14 b).

1 Bib[i]k[â]nadikaṭa Budhino gahapatino
2 dânaṁ.
The gift of the householder **Buddhi** (*from*) **Bimbikânandikaṭa** (?).

No. 34 (liii. 15 b).

Supâvaso Yakho.
The *Yaksha* **Suprâvṛisha** (?).

No. 35 (liii. 16 b).

Dhamagutasa dânaṁ thabho.
A pillar, the gift of **Dharmagupta.**

No. 36 (liii. 17 b).

1 Bîbikanadikaṭa Suladhasa asavârikâ-
2 sa[33] dânaṁ.
The gift of the trooper **Sulabdha** (*from*) **Bimbikânandikaṭa.**

No. 37 (liii. 18 b, 19 b).

1 Pusasa thaṁbho dânaṁ
2 miga-jâtakaṁ.
A pillar, (*representing*) the antelope *jâtaka*, the gift of **Pushya.**

No. 38 (liii. 20 b).

Jetavana Anâdhapeḍiko deti koṭi-saṁthatena ketâ.
Anâthapiṇḍika gives **Jêtavana,** (*which*) he has bought by a layer of crores (*of gold pieces*).

No. 39 (liii. 21 b).

Kosa[ṁ]ba-kuṭi.
The hall at **Kauśâmbî.**

No. 40 (liii. 22 b).

Ga[ṁ]dhakuṭi.
The hall of perfumes.[34]

No. 41 (liii. 23).

Dhamarakhitasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Dharmarakshita.**

No. 42 (liii. 24).

Chakavâko Nâgarâjâ.
Chakravâka, the king of serpents.

No. 43 (liii. 25).

V[i]ruḍako Yakh[o].
The *Yaksha* **Virûḍhaka.**[35]

No. 44 (liii. 26).

Gaṁgito Yakho.
The *Yaksha* **Gaṅgita.**

No. 45 (liv. 27; Hoernle's No. 17).

Aya-Isidinasa bhânakasa dânaṁ.
The gift of the reverend **Ṛishidatta,** a preacher.

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[33] Read °*vârikasa*.
[34] On *gandhakuṭî* see *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 140, and *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. V. p. 77.
[35] See Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskṛit-Wörterbuch*, s. v., and Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, s. v. *virûḷho*.

No. 46 (liv. 28; Hoernle's No. 11).

1 Bhagavato Sakamunino
2 bodho.

The *bôdha* (*tree*) of the blessed **Śâkyamuni.**

No. 47 (liv. 29; Hoernle's No. 12 a).

1 Purathima [di]sa Sudhâ-
2 vâsâ de[va]t[â].

In the eastern direction, the deities (*called*) the *Śuddhâvâsas.*

No. 48 (liv. 30; Hoernle's No. 12 b).

1 Utaraṁ disa [tini sa]-
2 vatani sisâ[ni].

In the northern direction, [three covered] heads (?).

No. 49 (liv. 31; Hoernle's No. 13).

1 Dakhinaṁ disa chha Kâ-
2 mâvachara-sahasâni.

In the southern direction, six thousand *Kâmâvacharas.*

No. 50 (liv. 32; Hoernle's No. 14).

1. Sâḍika-saṁmadaṁ
2. turaṁ devânaṁ.

The music[36] of the gods, which gladdens[37] by (*i. e.* which is accompanied with) acting.[38]

No. 51 (liv. 33; Hoernle's No. 15 a).

Misakosi[39] Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* **Miśrakêśî.**

No. 52 (liv. 34; Hoernle's No. 15 d).

Sabhad[â] Achhar[â].

The *Apsaras* **Subhadrâ.**

No. 53 (liv. 35; Hoernle's No. 15 c).

1 Padumâvati
2 Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* **Padmâvatî.**

No. 54 (liv. 36; Hoernle's No. 15 b).

1 Alaṁ-
2 busâ Achharâ.

The *Apsaras* **Alambushâ.**

No. 55 (liv. 37; Hoernle's No. 18).

Ka[ṁ]ḍariki.

Kaṇḍarîkî.

No. 56 (liv. 38; Hoernle's No. 21).

1 Vijapi
2 Vijâdharo.

The *Vidyâdhara* **Vijayin.**[40]

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[36] On *tûra* for *tûrya*, see Hêmachandra, ii. 63, and Dr. Pischel's note thereon.

[37] With *saṁmada* compare *samadaka* in No. 11.

[38] According to Böhtlingk and Roth, *s. v.*, Bharata explains *śâṭaka* by *nâṭaka-bhêda.*

[39] Read *Misakesi.*

[40] Vijapi might be derived from Vijayin by the double change of *y* to *v* and of *v* to *p*. Regarding the first change, see Dr. Kuhn's *Pâli-Grammatik*, p. 42 f. and *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 99, note 1, where *Bhadâvanîya* (p. 109, text line 10) might be added. Instances of the second change (Kuhn, *l.c.* p. 45) are *Erapata* for *Airâvata* (Nos. 59 and 60), *Kupira* for *Kuvêra* (No. 92), *bhagapato* for *bhagavataḥ* (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 557, No. 32) and *pârâpata* for *pârâvata* (*Jâtaka* No. 42).

No. 57 (liv. 39; Hoernle's No. 10 a).

Bhagavato dhamachakaṁ.

The *dharmachakra* of the Blessed one.

No. 58 (liv. 40; Hoernle's No. 10 b).

1 Râjâ Pasenaji
2 Kosalo.

King **Prasênajit** the **Kôsala.**

No. 59 (liv. 41; Hoernle's No. 16 b).

Erapato [Nâ]garajâ.

Airâvata,[41] the king of serpents.

No. 60 (liv. 42; Hoernle's No. 16 a).

1 Erapato Nâgarâjâ
2 Bhagavato vadate.

Airâvata, the king of serpents, worships the Blessed one.

No. 61 (liv. 43; Hoernle's No. 20).

Bahuhathiko.

(*The banyan tree*) **Bahuhastika.**[42]

No. 62 (liv. 44; Hoernle's No. 19 a).

1 Bahuhathiko nigodho
2 Naḍode.

The banyan tree **Bahuhastika** on (*Mount*) **Naḍôda.**[43]

No. 63 (liv. 45; Hoernle's No. 19 b).

1 Susupâlo Koḍâyo[44]
2 Veḍuko a-
3 râmako.

Śiśupâla the **Kôḍya.** The gardener **Vêṇuka.**[45]

No. 64 (liv. 48, 49).

1 Chekulana-Saghamitasa thabho dânaṁ
2 bhagavato Kasapasa bodhi.

A pillar, (*representing*) the *bôdhi* (*tree*) of the blessed **Kâśyapa,** the gift of **Saṁghamitra** from **Chikulana.**[46]

No. 65 (liv. 50).

Nâgaye bhichhuniye dânaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Nâgâ.**

No. 66 (liv. 51).

Bhadaṁta-Valakasa bhanakasa dâna thabho.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Valaka,** a preacher.

No. 67 (liv. 52).

1 Karahakaṭa
2 aya-Bhutakasa thabho dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Bhûtaka** (*from*) **Karahakaṭa.**

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[41] The *Chullavagga* (v. 6) uses the form Êrâpatha, which has been wrongly sanskṛitised by Êlâpatra; see Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. II. p. 234, note 3. The usual form Êrâvaṇa is derived from the Sanskṛit Airâvaṇa, a vicarious form of Airâvata.

[42] *Bahavî hastinî yatra saḥ*, 'where many elephants (are worshipping);' see the corresponding relief on Plate xv. of the *Stûpa of Bharhut*.

[43] Compare Nos. 18, 19, and *Stûpa of Bharhut*, Plate liv. where two identical inscriptions (Nos. 70 and 79) appear to read :— *Nadoda-pâde Chenachhako*, " at the foot of (Mount) Nadôda . . . . . "

[44] Probably *Kodiyo* must be read; see p. 229, note 29, and compare No. 58, where the name of the country or tribe (Kosalo) likewise follows the name of the king (Pasenaji).

[45] See No. 18.

[46] Chekulana is synonymous with Chikulaniya in No. 88.

No. 68 (liv. 54).

Tikotiko chakamo.

The enclosure (*called*) **Trikôṭika.**[47]

No. 69 (liv. 55).

Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Mahila.**

No. 70 (liv. 56).

Karahakat[â] Samikasa dâna thabho.

A pillar, the gift of **Syâmaka** from **Karahakaṭa.**

No. 71 (liv. 57).

Bhadata-Samakasa thabho dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Syâmaka.**

No. 72 (liv. 58).

Yavamajhakiyaṁ jâtakaṁ.

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of the *yavàmadhyaka.*[48]

No. 73 (liv. 59).

Sirimâ devata.

The goddess **Srîmatî.**

No. 74 (liv. 60).

Suchilomo Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Suchilôma.**

No. 75 (liv. 61).

1 . . . . . to bhikhuniyâ thabho

2 ·dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the nun . . . . .

No. 76 (liv. 62; Hoernle's No. 24).

Bhadatasa aya-Isipâlitasa bhânakasa navakamikasa dânaṁ.

The gift of the lord, the reverend **Ṛishipâlita,** a preacher, who superintends the building-operations.[49]

No. 77 (liv. 63; Hoernle's No. 22).

Ajâtasata Bhagavato vaṁdate.

Ajâtaśatru worships the Blessed one.

No. 78 (liv. 64; Hoernle's No. 25 a).

1 Sudhaṁmâ devasabhâ

2 Bhagavato chûḍâmaho.

Sudharmâ, the hall of the gods. The festival (*in honour*) of the hair-lock of the Blessed one.

No. 79 (liv. 65; Hoernle's No. 25 b).

1 Vejayaṁto pâ-

2 sâde.[50]

Vaijayanta, the palace (*of* Indra).

No. 80 (liv. 66; Hoernle's No. 23).

Mahâsâmâyikâya Arahaguto devaputo vokato Bhagavato[51] sâsani paṭisaṁdhi.

The angel **Arhadgupta,**[52] having descended, announces to the great assembly the (*future*) conception of the Blessed one.

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[47] *Tisraḥ kôṭayô yasya saḥ,* 'triangular;' see the corresponding relief on Plate xxviii. of the *Stûpa of Bharhut.*

[48] This is the name of a kind of *chândrâyana.*

[49] On *navakammika* see *Vinaya Texts,* Part III. pp. 189 ff. and compare *navakamaka* in an Amarâvatî inscription (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 346, No. 58) and *kamaṁtika, ante,* Vol. XIV. p. 334.

[50] Probably a clerical mistake for *pâsâdo.*

[51] *to* looks almost like *tâ.* Read *sâsati.*

[52] The name *Arahaguta devaputa* is also contained in a fragmentary inscription on Plate lvi. No. 3, of the *Stûpa of Bharhut.*

No. 81 (liv. 67, 68).

1 Moragirimha Nâgilâyâ bhikhuniyâ dânaṁ thabhâ
2 bhagavato Vipasino bodhi.

Pillars, (*representing*) the *bôdhi* (*tree*) of the blessed **Vipaśyin**, the gift of the nun **Nâgilâ**[53] from **Mayûragiri**.[54]

No. 82 (liv. 69).

Vedisâ Phagudevasa dânaṁ.

The gift of **Phalgudêva** from **Vaidiśa**.

No. 83 (liv. 71).

Purikâya dâyakana dânaṁ.

The gift of donors from **Purikâ**.[55]

No. 84 (liv. 72).

Bhagavato Kakusadhasa bodhi.

The *bôdhi* (*tree*) of the blessed **Kakutsaṁdha**.

No. 85 (liv. 73, 74).

1 Vedisâ Anurâdhâya dânaṁ
2 Chhadaṁtiya jâtakaṁ.

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of the *Shaddanta* (*elephant*), the gift of **Anurâdhâ** from **Vaidiśa**.

No. 86 (liv. 75; Hoernle's No. 26).

Vitura-Punakiya jatakaṁ.

The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of **Vidhura** and **Pûrṇaka**.

No. 87 (liv. 76).

Bramhadevo mânavako.

The youth **Brahmadêva**.

No. 88 (liv. 77).

Bhadata-Kanakasa bhanakasa thabho dânaṁ Chikulaniyasa.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Kanaka**, a preacher, from **Chikulana**.

No. 89 (liv. 78).

Yakhini Sudasana.

The *Yakshiṇî* **Sudarśanâ**.

No. 90 (lv. 80).

1 Bhadata-Budharakhitasa sa[ṭu]padâ[na]-
2 sa dânaṁ thabho.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Buddharakshita**, who is versed in the sciences (?).

No. 91 (lv. 81).

Chadâ Yakhi.

The *Yakshî* **Chandrâ**.

No. 92 (lv. 82).

Kupiro Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Kuvêra**.

No. 93 (lv. 83).

Ajakâlako Yakho.

The *Yaksha* **Âdyakâlaka**.

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[53] Regarding the formation of this name, see Pâṇini, v. 3, 84, and *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 551, No 5, note 2. Compare further Ghâtila (No. 138), Mahila (No. 69), Saghila (No. 123) and Yakhila (No. 126).

[54] With Mayûragiri compare Mayûraparvata, a locality which is referred to in a quotation of the *Charanavyûhabhâshya*; see Dr. Buhler's translation of Âpastamba, p. xxxi note, and Dr. von Schroeder's *Maitrâyanî Samhitâ*, p. xxiv.

[55] The same place is mentioned in Nos. 117 to 119. On a town of this name, which is referred to in the great epic, see Bohtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Worterbuch*, s. v. At the time of the Śilâhâras, Purî was the capital of the Koṅkaṇ; *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 134. Another Purî in Orissa is well-known by its shrine of Jagannâtha; *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 390.

No. 94 (lv. 84).

Moragirimhâ Pusâyâ dânaṁ thabhâ.

Pillars, the gift of **Pushyâ** from **Mayûragiri.**

No. 95 (lv. 85).

1 Aya-Chulasa Sutaṁtikasa Bhogavaḍha-
2 niyasa dânaṁ.

The gift of the reverend **Kshudra,** who is versed in the *Sûtrânta*,[56] from **Bhôgavardhana.**[57]

No. 96 (lv. 86).

Moragirimhâ Thupadâsasa dânaṁ thabhâ.

Pillars, the gift of **Stûpadâsa** from **Mayûragiri.**

No. 97 (lv. 88).

1 Maharasa aṁtevâsino aya-Sâma-
2 kasa thabho dânaṁ.

A pillar, the gift of the reverend **Syâmaka,** the disciple of **Mahara.**

No. 98 (lv. 89).

Bhagavato okraṁti.[58]

The descent of the Blessed one.

No. 99 (lv. 92).

Idasâla-guha.

The **Indrasâla** cave.

No. 100 (lv. 2).

Pâṭaliputâ Koḍiyâniyâ Sakaṭadevâyâ dânaṁ.

The gift of **Sakaṭadêvâ,** a **Kôḍyânî,** from **Pâṭaliputra.**

No. 101 (lv. 3).

Kâkaṁdiya Somâya bhichhuniya dânaṁ.

The gift of the nun **Sômâ** from **Kâkandî.**[59]

No. 102 (lv. 4).

Pâṭaliputâ Mahîdasenasa dânaṁ.

The gift of **Mahêndrasêna** from **Pâṭaliputra.**

No. 103 (lv. 5).

Chudaṭhîlikâyâ Nâgadevâyâ bhikhuniyi[60] [dânaṁ].

The gift of the nun **Nâgadêvâ** from **Chudaṭhîla.**

No. 104 (lv. 6).

Chudathîlikâyâ Kujarâyâ dânaṁ.

The gift of **Kuñjarâ** from **Chudaṭhîla.**

No. 105 (lv. 7).

Dha[ṁ]maguta-matu Pusadevaya dânaṁ.

The gift of **Pushyadêvâ,** the mother of **Dharmagupta.**

No. 106 (lv. 8).

[U]jhikâye dâna.

The gift of **Ujjhikâ.**

No. 107 (lv. 9).

[Dha]marakhitaya dâna suchi.

A rail, the gift of **Dharmarakshitâ.**

[56] On *Suttantika*, see *Vinaya Texts*, Part I. p. xxx. and on the school of the *Sautrântikas*, Dr. Kern's *Buddhismus*, translated by Jacobi, Vol. II. p. 504.

[57] The same place is repeatedly mentioned in the Sâñchi inscriptions.

[58] The first letter of this word looks like *û*, which is phonetically impossible.

[59] Kâkandî is mentioned in the *Paṭṭâvalî* of the *Kharataragachha*; *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 247.

[60] Read *bhikhuniyâ*.

No. 108 (lv. 10).

Atimutasa danaṁ.
The gift of **Atimukta.**

No. 109 (lv. 11).

Laṭuvâ-jâtaka.
The *laṭvâ jâtaka.*

No. 110 (lv. 12).

Nadutaraya dâna suchi.
A rail, the gift of **Nandôttarâ.**

No. 111 (lv. 13).

[Mu]ḍasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Muṇḍa.**

No. 112 (lv. 14).

Isânasa dâna.
The gift of **Îśâna.**

No. 113 (lv. 15).

Isidatasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Ṛishidatta.**

No. 114 (lv. 16).

Aya-Punâvasuno suchi dânaṁ.
A rail, the gift of the reverend **Punarvasu.**

No. 115 (lv. 19).

Devarakhitasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Dêvarakshita.**

No. 116 (lv. 20).

Vedisâto Bhutarakhitasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Bhûtarakshita** from **Vaidiśa.**

No. 117 (lvi. 22).

Purikayâ Idadevâya dânaṁ.
The gift of **Indradêvâ** from **Purikâ.**

No. 118 (lvi. 23).

Purikâyâ Seṭaka-mâtu dânaṁ.
The gift of the mother of **Śrêshṭhaka,**[61] from **Purikâ.**

No. 119 (lvi. 24).

Purikâyâ Sâmâya dânaṁ.
The gift of **Śyâmâ** from **Purikâ.**

No. 120 (lvi. 25).

Budharakhitâye dânaṁ bhichhuniye.
The gift of the nun **Buddharakshitâ.**

No. 121 (lvi. 26).

Bhutaye bhichhuniye dânaṁ.
The gift of the nun **Bhûtâ.**

No. 122 (lvi. 27).

Aya-Apikinakasa dânaṁ.
The gift of the reverend **Apikinaka.**[62]

No. 123 (lvi. 28).

Saghilasa dâna suchi.
A rail, the gift of **Saṁghila.**

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[61] Regarding the loss of the aspiration, see Dr. Kuhn's *Pâli-Grammatik*, p. 41, and compare Asaḍâ for Ashâḍhâ (No. 9), Viruḍaka for Virûḍhaka (No. 43), and Vitura for Vidhura (No. 86).

[62] Compare Aṁpikiṇaka in a Bhâjâ inscription; *Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 82, No. 3.

No. 124 (lvi. 29).

Sagharakhitasa mâtâpituna aṭhâyâ dânaṁ.
The gift of **Saṁgharakshita** for the benefit of (*his*) mother and father.

No. 125 (lvi. 30).

Dhutasa suchi dâno.[63]
A rail, the gift of **Dhûrta.**

No. 126 (lvi. 31).

Yakhilasa suchi dâna.
A rail, the gift of **Yakshila.**

No. 127 (lvi. 32).

Mitasa suchi dânaṁ.
A rail, the gift of **Mitra.**

No. 128 (lvi. 33).

Isirakhitasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Ṛishirakshita.**

No. 129 (lvi. 34).

Sirimasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Śrîmat.**

No. 130 (lvi. 35).

Bhadata-Devasenasa donaṁ.[64]
The gift of the reverend **Dêvasêna.**

No. 131 (lvi. 36).

. . . . . kaya bhichhuniya dânaṁ.
The gift of the nun . . . . .

No. 132 (lvi. 37).

N[aṁ]d[i]nagarikaya Idadevâya dânaṁ.
The gift of **Indradêvâ** from **Nandinagara.**[65]

No. 133 (lvi. 40).

Jeṭhabhadrasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Jyêshṭhabhadra.**

No. 134 (lvi. 41).

Aya-Jâtasa Peṭakino suchi dânaṁ.
A rail, the gift of the reverend **Jâta,** who is versed in the *Piṭakas.*

No. 135 (lvi. 42).

Budharakhitasa rupakârakasa dânaṁ.
The gift of the sculptor **Buddharakshita.**

No. 136 (lvi. 43).

Bhadata-Samikasa Therâk[û]ṭiyasa dânaṁ.
The gift of the reverend **Syâmaka** from **Sthavirâkûṭa.**

No. 137 (lvi. 44).

Sirisapada Isirakhitâya dânaṁ.
The gift of **Ṛishirakshitâ** (*from*) **Śirîshapadra.**[66]

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[63] *dâna* is used as a masculine!

[64] The *ô* probably represents a dimmed (*saṁvṛita*) pronunciation of the vowel *â*.

[65] A place of this name is mentioned in several Sâñchi inscriptions.

[66] A village called Śirîshapadraka is mentioned in two inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty; *ante,* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88. Similar names are Sâmalipada (Śâlmalîpadra) in a Nâsik inscription (*Arch. Survey of W. India,* Vol. IV. p. 111) and Vaṭapadra, the modern Baroda (*ante,* Vol. XII. p. 124, note 85).

No. 138 (lvi. 45).

Moragirimâ[67] Ghâṭila-matu dânaṁ.
The gift of the mother of **Ghâṭila**, from **Mayûragiri.**

No. 139 (lvi. 47).

Samidatâya dânaṁ.
The gift of **Svâmidattâ.**

No. 140 (lvi. 48).

Chulanasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Chullana.**[68]

No. 141 (lvi. 49).

Avisanasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Avishaṇṇa.**[69]

No. 142 (lvi. 50).

[A]visanasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Avishaṇṇa.**

No. 143 (lvi. 51).

Saṁghamitasa bodhichakasa dânaṁ.
The gift of a *bôdhichakra* by **Saṁghamitra.**

No. 144 (lvi. 52).

Budharakhitasa Pachanekâyikasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Buddharakshita**, who is versed in the five *Nikâyas.*[70]

No. 145 (lvi. 53).

Isirakhitasa[71] suchi danaṁ.
A rail, the gift of **Ṛishirakshita.**

No. 146 (lvi. 55).

Phagudevâye bhichhuniye dânaṁ.
The gift of the nun **Phalgudêvâ.**

No. 147 (lvi. 56).

Koḍâya Yakhiyâ dânaṁ.
The gift of a *Yakshî* by **Krôḍâ.**[72]

No. 148 (lvi. 57).

Ghosâye dânaṁ.
The gift of **Ghôshâ.**

No. 149 (lvi. 59).

Seriyâ putasa Bhâranidevasa dânaṁ.
The gift of **Bharaṇîdêva**, the son of **Srî.**

No. 150 (lvi. 60).

Mitadevâye dânaṁ.
The gift of **Mitradêvâ.**

No. 151.[73]

Isânasa dâna.
The gift of **Îsâna.**

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[67] *Moragirimâ* is either a clerical mistake for *Moragirimhâ*, or stands for the assimilated form *Moragirimmâ*. Compare *vañchitammi* for *vañchitâsmi*, and *paṇṇikâ* for *pârshṇikâ* in the *Jâtaka*, Vol. I. pp. 287 and 445.

[68] This word is derived from *chulla* (Sanskrit *kshudra*). Compare Dhamanaka, Nâkaṇaka, Pusaṇaka, Râmaṇaka, Usabhaṇaka and Vasulaṇaka in the cave inscriptions.

[69] Compare Avisinâ in two Sâñchi inscriptions.

[70] See Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, s. v. *nekâyiko*.

[71] *tasa* looks like *tâsa*.

[72] Compare Koḍi in a Kârlê inscription (*Arch. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 91, No. 16) and Koḍa in a Sopârâ inscription (Dr. Bh. Indraji's *Sopârâ and Padaṇa*, p. 18). The word *dânaṁ* governs both a subjective and an objective genitive, as in No. 143; see Pâṇini, ii. 3, 65.

[73] On the same rail as the identical inscription No. 112, but in more modern characters.

No. 152.[74]

Bo[dhigu]tasa dânaṃ.
The gift of **Bôdhigupta.**

No. 153.[75]

. . . . . Himavate i . . . . .

No. 154.[76]

. . . . [m]ika[sa dânaṁ].

No. 155 (xxv. 4; lv. 94).[77]

M[u]ga[pa]k[i]y[a] j[â]ta[ka].
The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of the cooking of beans (?).

No. 156 (xxvi. 7).

Isis[iṁgiya jâ]ta[ka].
The *jâtaka* (*which treats*) of **Ṛiśyaśṛiṅga.**

No. 157 (xxvi. 8; lv. 97).

Yaṁ bram[h]ano avayesi jatakaṁ.
The *jâtaka* (entitled) "*yaṁ brâhmaṇô avâdêsi.*"

No. 158 (xxvii. 11; liii. 11).

Haṁsa-jâtaka.
The swan *jâtaka.*

No. 159 (lvi. 66).

Tirami timigila-kuchhimha Vasuguto mâchito Mahadevânaṁ.[78]

Vasugupta is rescued from the belly of the sea-monster (*and brought*) on shore by **Mahâdêva.**[79]

No. 160 (lvi. 19).

1 [Ba]huhathika âsana
2 [bhaga]vato Mahâdevasa.

The seat of the blessed **Mahâdêva** (*under the banyan tree*) **Bahuhastika.**[80]

PRAKRIT AND SANSKRIT INDEX.[81]

[74] On rail 8, Plate xxxviii. No. 3; much injured.

[75] On rail 12, Plate xxiv. No. 3.

[76] On pillar 28, Plate xix.

[77] Nos. 155 to 160, the originals of which were not removed to Calcutta, are transcribed from General Cunningham's photographs and eye-copies in his *Stûpa of Bharhut.*

[78] Read *Tiramhi timiṁgila-kuchhimhâ Vasuguto mochito Mahâdevena.*

[79] See the corresponding relief on Plate xxxiv. No. 2, of the *Stûpa of Bharhut.* Mahâdêva probably refers to the Mahâsatta or Bôdhisatta; compare No. 160.

[80] See p. 232, note 42.

[81] Arabic figures refer to the Nos. of the inscriptions, Roman figures to the Plates of the *Stûpa of Bharhut.*

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from page* 210).

PART II.

MIXED SANSKRIT AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT.

It is in the monuments of the last Kshaharâta, Nahapâna, and in those of the first Andhrabhṛityas that we find the knot of the questions with which we are concerned. According to my opinion, these monuments are dated with certainty. Even for those who may not share my opinion, they are not one whit of less capital importance. A difference of 50 or 100 years is, in this matter, of small consequence, and, at any rate, there can be no dispute about one point, *viz.*, that all these texts are to all intents and purposes contemporaneous. Nevertheless, from the point of view of language, they present characteristic differences.

At Nâsik, Kârli, and Junnar, seven inscriptions[51] of the reign of Nahapâna have been brought to notice. Not only do they all belong to the same time, but also, with the exception of the last, they all emanate from the same person, Usavadâta, son-in-law of Nahapâna. Of these inscriptions, one, No. 5 at Nâsik, appears at the first glance to be couched in grammatical Sanskṛit, spelled according to classical rules. But, on closer examination, we observe more than one irregularity, the transgression of certain rules of Saṁdhi, Prâkṛitizing methods of spelling,[52] such as *dvâtriṁśatnâligêra°*, *lêṇaṁ*, *pôḍhiyô*, *bhaṭârkânâtiya°*, *varshâratuṁ*, *utamabhadraṁ*, &c. These irregularities, which are very rare at the commencement, multiply towards the end of the inscription. Another (Nâsik 6 A) is, on the other hand, entirely Prâkṛit in its terminations; homogeneous consonants are not doubled; *r* is retained after a consonant (*kshatrapa*), but assimilated where it precedes (*savaṇa*); it distinguishes three sibilants, but, by the side of *śata*, we read *sata*, and even *panarasa* for *pañchadaśa*; by the side of the ordinary assimilations of Prâkṛit, the group *ksha* is retained unchanged, and we find *nêtyaka* equivalent to the Sanskṛit *naityaka*. It is hardly otherwise with No. 7 of Nâsik. It contains both *kuśana* and *kasana*, *śrêṇîsu* beside *Ushavadâta*,[53] *kârshâpaṇa* and *kâhâpaṇa*, *sata* and *śata*, all which does not prevent its using the vowel *ṛi* in *kṛita*.

In another inscription, No. 19 of Kârli, pure Prâkṛit reigns supreme, except in the orthographies *brâhmaṇa* and *bhâryâ*. The fact is the more striking because the formula employed is the exact counterpart of the Sanskṛit formula of the monument first referred to. The case is the same at Nâsik, in Nos. 8-9, save for the orthographies *putra*, *kshatrapa*, and *kshaharâta*, by the side of *Dakhamitâ* (equivalent to *Dakshamitrâ*). Finally, in No. 11 of Junnar, the *ksha* gives way to *kh*, which, nevertheless, does not prevent them from writing *amâtya* and not *amacha*, by the side of *sâmi* for *svâmi*, and even of *maṭapa* for *maṇḍapa*. I cannot dispense with again referring to No. 10 of Nâsik which, although we are unable to fix its date with precision, is undoubtedly contemporaneous. This time, the terminations, the genitive masculine in *asya*, have the appearance of Sanskṛit; but we also find the genitive *-varmanaḥ*, side by side with *varmasya*; as a general rule the orthography is Sanskṛit, but, nevertheless, we read in it *gimhapakhê*, *chôthê* (= *chaturthê*), *vishṇudatâyâ*, *gilânabhêshaja*. This is the exact reverse of the preceding inscriptions, which write *kshatrapa*, and have the genitive in *asa*.

This capricious and unequal mixture of classical and popular forms is no new thing. In the literature of the Northern Buddhists, it has a name. It is the 'Gâthâ dialect.' Nowadays, that this same mode of writing has been found not only in prose religious

[51] Cf. *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. pp. 99 and ff.

[52] Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, pp. 27 and ff.

[53] *Ushavadâta* itself could easily contain an instance of confusion between the sibilants. The *v*, which is almost constant, does not appear to me to lend itself to the transcription *Ṛishabhadatta* of Dr. Bühler. It is, unless I am mistaken, *Utsavadatta*, which we should understand.

treatises, but also in lay[54] works, and that we meet it in the texts of inscriptions, this terminology has become both inaccurate and inconvenient. I propose to substitute the term 'Mixed Sanskṛit,' a name which will, I hope, be justified by the observations which follow.

The same caves preserve the memory of the Andhrabhṛityas who were contemporary with or the immediate successors of Nahapâna, — Gotamîputa Sâtakaṇi and his descendants.[55] In general (Nâsik, 11 A, 11 B, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22 ; Kârli, 20, 21 ; Kaṇhêri, 4, 14, 15) the inscriptions are couched in pure Prâkṛit, though not without certain inconsistencies in detail (*svâmi* beside °*sâmiyêhi*, Nâs. 11 A, 15) ; *Pulumâyi* (Nâs. 13, beside *Pulumâvi*, Nâs. 15, and *Pulumâï*, Nâs. 12, &c.). This means that assimilation occurs everywhere, though the consonants are never written double. This does not, however, prevent us from finding at Kârli (No. 22), a donation of the reign of Vâsiṭhîputa Pulumâyi, which has *siddhaṁ*, according to the classical method ; which, beside numerous genitives in *asa*, writes *puttasya*, *sôvasakasya*, *vâthavasya*, and, beside *niṭhitô*, *hitasughasth(i)tayê*. It thus unites in the same word forms which were already no longer found in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, and others which are still rare in the 2nd century of our era, to which epoch they belong ! On the other hand, at Kaṇhêri (No. 11)[56], a dedication of the reign of Vâsishṭhîputra *Sâtakarṇi*, the son-in-law of the Satrap Rudradâman, is couched in pure Sanskṛit, save for one single irregularity : *Sâtakarnisya*.

Are these facts, I will not say isolated, but circumscribed in a narrow region ? Quite the contrary. It is sufficient for conviction to cast the eye over the monuments of the Turushka kings, Kanishka and his dynasty, monuments which are either exactly contemporary with those to which we have just referred, or of very little earlier date. The inscription of Suë Vihar[57] is dated the 11th year of Kanishka. It may be said to be couched in Sanskṛit, but in a Sanskṛit seriously disfigured by spellings like *bhichhusya*, *aṭhavi(m)śê*, *nagadatasya*, *saṁkhakaṭisya(?)*, *yaṭhiṁ*, *yaṭhipratiṭhanam*, &c. In the 18th year of the same reign, the stone of Manikyâla,[58], however imperfectly we may understand it, allows us clearly to recognise, side by side with the retention of the three sibilants and of groups containing an *r*, a number of Prâkṛit forms, such as °*budhisa*, the termination *aê*, *maharajasa*, *vêspaśisa*, *chhatrapasa*, &c. Mathurâ possesses, from the year 28,[59] a fragment of correct Sanskṛit. So also for the time of Huvishka. At Mathurâ (Growse, 2, 11 ; Dowson, 1, 2, 5, 7) the language of the dedications is classical ; yet they present the genitive *bhikshusya*, and the phrase *asya* (or *êtasya*) *pûrvâyê*. On the Wardak vase, in the year 51, appear forms so much altered as *thuvamhi* (=*stûpê*), *bhagaê*, *arôgadachhinaê*, to speak only of those which are certain. The date of the inscription of Taxila is not fixed with certainty, but I do not think that any one can consider it as more modern than those to which I have just referred ; and the name *Chhaharâta*, which I think I have identified at the end of the first line seems to assign it a place in about the same epoch, or in an epoch slightly earlier. Here, excepting the sibilants and a few groups (*chhatrapa bhratara*, *vardhita*, *sarva*, *saṁvatsara*), everything is Prâkṛit, the genitive in *asa*, the assimilation in *aṭha*, *takhaśila*, *pratiṭhapita*, &c., and mixed up with very debased forms such as the locative *samvatsarayê*, and the dative *puyaê*.

It is necessary to complete this review, by noting that it is towards the end of the period of which we are treating, towards the year 75 or 80 of the Śâka era, *i.e.* 155 to 160 A. D., that we find the first known inscription in perfectly correct Sanskṛit, — the inscription of the

[54] The Bashkhali Manuscript, which has been published by Dr. Hoernle.

[55] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* pp. 104 and ff.

[56] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* V. p. 78.

[57] Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* X. 324 and ff. Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal Indraji has submitted this document to an independent revision (*Ind. Ant.* 1882, p. 128), in which he has frequently come to conclusions different from those of Dr. Hoernle. In cases of divergency, except in certain doubtful passages in which the truth appears to me to be still undiscovered, I consider that it is Dr. Hoernle who is right.

[58] Dowson, *J. R. A. S.* XX. p. 250.

[59] Growse, *Ind. Ant.* 1877, pp. 216 and ff. Dowson, *J. R. A. S., N. S.* V. 182 and ff. (after Cunningham).

Satrap king Rudradâman, at Girnar.[60] **The inscription of Jasdhan, dated 127, and consequently 50 years later, emanating from the grandson of Rudradâman, only returns to the mistakes of Mixed Sanskṛit in a few details.**[61]

What is precisely this Mixed Sanskṛit?

Various attempts have been made to explain its existence and its peculiarities. It has been held to be a dialect intermediate between the ancient period of Sanskṛit and the more modern period of the Prâkṛits; — a sort of jargon created by ignorance or, if it is preferred, by incomplete knowledge on the part of the people, their ambition being incommensurate with their powers, who wished to give themselves the honour of writing in the literary language, without possessing a sufficient acquaintance with it **(Burnouf)**; — the special dialect of bards, who appear to have taken a middle course between the popular speech and the learned language, in order to make themselves intelligible, without too great derogation, to their audience **(Rajêndralâla Mitra).**

Neither of these explanations, taken alone and in the exact meaning which was intended by its author, **can be reconciled with facts as they are known to us at the present day.**

The conjecture of Burnouf was an excellent explanation, when he seemed to be dealing with only a few stanzas lost in a vast literature. We can no longer attribute to the pedantry of an editor or of a clumsy scribe a language which is employed on a vast scale, and applied to royal inscriptions, and we are unable to explain by a vulgar ignorance a mixture, which rather appears to bear witness to an extensive acquaintance with the literary language.

It is no more possible to represent, as a special poetical language, a dialect which is fluently used in the inscriptions, and which is employed in lengthy prose works and even in didactic treatises.

As for seeing in Mixed Sanskṛit the direct expression of the current language at a certain period of its development, the theory hardly deserves the trouble of refutation. A dialect so void of all stability, at one moment closely resembling classical Sanskṛit, and at another very different from it, a dialect which brings together, in complete confusion and in arbitrary proportions, phonetic phenomena which belong to most unequal degrees of linguistic development, could never be a faithful echo of the popular language at any epoch whatever. **Mixed Sanskṛit is, neither in its grammar nor in its phonetics, intermediate between Sanskṛit and the Prâkṛits; it constitutes an incoherent mixture of forms purely Sanskṛit and of forms purely Prâkṛit, which is an altogether different thing.**

Mixed Sanskṛit has, moreover, a history. In the chronological series of monuments which it is represented, far from shewing signs of gradually increasing phonetic decay, it **continues to approach more and more nearly to classical orthography and to classical forms.** In the inscriptions of Mathurâ, the remnants of Prâkṛit orthography are so rare, that the general appearance as a whole is that of pure Sanskṛit.[62]

This observation comes to our assistance in answering the question which we have before us. It is not sufficient to know what Mixed Sanskṛit is not. We must determine what it is.

Towards the end of the 2nd century, we find upon the monuments three dialects which, in their phonetic condition, appear to correspond to different ages of the physiological development of the language: **Sanskṛit, Mixed Sanskṛit, and Prâkṛit. All three are destined in the future to continue concurrently in literature. Here we find them used side by side, at the same time, and at the same places.** It is inadmissible to suppose that they represent contemporary states of the vulgar tongue; at most, that could be represented only by the most corrupted of the three dialects, the Prâkṛit. **As for Mixed Sanskṛit, like**

[60] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* III. p. 128.

[61] Hoernle, *Ind. Ant.* 1883, p. 32.

[62] This gradation becomes still more evident if, as we ought to do, we take as our point of departure the inscriptions of Piyadasi at Girnar and at Kapur di Giri.

regular Sanskṛit itself, it cannot be anything other than a special literary language, or, more exactly, a special literary orthography. In itself, it is no more surprising to find side by side two literary idioms like Sanskṛit and Mixed Sanskṛit than to find the parallel use of the various Prâkṛit dialects which were established for religious or poetic usage. From the facts proved for the time of Piyadasi, we are prepared to see a double orthographical current establish itself, one more near to the popular pronunciation, and the other approaching, and tending to approach more and more nearly, etymological forms. In the hundred and fifty or two hundred years which separate our edicts from the most ancient monuments of Mixed Sanskṛit properly so-called, these tendencies, which we have grasped in their rudimentary state, have had time to become accentuated, and to develop in the strict logical sequence of their principles. As it appears to us in the most recent monuments, **Mixed Sanskṛit is so nearly the same as Sanskṛit, that it seems impossible to separate the history of one dialect from that of the other. What is the relationship which unites the two ?**

From the time when Sanskṛit first appears, we find it in a definite form. Neither in grammar nor in its orthography do we find any feeling the way, any development, any progress. It leaps ready armed from its cradle. As it was at the first day, so it has remained to the end. **Mixed Sanskṛit is altogether different. Uncertain in its orthographical methods, without any absolute system or stability, it appears to us, from Kapur di Giri to Mathurâ,** progressing, in spite of many hesitations, in spite of many minor inconsistencies, **in one continuous general direction.** At Kapur di Giri the language is entirely Prâkṛit, but several consonantal groups are preserved without assimilation. In the inscription of Dhanabhûti at Mathurâ,[62] the terminations are Prâkṛit, but spellings like *vâtsîputra, ratnagṛiha* approach the classical standard. At Suë Vihar, even the terminations take the learned spelling; *asya* and not *asa*; only a few irregularities connect the language with Prâkṛit. In the caves we have seen that some inscriptions have side by side the genitive in *asya* and that in *asa*. These examples will suffice.

Besides these characteristics, **two important facts,** which mark their true significance, deserve mention.

In the north, the first inscriptions written in Sanskṛit, or at least so nearly Sanskṛit that they bear witness to its diffusion, **are those of Mathurâ, and date from the reign of Kanishka. Shortly after this period we find no further examples of monumental Mixed Sanskṛit. In the west, the son-in-law of Rudradâman inaugurates the use of Sanskṛit with the inscription of Kaṇhêri; from the end of the second century, the use of Mixed Sanskṛit is, in the west, banished from the inscriptions. In a word, the introduction of regular Sanskṛit marks the disuse of Mixed Sanskṛit.** That is the first fact.

The second is of another nature. **All texts in Mixed Sanskṛit, both in the north and in the west, preserve uniformly one very characteristic peculiarity, which we have already noticed in the spelling of Piyadasi. They never write as double, identical or homogeneous consonants, which are really doubles either by origin or by assimilation. This trait only disappeared at the precise moment when Mixed Sanskṛit ceased to be used.** In the north, the first inscriptions which double these consonants are those of Mathurâ, which are almost entirely couched in regular Sanskṛit. The practice was certainly a new one, for the other inscriptions of the reign of Kanishka, even those which, as at Suë Vihar, approach most nearly the learned orthography, do not adopt it. It is quite true that they are

[62] *Bharhut Stûpa*, pl. LIII. 4. The transcription proposed by General Cunningham requires corrections. We should read,—

Kal . . . . dhana
bhûtisa . . . . vâtsî
putrasa [vâdhapô] lasa
dhanabhûtisa dânaṁ vêdikâ
toranâni cha ratanagṛiha sa
rvabudhapûjâya saha môtâpi
tihî (?) saha . chatu . parishâhi

engraved in the Aramæan alphabet of the north-west, while the Indian alphabet is employed at Mathurâ; but at Mathurâ itself, the inscription of Dhanabhûti, although written in Indian characters, does not observe the practice of doubling any more than they do. This neglect is, therefore, not the peculiarity of one particular mode of writing; it is a general fact down to a certain epoch, which, in the north is marked by the reign of Kanishka. On the west coast, the first inscription in which we find the notation of double consonants is No. 11 of Kaṇhêri (*Arch. Surv.* V. 85). It is one of the latest of the series, and is certainly not earlier than the end of the 2nd century. **The doubling of consonants, therefore, only makes its appearance at the period in which the monuments testify that correct Sanskṛit was becoming taken into common use, and the parallel application, in the inscriptions of the time of Kanishka, of the ancient procedure, and of the new method, indicates that we have grasped the precise moment of the evolution.**

It is not difficult to come to a conclusion.

Mixed Sanskṛit is certainly not a direct copy of literary Sanskṛit, attempted at an epoch when the latter had already been established in common use. The progressive march by which it gradually approximated classical forms as well as its feeling its way in matters of detail, would be, under this hypothesis, without any possible explanation. Its tendency towards an etymological and regulated orthography is everywhere visible. If it had had before its eyes a fixed, a definitive model, previously realized by writing and literary practice, it would from the first have imitated it in all its particulars. It would not have waited three centuries before doubling its consonants in writing. As it constantly tended to go as close as possible to the orthographical conditions, of which the learned Sanskṛit is the completed perfect type, it would have gone right up to it. From the moment at which real Sanskṛit appears, Mixed Sanskṛit disappears, and this most naturally; for, in face of real Sanskṛit, Mixed Sanskṛit is without reason for existence, its efforts would be without honour, and its shortcomings without excuse. Far, therefore, from being able to pass for an imitation of pre-existing Sanskṛit, **Mixed Sanskṛit proves, by its very existence, that Literary Sanskṛit did not exist, I mean for current use. The date on which the classical language appears in the monuments, coincides with that at which the Mixed Sanskṛit ceases to be employed, and marks very exactly the epoch at which the learned language took possession of that empire which was destined never to escape it.** This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the current of this diffusion may, at least in one direction, be traced by the monuments. Regular Sanskṛit can be considered as under process of establishment in the north-west towards the end of the first century of our era. The practice immediately began to spread towards the south. In the second half of the following century, the inscription of Rudradâman presents to our notice, in Gujarât, the first incontestable monument. It was the influence of the same sovereign which caused it to extend still further, for in an inscription of his daughter it makes its first appearance in the dominions of the Andhrabhṛityas. Until then these princes had only employed a Monumental Prâkṛit now and then affecting the appearance of Mixed Sanskṛit.

Although Mixed Sanskṛit is not a direct imitation of a pre-existing Sanskṛit, the close connexion between the two terms is evident. **But is, therefore, Mixed Sanskṛit the source of Classical Sanskṛit? Is it Classical Sanskṛit in course of formation? By no means, any more than the converse case is true.** The reasons are peremptory.

All the elements from which Sanskṛit, in its classical form, has been built up, were pre-existing in the Vedic language. Its system of phonetics, which is that which gives it its special character in comparison with the popular idioms, had long been fixed and analysed for the purpose of religious recitation. In order, therefore, to fix Sanskṛit, there was no room for much feeling of the way. So far as there may have been any, it was certainly not of the kind we witness in Mixed Sanskṛit. In fixing classical Sanskṛit, a regular course would have been followed, instead of the constant alternate progress and retrogression which we find in the mixed variety. We do not find in it side by side the two-fold reflexion, the learned and the

popular, of the same forms. So also, the classical language, being derived directly from the learned and Vedic tradition could have made no delay in noting the duplication of consonants.

It should not, however, be assumed that Literary Sanskṛit must have sprung at once from the schools into public life. The necessary grammatical elaboration, even the accommodation of the alphabet to its needs, must have required a greater or less length of time, but the course of its development was certainly not the same as that which the inscriptions allow us to see in the case of Mixed Sanskṛit, with its inconsistencies, and its blunders.

While Mixed Sanskṛit is neither the reflected imitation nor the source of classical Sanskṛit, it is, nevertheless, something of both. If Sanskṛit had previously existed in common use, Mixed Sanskṛit would never have existed at all; but at the same time, unless Sanskṛit had been in existence to serve for its type, the existence of Mixed Sanskṛit would have been equally impossible. This paradox is not difficult to solve, if we place before us the very peculiar conditions which have ruled the linguistic development of India.

Sanskṛit presents itself to our notice under an aspect calculated to perplex the observer. Literary languages are usually vulgar tongues in current use, which, being applied, at a moment of high intellectual development, to works destined to endure as abiding national monuments, have been through the means of these works crystallised into a shape which becomes the norm for future writers. Not so with Sanskṛit. It does not issue directly from the popular idiom. It first appears at an epoch when the vulgar and general tongue had, for centuries, arrived at a much further advanced degree of phonetic and grammatical degeneration. It represents an archaic language preserved at first by oral tradition, and subsequently retouched by the labours of learned men. It is, in a manner, a literary language in the second degree, — a profane language, grafted on a more ancient religious one; or, to state the matter more accurately, it **represents the reform of an earlier literary language.**

The oral preservation of the Vedic hymns down to an epoch when the language in which they were composed had long ceased to be used by the people, is a cardinal point in the linguistic history of India. A caste had kept guard over the treasure of religious songs. Their importance for ritual assured their conservation to the most minute degree; the necessity of protecting their efficacy together with their material form gave rise to rules of pronunciation. These gradually developed into a phonetic system which was refined even to subtilty, and which prepared the way for the study of grammar properly so-called. The religious bearing of the hymns inspired the zeal necessary for assuring their oral transmission; **and the fear of making the privilege common to all, maintained the oral tradition even down to an epoch when it would have been easy to substitute for it preservation by the art of writing.**

Whatever may have been the authority of this tradition, the knowledge of writing could not have failed to exercise a sensible action on the future of the language, and this action was the more certain, because the attention already paid to the phonetic questions had the better prepared men's intellects for the application of writing and for the comprehension of the questions of grammar.

Being given this state of things and the introduction of so new and so powerful a factor, we have now to see how affairs actually occurred, and **how, on the one hand Classical Sanskṛit and on the other hand Mixed Sanskrit were developed.**

Sanskṛit by its roots which dive deep into the language and the tradition of the Vêdas, by its regularity founded on earlier phonetic studies, by its most ordinary applications, **is essentially a Brâhmanical language.**[63] **By the manner in which it was constituted and fixed, it is a scholastic language, born and elaborated in restricted and exclusive surroundings.**

[63] This character is so marked, that the fact, that such inscriptions as those of Nânâghâṭ, although entirely devoted to the commemoration of liturgic ceremonies, are couched in Prâkrit, would almost of itself suffice to prove that, at the period to which they must be referred, Sanskṛit had not yet expanded into exterior use. At any rate, it furnishes a remarkable confirmation of the conclusions on which I am endeavouring to throw some light.

It is quite otherwise with Mixed Sanskṛit. Every application of it which is known to us, whether in monuments or in literature, is, without exception, Buddhistic. The irregularities and inconsistencies of its grammar and of its orthography mark it with an evident character of spontaneity. It is not a dialect which has undergone alterations and after-touches, or which has bowed itself to those precise rules which denote the idea of a really literary language.

From this two-fold point of view, therefore, the contrast between the two dialects is as marked, as, in other respects, their analogies are striking, and such hints are of considerable value to us.

There is little appearance of the every-day use of writing in India much before the time of Aśôka. The inscriptions of Aśôka are certainly the most ancient examples of the art which have hitherto been accessible to us. At this period we know of the existence of an archaic religious language preserved by a privileged caste in memorials, which are surrounded by a traditional reverence, and which, though it has never been written, has still been the object of a certain amount of culture. The Brâhmaṇs, the exclusive depositaries, through the oral tradition, of a religious literature on which their authority was founded, have always shewn themselves little disposed to deprive themselves, by writing, of their monopoly. At that time their disposition must have been the same. On the other hand, it is natural that the habitual study of the Vedic texts and the continuance of their religious avocations should have led them to preserve, or, in a measure, to evolve for their personal use an idiom akin to that of their traditions, and very superior, in its general aspect of preservation, to the contemporary dialects of the common people. The Buddhists must, on the contrary, have been anxious to avail themselves of the art of writing to spread abroad their doctrines. The monuments of Piyadasi bear witness to this, and the vulgar tongues were the necessary instrument of this propaganda.

When people set themselves to the task of fixing, by writing, the current tongue, the religious language, and the experience gained in the efforts devoted to assuring its integrity, cannot fail to have exercised a certain amount of influence. This is exactly what we find in the orthography of the edicts. This influence continued, and gained increased power with time, and explains the continual progress with which, from Kapur di Giri to Suë Vihar, and from Suë Vihar to Mathurâ, the popular orthography comes nearer and nearer to learned accuracy. At the same time, the practice of writing exercised upon the culture of the religious language a reaction which was none the less certain because it was indirect. People might refuse to write it, but it was impossible that the use of the alphabet should not have acted as a stimulus towards phonetic and grammatical studies. The attempts to fix the orthography of the vulgar tongue must have suggested and urged on the definitive fixation of the more learned language, the idea and general prototype of which must have long been dormant in the Brâhmanical schools. The labour devoted to this must, in its turn, have extended its influence to the vulgar orthography. The Buddhists, as we know, were recruited from the Brâhmanical, as well as from the other castes, and they were, to a certain degree, initiated into its learning. This explains how their orthography, in Mixed Sanskṛit, continually tended to approach nearer and nearer that of correct Sanskṛit. It followed it from afar, if not step by step, at least in its general direction. It was, without doubt, in this manner the Buddhists who unconsciously determined, partly the final constitution, and certainly the diffusion of Sanskṛit. It was they who, little by little, introduced into wider circulation the habits of an orthography which was inspired by the labours and practice of the schoolmen. They followed on that track, though, it is true, with imperfections and shortcomings. By this slow and instinctive revelation, the secrets of the learned so to say, became public. All that remained for the Brahmaṇs to do was to recover their vantage ground on the strength of their superior technical knowledge, to take the initiative again by teaching their learned language in its correctness, and to develop its public use, both official and literary. It was thus that the diffusion of Sanskṛit

found itself secured. It suppressed the use of Mixed Sanskṛit, after having, nevertheless, been one of its principal factors. Before, however, the latter disappeared from current use and from the monuments, it had already secured a future course for itself as a literary language. The very aspect of the Buddhist dialect "of the Gâthâs," so nearly does it approach Classical Sanskṛit, proves that it was first settled at a period close to the definitive domination of the latter. In this respect, the tradition which places the arrangement of the Canon of the Northern Buddhists in the time of Kanishka, agrees very well with the conclusions to which we have been led by epigraphy. Not, indeed, that we are to assume that all the works or fragments written in Mixed Sanskṛit are necessarily so ancient as that; but that the fixing of this system of orthography and the application to literary use which assured it its survival, must be referred to that epoch, which marks, together with the diffusion of classical Sanskṛit into general use, the hour in which Mixed Sanskṛit, when on the eve of being absorbed into it, borrowed from it the largest proportion of learned elements.

We thus see how, under the common, but on the one hand direct and on the other indirect, influence of an ancient religious language, there was produced in parallel lines, and not without reciprocal reactions, the two-fold development of Classical and of Mixed Sanskrit. Their final fusion, to the benefit of the classical language marks the hour of its definitive establishment, — of the commencement of an undisputed supremacy which yet endures.

Thus is explained the apparently paradoxical formula within which we found ourselves shut up. The endless chain is broken. Mixed Sanskṛit is, to speak exactly, neither a copy nor the source of regular Sanskṛit, but is something of both. Classical Sanskṛit, without enjoying a public and consecrated existence at the time when the early form of Mixed Sanskṛit makes its appearance, nevertheless did exist in the close circle of the schools, in a stage of formation more or less advanced. It will be understood how the Vedic language could, without being written, exercise a profound action, and how the Brâhmaṇs, in spite of their distaste for writing, were led to fix and to put into circulation that great instrument of literary production in India, Sanskṛit. This profane language did not compromise the privilege belonging to their religious language, of which they still remained the jealous guardians.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE TRADITIONAL AND MYTHICAL MEN AND BEASTS OF THE MALAGASY.

From the general appearance of the Malagasy, especially of the leading Hova tribe, and from their language, we can easily see that they are of Malay extraction. Their numerals, for instance, up to ten are identical; and it is a curious fact, that in the Malagasy language we find words from almost all of the many different dialects spoken in the Malay islands of the Archipelago. However, in their customs, folklore and religion the Malagasy have, I believe, but little in common with the Malays. I have never heard of any tradition among the natives of Madagascar as to their arrival in the island, and they are entirely unconscious of any relationship to the Malays.[1]

There is, however, a tradition of the arrival of the Hova tribe in the Province of Imerina, in which are the Highlands they now occupy. These people say that their forefathers came from somewhere unknown, and drove out a race of men called the Vazimba, which, they say, is now extinct, but was a diminutive race, with the head small in proportion to the body. The phrase *Vazimba loha* (Vazimba-headed) is still occasionally used to express anything, such as a nail, that has an unusually small head. But whether the tribe in question is extinct is a matter of doubt. A friend, when exploring an unknown part of western Madagascar, came across people of a distinctly negro type calling themselves Vazimbas,[2] and having, as aborigines, an hereditary right over the river traffic, albeit in subjection to the Betsiriry tribe of the Sakalavas. They had not, however, as far as he noticed, anything peculiar in the formation of the cranium. I may add, while speak-

[1] They are not in any way a seafaring people, except the Sakalava tribe on the west coast, and this tribe is very much more akin to the Negro type than the Malay.

[2] Stanley, I think, mentions a tribe called Wazimba in Central Africa. Some derive the name from the Swahili word *wazimu*, an ogre or madman, others from *kuzimu*, in the grave.

ing of the Betsiriry, that the same explorer saw one individual of a tribe of aboriginal dwarfs, who live in caves and are very shy, and speak a distinct language of their own; whereas all the other tribes in every part of Madagascar speak dialects of Malagasy.

The Hovas greatly venerate the graves of the Vazimbas, and imagine that the spirits of these people, whom their fathers drove out, exert great power over the living. There are many such graves close to the Capital, to which offerings are constantly taken, and it is considered a heinous sin to desecrate, in any way, the places in which these spirits are supposed to dwell. The consequences can only be averted by superstitious rites entailing considerable trouble. The dwelling place of a spirit seems to be more or less arbitrarily chosen: sometimes it is an old tomb, sometimes it is a running brook, or a marsh in which the *bararatra* reed (*Phragmites communis*, Trin.) grows, sometimes it is a whole mountain on which it is wicked even to burn the grass in the manner customary with the Hovas. Consequently the touchy spirits are often unwittingly offended by some unfortunate stranger. Then again each, or almost each, spirit has his particular likings and aversions. Some like mutton, others cannot endure tobacco and onions; while all dislike pork. To make a wrong offering is quite enough to bring disease, if not death, to the offender. Great is the dread among the people of these spirits, and I remember a few young sceptics offering tobacco out of sheer bravado, to a spirit who disliked it, and so overwhelming was the fear of one of them, after he had committed the offence and the excitement had worn off, that he actually frightened himself into a serious illness.

I must now pass on to a description of some of **the mythical animals. First and most renowned is the Songomby.** This word is used figuratively by the natives to mean **lion-hearted**, showing the courage they suppose the animal to possess. It is said to be an animal somewhat resembling a horse, but with large, hanging ears, and a heavy mane: so large, in fact, are the ears that when the animal is running down hill they fall over its eyes and blind it. Hence the natives will tell you that in case you are pursued by a *songomby* your only chance is to run down hill! It is a most ferocious animal, having a predilection for young children, and hence many a poor little child is threatened with this awful beast, if it oversteps the patience of its parents. It is said to live in caves, but to be so wary that it is seldom seen and never captured. When horses were first introduced the natives thought them to be a kind of *songomby* caught by the white men; and when riding in outlying districts, where a horse had never been seen, I have often put a whole village to rout, for the sudden appearance of a white man, (never perhaps seen before,) riding a *songomby* was enough to strike terror into the boldest. I remember quite well one poor woman stealing back after a general stampede caused by myself to save her child, when my men stopped her and quieted her fears. After confidence was restored she confessed to having thought **we should want a baby or two to feed the horse with.** It often took one hour or more to gain the people's confidence.

Next to the *songomby* is the **Fananim-pitoloha, the Hydra with seven heads.** This is not an awe-inspiring reptile, as one might easily imagine; far from it, it is respected and venerated. It has its origin in man, and **the spirit of the person from whom it springs is embodied in it.** As a rule it springs from the entrails of the dead. **Among the Betsileo tribe living to the South of the Hova Province of Imerina,** it is said to be a common custom to take a portion of the entrails of a dead relation and place them near a running stream or pond, in order that a *fananim* may be generated and an embodiment of the spirit effected. If such should happen the hydra proceeds to the village, and those of the inhabitants, who have lost a relative, ask it who it is, by repeating the names of the departed. Should the *fananim* wave its head sideways it is not the person named, but should it nod, there is a great rejoicing among the relations of the person named, and offerings are given daily to it. The appearance of the *fananim* is variously described, but the most authentic accounts state it to be striped, and of a dull brown colour, with seven heads. When it has reached maturity horns grow on each head.

There are many curious fables about this hydra. Here is one. Once upon a time one attacked a bull, but the seven horns being broken, for it butted and did not bite as one might suppose, it was despatched by the bull. This took place near a village, and next day the *fananim* had swollen to such an extent, that it was like a mountain overshadowing the houses, so that the inhabitants had to flee the place during its putrefaction. Sometimes we are told they grow so large that they can span a mountain at its base, but as soon as the tail overlaps their heads they bite off the extra piece, and, fixing the stump firmly in the earth, rear themselves up on it and shoot into heaven!

I am assured that the reason so few are seen with seven heads at the present day is that they are all young, and that it takes many years before they gain their full complement.

Another mythical animal is the tokan-dia,[2] the single step. This is a large white animal with one leg in the middle of its body and one in its chest, and although only gifted with these two legs, it travels at the most extraordinary speed. It eats men, and is, but seldom, if ever, seen now!

Then there is the most uncanny of all the fabulous beings, the kinoly. It is a supposed resurrection of the body after partial decomposition. Should a tomb — the natives always bury in large vaults in Imerina and Betsileo — be opened as soon as the bowels and skin of a corpse have become putrid, the corpse is said to run away. Its eyes become red like fire, and its nails long as talons. It loses all likeness to the living, except its human form. It is harmless from want of strength, only prowling about and stealing such food as it can lay its hands on. This is a Betsileo superstition, and it is said that some people leave their tombs open, so as to allow their relatives the chance of becoming *kinolies*.

Such are the chief myths among the natives of Madagascar. I have heard also of a few others of unicorns and mermen, whose distinctive feature is, curiously, their long hair, and of a hairy tribe of dwarfs that live in trees.

C. P. CORY.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS IN MADRAS.

It is a superstitious belief in Southern India that we should not eat at evening twilight, as it is said that the Asuras of the infernal regions wander over this world at that time, and when food is served they will come in and partake of it, leaving for us mortals only the remainder of what they have eaten.

If a person dies in the house on an unpropitious day, the house is shut up for six months continuously. After the expiration of this period, the usual ceremonies for cleansing the house must be performed, and then it becomes habitable.

Don't shave during July, August, (*Âdi*); September, October, (*Purattâsi*); December, January (*Margazhi*); February, March (*Mâsi*); Sunday, Tuesday or Saturday.

If you anoint your body with oil or bathe in hot water on Sunday you will get heart disease, on Monday health, on Tuesday death, on Wednesday gain, on Thursday loss of a child, on Friday loss of money, on Saturday increase of age.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

EUPHEMISMS IN BENGAL.

In colloquial Bengali euphemisms are common with a view to avoiding the use of expressions of unpleasant import. Such euphemisms have generally arisen from an undercurrent of superstition that it is unlucky to use unpleasant expressions, a belief which has universally prevailed at all times. *E.g.*, the expression '*asi*' on taking leave means 'let me go,' and is never understood in its real sense of 'let me come.' The reply is invariably '*esô*,' or politely '*asûn*' which means 'you may go,' while their real sense is 'you may come.'

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ORIGIN OF ALOMPRA.

The story that Alompra (Alaungp'ayâ) was a hunter, as stated by most European historians of Burma[3] is a pure myth. He belonged to a respectable well-to-do family, and to a class, which would be called the landed gentry in England.

The very fact of his being able, in a short time, to rally round himself a large following, and of his possessing the respect and confidence of his adherents, proves the unsubstantial basis of the story. For in Burma, from time immemorial, the hunter and the fisherman has always been looked down on, and treated as an outcast, beyond the pale of refined society. Had Alompra been a hunter[4] his assumption of leadership would not have been tolerated by his followers.

TAW SEIN KO.

[2] I have often wondered if this is the last tradition of the huge extinct bird of Madagascar, *æpyornis maximus*.

[3] See Phayre, *Hist. of Burma*, p. 150 ff.

[4] [Phayre, *History of Burma*, *loc. cit*, says in effect that Alompra was originally a "hunter captain," who, on succeeding against the Talaings, claimed royal descent. There were many instances of sham 'princes' amongst dacoit leaders (*bôs*) from 1885 to 1890 against the English. One was whilom a schoolmaster of the Educational Department in Lower Burma. There is in fact much to be said both for Phayre's view and for Taw Sein Ko's. No doubt future search will settle the point.—ED.]

THE MUNGIR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DEVAPALADEVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

THE plate containing this inscription — so far as I know, the first Sanskṛit inscription that was ever brought to the notice of European scholars — was found about 1780 by Colonel Watson[1] at **Mungir,** the chief town of the Mungir District of the Bengal Province, on the south bank of the Ganges. The inscription was translated by Charles Wilkins in 1781, and his translation was published, with a few notes by Sir W. Jones and a lithographed facsimile[2] (but without a transcript) of the original text, in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. I. pp. 123-130 and 142. The plate having been lost, I now venture to edit the inscription from the published lithograph, which, with all its defects, is by no means so valueless as may appear to be the case, at first sight.

The plate was a single one. Judging from the lithograph, it was surmounted by an ornament, fixed on the upper part, and advanced some distance on the plate so as to occasion a break in the upper lines. As in the case *e.g.* of the Dinâjpur plate of Mahîpâladêva, this ornament in all probability contained a **seal,** across which were engraved the words *śrî-Dêvapâladêvasya* which in the lithograph are put at the top. The plate itself contained 52 lines of writing, 36 of which were on the front and 16 on the back of the plate. The **writing** was well preserved throughout. The **characters** clearly were of the same type as those of the Budâl pillar inscription and of the Dinâjpur plate. Thus, to mention a characteristic feature of this alphabet, there can be no doubt that the letter *r*, preceding another consonant, was ordinarily denoted by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part. By the lithographer this short line has been altogether overlooked, and accordingly the letter *r* is omitted in the lithograph about twenty-five times. Similarly, the peculiar way in which medial *â, ê, ai, ô* and *au* were written in the original plate, has often caused the engraver of the lithograph to omit the signs for the medial *â* and *ê*, and to put *â, ê* and *ô* in the place of *ô, ai* and *au.* The sign of the *avagraha* was exceptionally employed in the original in *mûrttâ* ऽ *thavâ,* in line 16, and ऽ *kiṅchitpragrâhyô,* in line 40. The **language** is Sanskṛit. Excepting the introductory *ôṁ svasti,* the inscription is in verse down to the commencement of line 24. Lines 24-46, containing the formal part of the grant, are in prose; they are followed, in lines 46-50, by four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses; and the inscription closes with another verse, in lines 50-52, which gives the name of the *dûtaka* of this grant. The inscription was written and engraved with great care, and in regard to **orthography** I need only state here that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal has been employed in the word [*va**]*ṅśa,* in line 50.

In writing out my text, I have not considered it necessary to record all the very numerous minor errors and omissions of the lithograph.[3] The only passages about which I am at all doubtful, and in which the rediscovery of the plate may prove me to have gone wrong, are the words *suviṅayinâṁ,* in line 5, *râjakulîya-samasta-,* in line 40, and *kara-hiraṇy-,* in line 45. For the rest, my text will, I trust, speak for itself.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Sugata, or Buddha, the *Paramêśvara, Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja,* the illustrious **Dêvapâladêva,** who meditated on the feet of the devout worshipper of Sugata, the *Paramêśvara, Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhi-*

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[1] See *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. I. p. 132.

[2] The statement of the late Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra (*Indo-Aryans,* Vol. II. p. 219), that the translation was published without any facsimile, is of course incorrect.

[3] In the lithograph it is often quite impossible to distinguish between *p, m,* and *y,* or even *s. D* is engraved instead of *n,* or *m,* or *y,* or *v*; *dâ* instead of *s*; *nd* instead of *nt,* or *ndh,* or *nn*; *bh* instead of *s*; *yy* instead of *chy,* or *dy,* or *sy*; *v* instead of *ch,* or *n,* or *r,* or *rth.* The signs of the original for *ksh* and *ḍ* are drawn quite wrongly. And the signs of *anusvâra* and *visarga,* and those of the subscript *u, ri,* and *r,* are often omitted. But it is one great advantage that the lithograph was prepared by an artist who did not understand the language of the original.

rája, the illustrious **Dharmapâladêva** (lines 28-29). After the words *ôṁ svasti* and a verse in honour of both Buddha and the ruling king, it gives (in lines 4-24), in thirteen verses of which a full translation will be given below, the genealogy of **Dêvapâladêva.** All we learn from this part of the inscription is, that **Dêvapâla** was the son and successor of the king **Dharmapâla** and his wife **Raṇṇâdêvî,** who was a daughter of the illustrious **Parabala** of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family; and that Dharmapâla again was the son and successor of the king **Gôpâla.** Dêvapâla, as well as his father and grandfather, are eulogized as very powerful monarchs, who each of them are represented as having conquered almost the whole of India. I have already had occasion to state[4] that in later inscriptions of the same dynasty Dêvapâla is described as the brother's son of Dharmapâla, and that I would identify his father-in-law Parabala with the Râshṭrakûṭa Gôvinda III, also called 'Srîvallabha (or 'Srîballaha), etc.; but I must add here that my chief reason for proposing this identification is the circumstance that we know Gôvinda III to have ruled at the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and that this would be about the time when Dharmapâla's father Gôpâla may be supposed to have lived.

The wording of the formal part of the grant (lines 24-46) is much the same as in the three other known copper-plate grants of the so-called Pâla kings. As regards the object of the grant, **Dêvapâladêva,** from his camp at **Mudgagiri** on the Ganges, informs his officials and the people concerned that he has given the village of **Mêshikâ,** which was in the **Krimilâ** *vishaya* of the **Srînagara** *bhukti*, to the *bhaṭṭa* Vîhêkarâtamiśra, a son of the *bhaṭṭa* Śrîvarâharâta and son's son of the *bhaṭṭa* Viśvarâta, of the Aupamanyava *gôtra* and Âśvalâyana *śâkhâ*; and he orders the people to make over to the donee whatever may be due to him in accordance with this donation. Among the numerous officials, enumerated in this part of the grant, two occur who are not mentioned in the other Pâla grants, the *pramâtṛi* and *sarabhaṅga* (in line 32). I am unable to explain these terms, and can only state that the same officials are mentioned, under the names of *pramâtâra* (or perhaps *mahârâjapramâtâra*) and *śarabhaṅga*, in line 11 of the Pâṇḍukêśvar grant of Lalitaśûradêva, published in the *Proceedings, Bengal As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73; and that we find *pramâtṛi* in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 88, l. 49, p. 115, l. 32; *pramâtâra*, *ib.* p. 72, l. 9; and *mahâpramâtâra*, *ib.* p. 73, l. 17.

The formal part of the grant closes (in line 46) with **the date,** the 21st day of the month Mârgaśira of the year 33. Lines 46-50 contain, as already stated, four of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. And these are followed (in lines 50-52) by another verse which will be translated below, according to which the king had appointed, as *dûtaka* of this grant, his own son, the *Yuvarâja*, the illustrious **Râjyapâla.** The year 33 of the date must of course be referred to the king's reign, which I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in assigning to about the end of the 9th century A. D.

Of the **localities** mentioned in this inscription **Mudgagiri** and **Srînagara** have already by Sir Charles Wilkins been identified with the modern Mungir and Patnâ respectively. The **Krimilâ** *vishaya* and the village of **Mêshikâ** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[5]

First Side.

1 Ôṁ[6] svasti । Siddhârthasya[7] parâ[rtha]-susthira-

2 matêḥ sanmârgam=abhyasyatas=siddhis=siddhim=a-

3 nuttarâm=bhagavatas=tasya prajâsu kriyât । yas=traidhâtuka-sat[t*]va-siddhi-padavîr=atyugra-vîry-ôdayâj=jitvâ nirvṛiti-

4 m=âsasâda sugataḥ sarvvârtha-bhûmîśvaraḥ ॥ Saubhâgyan[8]=dadhad=atulaṁ śriyas=sapatnyâ Gôpâlaḥ patir=abhavad=vasu-

[4] See above, p. 99.

[5] From the lithograph in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 123.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Metre, Praharshiṇî.

5 ndharâyâḥ । dṛishṭântê [suvinayinâṁ][9] surâjñi yasmiñ=śraddhêyâḥ Pṛithu-Sagar-â[dayô]=py=abhûvan ॥ Vijitya[10] yên=â jaladhêr=vasundha-

6 râṁ vimôchitâ môgha-parigrahâ iti । savâshpam=udvâshpa-vilôchanân=punar=vvanêshu va(ba)ndhûn=dadṛi[śu]r=mmataṅgajâḥ ॥ Cha-[11]

7 latsv=anantêshu va(ba)lêshu yasya viśvambharâyâ nichitaṁ rajôbhiḥ । pâda-prachâra-kshamam=antariksham[12]=vihaṅgamânâṁ suchiram=va(ba)bhûva ॥

8 'Sâstrârtha[13]-bhâjâ chalatô=nuśâsya[14] varṇṇân=pratishṭhâpayatâ sva-dharmmê । śrî-**Dharmmapâlêna** sutêna sô=bhût=svarga-sthitânâm=anṛiṇaḥ

9 pitṛîṇâm ॥ Achalair[15]=iva jaṅgamair=yadîyair=vichaladbhir=dviradaiḥ kadarthyamânâ । nirupaplavam=amva(mba)raṁ prapêdê śa-

10 raṇaṁ rêṇu-nibhêna bhûta-dhâtrî ॥ Kêdârê[16] vidhin=ôpayukta-payasâṁ Gaṅgâ-samêt-âmvu(mbu)dhau Gôkarṇṇ-âdishu ch=âpy=anu-

11 shṭhitavatâṁ tîrthêshu dharmmyâḥ kriyâḥ । bhṛityânâṁ sukham=êva yasya sakalân=uddhṛitya dushṭân=imân[17] lôkân=sâ-

12 dhayatô=nushaṅga-janitâ siddhiḥ paratr=apy=abhût ॥ Tair=tair=digvijay-âvasâna-samayê samprêshitânâm=paraiḥ sa-

13 tkârair=apanîya khêdam=akhilaṁ svâṁ svân=gatânâṁ bhuvam । kṛityam=bhâvayatâṁ yadîyam=uchitaṁ prîtyâ nṛipâṇâm=abhût=sô-

14 tkaṇṭhaṁ hṛidayaṁ divaś=chyutavatâṁ jâtismarâṇâm=iva ॥ Srî[18]-**Parava(ba)lasya** duhituḥ kshitipatinâ **Râshṭrakûṭa**-tilakasya ।

15 **Raṇṇâdêvyâḥ** pâṇir=jagṛihê gṛihamêdhinâ têna ॥ Dhṛita-tanur[19]=iyaṁ Lakshmîḥ sâkshât=kshitir=nu śarîriṇî kim=avani-patêḥ

16 kîrttir=mûrttâ Sthavâ gṛihadêvatâ । iti vidadhatî śuchy-âchârâ vitarkavatîḥ prajâ[ḥ][20] prakṛiti-gurubhir=yâ śuddhântaṁ guṇai-

17 r=akarôd=adhaḥ ॥ 'Slâghyâ[21] pativrat=âsau muktâ-ratnaṁ samudra-śuktir=iva । śrî-**Dêvapâladêvaṁ** prasanna-vaktraṁ sutam=asûta ॥

18 Nirmmalô[22] manasi vâchi saṁyataḥ kâya-karmmaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau । râjyam=âpa nirupaplavaṁ pitur=vô(bô)dhisat[t*]va iva

19 saugataṁ padam ॥ Bhrâmyadbhir[23]=vijaya-kramêṇa karibhi[ḥ svâ]m[24]=êva Vindhy-âṭavîm=uddâma-plavamâna-vâshpa-payasô dṛishṭâḥ punar=vâ(bâ)ndha-

20 vâḥ । Kamvô(mbô)jêshu cha yasya vâji-yuvabhir=dhvast-ânyarâj-aujasô hêshâ-miśrita-hâri-hêshita-ravâḥ kântâś=chiraṁ vîkshitâḥ ॥

21 Yaḥ pûrvvam=Va(ba)linâ kṛitaḥ kṛita-yugê yên=âgamad=Bhârgavas=trêtâyâṁ pra-hataḥ priya-praṇayinâ Karṇṇêna yô dvâparê । vichchhinnaḥ kali-

22 nâ 'Sakadvishi gatê kâlêna lôkântaraṁ yêna tyâga-pathaḥ sa êva hi punar=vispashṭam=unmîlitaḥ ॥ Â[25] Gaṅg-âgama-mahitâ-

23 t=sapatna-śûnyâm=â sê[tôḥ][26] prathita-Daśâsyakêtu-kîrttêḥ । urvîm=â Varuṇa-nikê-[ta]nâch=[27]cha sindhôr=â Lakshmî-kulabhavanâch=cha yô

24 vu(bu)bhôja ॥ Sa khalu Bhâgîrathî-patha-pravarttamâna-nânâvidha-nauvâṭaka-sampâ-dita-sêtuva(ba)ndha-[ni]hita-śaila-śikhara-śrê-

25 ṇî-vibhramân = niratiśaya - ghana - ghanâghana - ghaṭṭâ(ṭâ) - śyâmâyamâna - vâsaralakshmî - samâravdha(bdha)-santata-jaladasamaya-sa-

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[9] What the lithograph actually has, is *sadinatinâṁ*; but the second *akshara*, *di*, is very oddly shaped. The English translation has 'by comparison of the learned.'

[10] Metre, Vaṁśastha.

[11] Metre, Upajâti.

[12] Read °*ksham*.

[13] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[14] The lithograph apparently has °*syê*.

[15] Metre, Aupachchhandasika.

[16] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[17] Read *imâṁllô*.°

[18] Metre, Âryâ.

[19] Metre, Hariṇî.

[20] The lithograph omits the *visarga*.

[21] Metre, Âryâ.

[22] Metre, Rathôddhatâ.

[23] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

[24] In the lithograph there is no *visarga*, and the syllable, here read *svâ*, looks rather like *prâ* or *mrâ*.

[25] Metre, Ratthôddhatâ.

[26] The lithograph apparently has *sêtu* (or *bhêtu*).

[27] The lithograph has *nikênâchcha* (or *vikênâchcha*).

26 ndêhât ।[28] udîchîn-ânêka-narapati-prâbhṛitîkṛit-âpramêya-haya-vâhinî-khara-khur-ôtkhâta-dhûlî-dhûsarita-di-
27 gantarâlât ।[29] paramêśvara-sêvâ-samâyât-âśêsha-Jamvu(mbu)dvîpa-bhûpâla-pâdâta-bhara-namad-avanêḥ ।[30] śrî-**Mudgagiri**-samâvâ-
28 sita-śrîmaj-jayaskandhâvârât paramasaugata-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâ-dhirâja-śrî-**Dharmapâladêva**-
29 pâdânudhyâtaḥ paramasaugataḥ paramêśvara[ḥ][31] paramabhaṭṭârakô mahârâjâdhi-râjaḥ śrîmân=**Dêvapâladêva**[ḥ][31] kuśalî
30 **Śrînagara**-bhuktau **Krimilâ**vishay-âuntaḥpâti-svasamva(mba)ddhâvichchhinna-talôpêta-**Mêshikâ**grâmê samupagatâ-
31 n sarvvân=êva râṇaka-। râjaputra-। amâtya-। mahâkârttâkṛitika-। mahâdaṇḍanâyaka-। mahâpratîhâra-। mahâsâ-
32 manta-। mahâdauḥsâdhasâdhanika-। mahâkumârâmâtya-। pramâtṛi-। sarabhaṅga-। râjasthânîya-। uparika-। dâśâ-
33 parâdhika-। chaurôddharaṇika-। dâṇḍika-। dâṇḍapâśika-। śaulkika-। gaulmika-। [kshê]trapa-। prântapâla-। kôṭṭapâla-[।]
34 khaṇḍara[ksha]-। tadâyuktaka-। viniyuktaka-। hasty-aśv-ôshṭra-va(ba)la-vyâpṛitaka-[।] kiśôra-va[ḍa]vâ-gô-mahishy-aj-âvik-âdhyaksha-। dûtapraishaṇi-
35 ka-। gamâgamika-। abhitvaramâṇa-। vishayapati-। tarapati-। tarika-। Gauḍa-Mâlava-Khaśa-Hûṇa-Kulika-Karṇṇâṭa-Lâ[ṭa-châ]ṭa-bhaṭa-
36 sêvak-âdîn anyâṁś=ch=âkîrttitân sva-pâdapadm-ôpajîvinaḥ prativâsinas=cha vrâ(brâ)hmaṇ-ôttarân mahattara-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purôga-mêd-â-

Second Side.

37 ndhraka[32]-chaṇḍâla-paryantân [sa]mâjñâpayati [।*] Viditam=a-
38 stu bhavatâṁ yath=ôparilikhita-**Mêshikâ**grâmaḥ sva-sî-
39 mâ-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ satalaḥ sôddêśaḥ sâmramadhûkaḥ sajalasthalaḥ samatsyaḥ satṛiṇaḥ sôparikaraḥ sadaśâ-
40 parâdhaḥ sachaurôddharaṇaḥ parihṛita-sarvvapîḍaḥ ।[33] achâṭabhaṭa-pravêśô ऽkiñchitpragrâhyô râjakulîya-[samasta]-[34]pratyâya-samê-
41 tô bhûmichchhidra-nyâyên=â-chandr-ârka-kshiti-samakâlaḥ pûrva-datta-bhukta-bhujya-mâna-dêva-vra(bra)hma-dêya-varjitô mayâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha pu-
42 ṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê vêdârtha-vidô yajvanô bhaṭṭa-Viśvarâtasya pautrâya vidy-âvadâta-chêtasô bhaṭṭa-Śrîvarâharâtasya putrâya ।[35]
43 pada-vâkya-pramâṇa-vidyâ-pâraṁ gatâya ।[36] Aupamanyava-sagôtrâya ।[37] Âślâyana-savra(bra)hmachâriṇê bhaṭṭa-pravara-Vî[hê]karâta-miśrâya
44 śâsanîkṛitya pratipâditaḥ [।*] Yatô bhavadbhiḥ sarvvair=êva bhûmêr=dâna-phala-gauravâd=apaharaṇê mahânaraka-pâta-bhayâch=cha dânam=i-
45 dam=anumôdya pâlanîyaṁ prativâsibhiḥ kshêtrakaraiś=ch=âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ samu[chi]ta[38]-[kara-hiraṇy][39]-âdêy-âdi-sarvva-pratyây-ôpana-
46 yaḥ kârya iti [।*] **Samvat**[40] **33 Mârga-dinê 21** । Tathâ cha dharmânuśâsana[41]-ślôkâḥ । Sarvân[42]=êtân bhâvinaḥ pârthivêndrân

[28] Read °*hâd=udî.*°
[29] Read °*lât=para.*°
[30] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[31] The lithograph omits these signs of *visarga.*
[32] The published text of the Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla has *mêdândha*; but the original plate has *mêdândhra.*
[33] Read °*pîḍô=châṭa.*°
[34] I am doubtful about this word. What the lithograph has may possibly be intended for *paryanta.*
[35] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[36] Read *gatây=Aupa.*°
[37] Read °*trây=Âśvalâyana-.*
[38] The lithograph actually has *samuchata.*
[39] The words in these brackets are, I believe, certain; but the lithograph gives *kamakaraṇ-.*
[40] Read *saṁvat.*
[41] Probably, the reading intended was °*śâsinaḥ.* The lithograph actually has °*śâśana.*
[42] Metre, Śâlinî.

47 bhûyô bhûyaḥ prârthayaty=êsha Râmaḥ I sâmânyô=yaṁ dharma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâm[43] kâlê kâlê pâlanîyaḥ kramêṇaḥ[44] II Va(ba)hubhir[45]=vasudhâ

48 dattâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ[46] tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ II Sva-dattâm=para-dattâm=vâ[47] yô harêta vasu-

49 ndharâm [I*] sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha pâchyata[48] [II*] Iti[49] kamala-dal-âmvu(mbu)-vindu-lôlâm[50] śrîyam=anuchintya manushya-

50 jîvitañ=cha I sakalam=idam=udâhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvâ na hi purushaiḥ para-kîrttayô vilôpyâ[ḥ][51] II Śrêyô-vidhâv[52]=ubhaya-[va*]ṅśa[53]-vi-

51 śuddhi-bhâjaṁ râj=âkarôd=adhigat-âtma-guṇaṁ guṇa-jñaḥ I âtm-ânurûpa-charitaṁ sthira-yauvarâjyaṁ śrî-**Râjyapâlam**=i-

52 ha dûtakam=âtma-putraṁ II

TRANSLATION OF LINES 1—24 AND 50—52.

Oṁ ! May it be well !

May the perfection of that venerable being, whose objects are accomplished, whose mind is steadfast in the cause of others, and who is ever treading the path of virtue, procure for his people unsurpassed perfection, — that being who, a Sugata[54] and in all things a lord of the earth, having excelled the ways of perfection of the creatures of the three worlds by the display of his awful might, has attained unto bliss !

(Line 4.) Possessed of matchless prosperity, **Gôpâla** was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the earth.[55] While he, the type of a well-conducted (*king*), carried on his beneficent rule, even (*kings*) like Pṛithu and Sagara came to be believed in.

When he had conquered the earth as far as the sea, he set free his elephants, regarding them a useless train; and they with tears (*of joy*) saw again in the forests their kindred whose eyes became filled with tears.

When his innumerable forces were marching, the sky continually was so filled with the dust of the earth that the birds of the air could walk upon it.

(L. 8.) He paid his debt to his forefathers in heaven by begetting the illustrious **Dharmapâla**, who, conversant with the precepts of the Śâstras, by restraining those who swerved from the right course, made the castes conform to their proper tenets.

By the elephants of this prince, who were moving about like walking mountains, the earth was so tormented that, in the guise of the dust, it took refuge in the peaceful heavens.

With ease uprooting all the wicked and subduing this world, he at the same time secured for his followers the blessings of the world to come; for (*on his expeditions*) they bathed according to precept at Kêdâra (*and*)[56] where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and performed holy rites at Gôkarṇa and other sacred shrines.

When he had completed the conquest of the regions, he released the princes (*whom he had made captive*); and they, made to forget all their distress by the various great honours shown to them, and having each returned to his own country, pondered upon his generous deeds, and

[43] Read *nṛipâṇâṁ*. [44] Read *kramêna*. [45] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.
[46] Read *bhûmis=tasya*. [47] Read *-dattâṁ vâ*. [48] Read *pachyatê*.
[49] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ. [50] Read *-lôlâṁ śriyam*. [51] The lithograph omits this *visarga*.
[52] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. [53] Read *-vaṁśa-*.

[54] *i. e.*, either a Buddha or, applied to the king, a follower of Buddha, a Buddhist. For, like the verse at the commencement of the Dinâjpur, Bhâgalpur, and Âmgâchhî plates, this verse is applicable both to the founder of the Buddhist religion (*Siddhârtha, Sugata, Sarvârthasiddha*) and to the king, in this case Dêvapâladêva, who issued this grant.

[55] Literally, 'Gôpâla was a lord of the Earth who was the fellow-wife of the goddess of fortune.'

[56] It appears necessary to add this particle, because, so far as I know, there is only one Kêdâra, which is situated in the Himâlaya mountains. Gôkarṇa is in the North Kanara District of the Bombay Presidency; it is even now a place of pilgrimage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India.

their hearts were fondly longing for him, as of mortals banished from heaven who remember their former existence.

(L. 14.) As a householder, that lord of the earth took the hand of **Raṇṇâdêvî**, the daughter of the illustrious **Parabala**, the ornament of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family.

By the purity of her conduct causing the people to deliberate as to whether she might be Lakshmî incarnate, or the earth embodied in human form, or the king's fame in visible shape, or his household goddess, she surpassed the ladies of the court by the excellent qualities with which nature had endowed her.

As the shell of the sea yields the precious pearl, so that praise-worthy husband-devoted lady bore a son with a pleasing countenance, the illustrious **Dêvapâladêva**.

(L. 18.) Unsullied in thought, controlling his speech, and steadfast in the performance of blameless actions, he inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles, as a Bôdhisattva attains the status of a Buddha.

In the course of conquest his elephants, roaming over their own Vindhya forest, met again with their kindred who shed plentiful tears (*of joy*); and, after he had crushed the power of other kings, his young chargers in Kambôja at last saw their mates, and it was a pleasure to hear them loudly neigh at each other.

He indeed has again clearly opened that road of liberality which was first made by Bali in the Kṛita age, on which Bhṛigu's descendant walked in the Trêtâ age, and which was trodden by Karṇa, devoted to his friends, in the Dvâpara age, but which had been choked up by the Kali age, ever since the enemy[57] of the 'Saka went to heaven.

He has ruled the earth, free from rivals, up to the (*mountain*) celebrated for Gaṅgâ's descent, as far as the bridge which proclaims the fame of Râvaṇa's foe, as far as the ocean which is Varuṇa's home, and as far as (*that other ocean which is*) Lakshmî's birthplace.

* * * * * * *

(L. 50.) The king, who knows how to appreciate excellent qualities, has made his son, the illustrious **Râjyapâla**, who is of pure descent on both sides, who has acquired the excellent qualities of his parent and whose conduct resembles his, and who is firmly appointed as *Yuvarâja*, the *dûtaka* for this deed of merit.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S , and revised by the Author.

(*Concluded from page* 156.)

PART III.

MONUMENTAL AND LITERARY PRAKRIT.

In the period which extends from the 2nd century before our era to the 3rd century A. D., all the inscriptions which are not in Sanskṛit or in Mixed Sanskṛit are couched in a dialect which may be designated by the name of Monumental Prâkṛit.

In all the places where it is found it is essentially identical. This does not mean that the monuments present no inconsistencies between themselves. These **inconsistencies and irregularities are many,** and as they are also instructive, it is worth the trouble of quoting a certain number of them. They are **of two kinds. On the one hand, the writing varies for the same words or for identical sounds; and, on the other, forms unequally altered,**

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[57] *i. e.*, the great king Vikramâditya, the reputed destroyer of the tyrant Śaka. See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 261.

and, consequently, belonging to different linguistic strata, are found in justaposition on the same monuments or on monuments of the same date.

In the first category, the most general fact is **the inconsistency with which the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ* are employed.** Sometimes one or other is introduced indifferently into the same word, or they are even applied in a manner contrary to every known rule; and sometimes one or other is exclusively used. This cannot be a question of dialectic divergencies, for instances occur in contemporary and neighbouring monuments. I quote a few examples[1] Nâs. 11 A; *ânapayati* and *âṇata :* the same in Nâs. 15. C. T. I., p. 33, No. 13 : *ṇadiyâ, yapaṇatha.* Nâs. 22 : *sêṇâpati.* Kaṇh. 15 : *âṇaṁda, âpaṇô.* C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14 : *udêsêṇa*; p. 55, No. 33: *yavaṇa, bhôjaṇa;* p. 44, No. 8 : *bhâtûṇaṁ, dâṇa*; p. 42, No. 2: *bêṇa jaṇâna*; p. 30, No. 6: *dhênukâkata-kêṇa*; p. 6, No. 5: *bhâgiṇêyiya.* Kaṇh. 28: *bôdhikâṇa, pâṇiya, saṁghâṇaṁ, diṇâ.* Kaṇh. 15: *âṇa[ṁ]dêṇa, saṁghêṇa,* &c. Nâs. 12., Kaṇh. 10., C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2; p. 18, No. 25, &c., use exclusively *ṇ*: C. T. I., p. 44, No. 9; p. 9, No. 9: Amravatî, No. 175, &c., use exclusively the dental *n*.

Inconsistencies of orthography are manifested in an infinity of other cases. Take the **weakening of hard consonants into soft ones :** *sugha*, Kârli, 22; Kaṇh. 15, 28, &c.; *mugha* C. T. I., p. 29, No. 4, No. 6, beside *sukha, pamukha* (*e. g.* Amrav. No. 196); *kuḍuṁbini*, Kaṇh. 15, Nâs. 8-9, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, &c., beside *kuṭuṁbini* (*e. g.* Kaṇh. 4); *dhênukâkaḍa*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *dhênukakaṭa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 4; p. 31, No. 7; *thuba*, Kaṇh. 10 (of the time of Vâsiṭhîputa Pulumâyi), beside *thupa*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3; p. 26, No. 1. The inscription of Mâdhariputa (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2) gives *paṭiṭhâpita*, while elsewhere, as for example Amr. 8 (pp. 52-53), we find *patiṭhavita*, and again elsewhere the spellings *paḍiṭhâpita* (Kaṇh. 15), *paḍiḍâtavâ* (Nâs. 7, time of Nahapâna), *paṭiasiya* (Kaṇh. 4) and *paḍiasitava* (Kaṇh. 16-18), of the time of Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi, *païṭhâna* (Kaṇh. 5) in an inscription of earlier date. Of two monuments of Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi, one (Nâs. 11 A) has *Sadakaṇi*, the other *Sâtakaṇi.* C. T. I., p. 15, No. 19 has *sâdak[ê]ra*, while p. 4, No. 1 and p. 9, No. 9, which belong to exactly the same date, have *sâdagêri.* Sometimes the alteration is still more complete such as in *gôyaṁmâ* equivalent to *gautamâ* (°*mî*), C. T. I., p. 15, No. 160. In several instances the suffix *ka* is changed into *ya* ; C. T. I., p. 49, No. 20 presents to us, side by side, *bhârukachhakânaṁ* and *laṁguḍiyânaṁ* for *laṁkuṭikânaṁ*; in Kârli, 22, we read *mahâsaṁghiyânaṁ* in a passage dating from the 24th year of Pulumâyi, and which retains several genitives in *asya*, beside the Prâkṛit form in *asa.* It is true that, at about the same period, the Wardak vase presents the intermediate form *mahasaṁghiganaṁ*; and that, at Kaṇhêri, Nos. 12 and 20 have, at the same epoch, the spellings *Sôpârayaka* and *Sôpâraga* respectively.

As a general rule, it is the soft consonants of Sanskrit which thus disappear or which leave *y* as the only trace behind them : *pâyuna* (Nâs. 7, an inscription of the time of Nahapâna) and *pâüna* (C. T. I., p. 47, No. 6) equivalent to *pâdôna*; *bhayaṁta*, C. T. I p. 18, No. 25; p. 24, No. 4; p. 50, No. 22, &c., or *bhaaṁta*, C. T. I., p. 24, No. 3, beside *bhadaṁta ; siaguta*, C. T. I., p. 38, No. 2, beside *sivabhutimhâ*, p. 9, No. 9 ; *pâvayitikâ*, C. T. I., p. 6, No. 5, or *pavaïta*, p. 6, No. 5; p. 37, Nos. 21, 22; Kaṇh. 21, 28, &c., beside *pavajita ; bhôja*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 17; p. 4, No. 1; p. 9, No. 9, beside *bhôya*, in an inscription emanating from the same family (p. 15, No. 19), *bhôa* (p. 2, No. 9), *bhôïgiyâ*, (Kaṇh. 24, earlier than Gôtamîputa Sâtakaṇi), and even (*mahâ*)*bhuviyâ* (C. T. I., p. 100). **It is clear that, when *y* is introduced, it is done in a very arbitrary fashion. It is also on several occasions omitted.**

In an inscription, No. 21, of Kaṇhêri, beside *bhayaṁta, thêriya,* &c., we find *pavaitikâa pônakâa saṇâa*, and *chiarika* beside *chivarika* of the preceding numbers which are exactly contemporary. ***V* and *y* are here subjected to the same treatment,** and we, therefore, need not

[1] I quote in general *Cave Temple Inscriptions* according to number and page in the collection of Messrs. Burgess and Bhagwanlal. For Nâsik, I follow the numbers given in the *Arch. Surv.* IV. 98, &c. For Kaṇhêri, the numbers of the order in the same collection, V. pp. 74 and ff.

be surprised at sporadic instances of orthography such as *purisadatâva* (Nâs. 24), *bhayâva vêlidatâva* and *uyaraka* (C. T. I., p. 17, No. 23), beside the usual *ôvaraka*, and the terminations in *âya*. So, also, we find in the inscriptions of the north, side by side, *saṁvatsarayê*, *aṭhasatatimaê*, *tachhasilayê*, *puyaê* (Taxila), &c. We find *kaliaṇa* (Kaṇh. 13, 24, &c.) as well as *kaliyâṇa* and *puḷumâï*, *puḷumâyi*, and *puḷumâvi* (Nâs. 12, 13, 15); *dhutua*, *mâtua* (Kaṇh. 27) beside *dhutuya*, *mâtuya*, &c.; *ya* and *ja* are used indifferently the one for the other, when it is necessary to represent an etymological *j*: on the Wardak vase we read *puyaê*, beside *raja*, at Taxila, *raya* beside *puyaê*, and, to confine ourselves to the cave inscriptions, Kaṇh. 18 reads *puyatha*[*ṁ*], C. T. I., p. 16, No. 20, *vâṇiyiyasa*, Amr. 26 B, *vâṇiyasa*; while on the other hand, beside the usual *bhayâ* (equivalent to *bhâryâ*), we have *bhajayâ*, Kaṇh. 19, *bharijâyê*, Nâs. 11 B.

Inversely, a hard consonant is sometimes substituted for a soft one. For example, *nêkama*, beside *nêgama* (C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2), *nâkaṇaka* (Kaṇh. 2), *nâkanikâ* (Amr. 121), *nâkachaṁda* (Amr. 56), in the frequently occurring *ma*[*ṁ*]*ṭapa*, beside *maṁḍapa* and *maṁḍava*; Kaṇh. 16 reads *bhâka* for *bhâga*; Amr. 222, *lôgâticha* equivalent to *lôkâditya*, and *bhagapatô* for *bhagavatô*.

Although the palatal nasal *ñ* is not unknown, its use is very irregular. Kârli 20 has *anô* equivalent to *anyaḥ*; Kaṇh. 5, *anâni*, Kaṇh. 27, *pûnaṁ* equivalent to *puṇyaṁ* and *nâti* equivalent to *jñâti*. The same spelling *nâti* occurs again at Amravatî, *e. g.* in Nos. 232, 249, while, on the other hand, I have noted in two inscriptions (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28 and 30) *kaliañaka*.

Similarly, other modes of orthography sometimes bring us nearer to, and sometimes take us further from, the learned standard. I may mention *amasa*[*ṁ*]*taka*, Nâs. 11 B; *baṁmaniya* beside *baṁmhana*, C. T. I., p. 14, No. 15; these methods of writing are the more worthy of note because, long before, at Kapur di Giri, we regularly find the spelling *bramaṇa*. C. T. I., p. 46, No. 14, writes *shaṇuvisa* equivalent to *shaḍviṁśati*, an absolutely sporadic instance of the use of *sha* in this Prâkṛit: a similar inscription, no less Prâkṛit, writes *putrasa* beside *putasa*, (C. T. I., p. 40, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7).

These inconsistencies of orthography are all sporadic. That they certainly do not depend on differences of time, can easily be proved by reference to the monuments from which the examples have been drawn.

These monuments are dispersed over a very wide area. Now, between the inscriptions of Gujarât or of the caves of the Western coast, and those of Amravatî at the mouth of the Kṛishṇa, those of Khandagiri in Orissa, of Sâñchi in Mâlava or of Bharhut in Bihâr, **we find no trace of differences of dialect. They extend over at least four centuries,** from the second century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D., **without disclosing, between the most ancient and the most modern, any appreciable variation.** In an area so extensive, the vulgar tongue certainly could not have failed to divide up into numerous dialects. This is a phænomenon escaped by no language. Literature bears witness to it for the following period, and no one can be tempted to imagine that the fact was then a new one. On the other hand, it is clear that a language cannot pass through four or five centuries in the mouth of the common people without decay and transformation. The earliest literary specimens which we possess of the Prâkṛits, the stanzas of Hâla, and the Prâkṛits of the most ancient dramas, although in origin but a short distance from the end of the period to which we refer, reveal a phonetic alteration which was much further advanced. Let us, therefore, bring ourselves face to face with the orthographical facts which have just been pointed out.

The parallel employment of forms unequally altered, belonging to different strata of the language shew that **this dialect of the monuments, however near we may suppose it to the living popular language, is neither its direct expression nor its faithful imitation.** It conceals under a level in part conventional, a more advanced degeneration of the current language — a degeneration of which the distortions are reflected in those more corrupted spellings which accidentally escaped the engravers.

The frequent inconsistencies of the methods of writing shew that **we, nevertheless, are not dealing with a language which is rigorously subject to minute rules,** and fixed by studies so definitive that their authority had cut short all individual caprices. Nor can we, on the other hand, see in it the spontaneous efflorescence of local dialects freely expanding in their native diversity.

The language is, therefore, neither purely popular, nor entirely subject to rules. Taking all in all, it is to Mixed Sanskṛit that the Prâkṛit of the inscriptions can be most exactly compared. Both, by the general use to which they were subjected, and by their relative stability, were raised above the character of simple local dialects. **In each case each represented an analogous effort,** — though arrested at unequal stages, — **to compass a regularity, a unification, which, not being yet defined, left more or less room to hesitation and to caprice.**

We have just now had to investigate the relationship which united Mixed Sanskṛit and Classical Sanskṛit; it is no less necessary to determine what, in the linguistic series, were **the respective positions which we should assign to this Monumental Prâkṛit, and to the Literary Prâkṛits.**

People are accustomed to call this dialect of the inscriptions, which I designate by the name of Monumental Prâkṛit, simply Prâkṛit, or, more often, Pâli. This name lends itself to serious misunderstandings. If all that is meant is that in its constituent elements it is very analogous to the Prâkṛits, of which Pâli is only a particular form, that is all right; but, so great is the danger arising from the use of terms, which are either imperfectly defined or inaccurately employed, that people are ordinarily prepared to go much further. They admit, as proved, or simply as self-evident, the identity between the two dialects; and such an identity in no way exists.

It is, on the contrary, a very remarkable fact, the explanation of which will have to be methodically searched for, **that the literary Prâkṛits never appear in the epigraphic monuments: and that the Prâkṛit of the monuments never appears in literature.**

The material elements being in each case identical and drawn from the same popular source, the points of difference deal more with the form than with essentials. They have less to do with inflexion than with orthography, but they, none the less, certainly exist. **Compared with monumental Prâkṛit, two features above all others characterize the Prâkṛits of literature: on the one hand the regularity with which the orthographical rules peculiar to each are applied, and on the other, the invariable custom of writing double those homogeneous consonants whose doubling is etymologically justifiable, or which results from the assimilation of a non-homogeneous group of consonants.**

The few examples given above are sufficient to shew how **unstable in its orthography is the Prâkṛit of the inscriptions.** A reference to the monuments themselves will shew plenty of other proofs. Sometimes a medial consonant is elided, sometimes it is retained: a hard consonant is usually maintained unchanged, but is sometimes softened: the cerebral *ṇ* and the dental *n* are sometimes distinguished, and sometimes one is used alone to the exclusion of the other. The palatal *ñ* is by turns used or abandoned in words of identical formation. What need we say about the perpetual omissions and confusions which affect the notation of the long vowels? **There is nothing like this in the Prâkṛit of the books.** In them the value of the vowels is everywhere strictly fixed. Does this Prâkṛit weaken a medial hard letter to a soft one? Then it does so always. Does that elide a medial soft letter? Then it elides it in every instance. One dialect exclusively employs the dental nasal, another no less exclusively adopts the cerebral. If they use both, they do so under distinct and clearly defined circumstances. I know that in several of these peculiarities people have sought for traces of dialectic or of chronological variations, but we have seen what **confusion reigns in a number of inscriptions which belong to the same region and to the same epoch.** That confusion allows us to

attribute to such causes only a very secondary action. **It, in any case, assigns to Monumental Prâkṛit a place apart, nigh to, but independent of the Prâkṛits of the books.**

In order to be more accurate, it is indispensable to examine more closely those Prâkṛits of the books, — the Literary Prâkṛits.

It has long been recognized that the Prâkṛits of the grammarians and of literature are, to a greater or less extent, languages which possess an artificial and a learned character. The very commencement (v. 2) of the collection of Hâla is significant:—

Amiaṁ pâüakavvaṁ
paḍhiuṁ soüṁ a jê ṇa jâṇaṁti
kâmassa taṁtataṁtiṁ
kuṇaṁti, tê kaha ṇa lajjaṁti?

It could, therefore, very well happen that people were unable to understand Prâkṛit poetry. A special study was required to follow it. — This is not the only piece of evidence, but the very appearance, the nature of the language, and the way in which it was used, furnish, in this respect, still more decisive arguments.

The mere fact that the plays, even those reputed to be the most ancient, employ at the same time, dialects which have reached very different stages of phonetic decay, will not allow us to admit that these dialects have been really and simply conveyed from real life into literature. The way in which they are employed and their allotment amongst the characters of the play are regulated, not according to the birth-place of the speakers (who in general are supposed to belong to the same country), but in conformity with a comparative scale which assigns each dialect, according to its degree of corruption, to each character according to his social rank. It is needless to shew how arbitrary is such a state of affairs, and how it cannot have been a direct imitation of the truth. If the Mahârâshṭrî dialect is exclusively reserved for poetic use, it is so because it has been adapted to the purpose by special manipulations, so that it no longer really and exactly represents the language of Mahârâshṭra. On this point, opinion is, I believe, unanimous, and no one doubts that literary custom and convention are in great part responsible for the emasculation of this language, which appears unable to bear a single strong articulation, and which is resolved into a confused murmur of vowels following one after the other. Even those dialects, which, like the Sauraséní, have not been deliberately reduced to this degree of weakness, have certainly not escaped a certain amount of retouching. Languages do not, by their organic movement, go again up the stream, down which they have been carried by the natural action of phonetic decay. If the languages spoken in India at the present day possess articulations which have disappeared in the Prâkṛits, the grammatical constitution of which is infinitely more archaic, the use in literature of which is anterior by twelve or fifteen centuries, it is evidently so because **the orthography of these Prâkṛits does not absolutely represent the condition of the language at the time at which they were employed or fixed. In this respect the Prâkṛit grammarians themselves supply significant indications. It is exactly those disdained dialects, which were considered as inferior, that have had their forms least altered, and that are nearest to their etymological origin.** The Paiśâchî preserves the medial consonants which the superior dialects elide (Hêmachandra, IV, 324), and the Apabhraṁśa retains the articulation of *r* after a consonant (*ibid.* IV. 398), which is everywhere else suppressed in the uniform level of assimilation.

The names of the dialects, too, contribute their testimony. Titles, such as **Apabhraṁśa**, *i. e.* 'corruption,' or perhaps, 'corrupted dialect,' **Paiśâchî**, 'the dialect of demons,' are not names of definite languages, really existing in a precise region. When we found further distinguished, the **Chûlikâ-Paiśâchî**, or 'Little Paiśâchî,' the **Ardha-Mâgadhî**, or 'Semi-Mâgadhî,' we can scarcely doubt, *à priori*, that we have to do with dialects which are something quite different from simple provincial idioms. I know that my learned fellow-worker and

friend, Dr. Hoernle,[2] has, with reference to Apabhraṁśa and Ardha-Mâgadhî, put forward propositions which would make them local dialects with exact boundaries. I do not think that these theories could be positively maintained. To tell the truth, his views regarding the first would appear to have varied. Recently, in the provisional introduction to the excellent Bihârî Dictionary, he puts forward the Apabhraṁśa as the peculiar dialect of the north-west of India. We see from the preface to his edition of the *Prâkṛitalakshaṇa* of Chaṇḍa (p. xx) that this opinion is chiefly based on one fact, *viz.*, that the edicts of Kapur di Giri agree with the Apabhraṁśa in optionally retaining an *r* following another consonant. Such a basis of classification is insufficient. We have nothing in any tradition to authorise the localisation of the Apabhraṁśa in the north-west. Do not we also find the sporadic retention of this *r* at Girnar, at Nânâghâṭ, and in other inscriptions of the west? If the Apabhraṁśa thus combines apparently ancient forms with the most advanced instances of decay, this happens, not owing to a dialectic peculiarity, but to the habit, common to all the usual dialects, of drawing freely on the tradition of the learned language, orthography and pronunciation. The Apabhraṁśa of Hêmachandra (IV. 398, cf. 414, &c.), still retains the *r* in composition. Would any one dare to draw chronological deductions from this fact? It employs on occasions the vowel *ṛi* (IV. 394); are we to see in this use the local survival of a sound lost for so many centuries? Dr. Hoernle was, in my opinion, much nearer the truth, when, in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. xix — xxi) he came into accord with the proposition so learnedly put forward by Prof. Pischel,[3] who considers the Apabhraṁśa as the popular dialect, as really spoken, in opposition to the Literary Prâkṛit.[4]

He considers that there are as many Apabhraṁśas as Prâkṛits, and I think that, in this, he has gone too far; for a great deal is still wanted to prove that each Prâkṛit could be viewed as regularly corresponding to a definite local dialect (as we shall see at once in the case of Ardhamâgadhî). But the main fact to be drawn from the passages which he has quoted, or to which he has referred, and from the authoritative statements of the grammarians themselves, is that the Apabhraṁśa is like a general category, into which the grammar throws pell-mell, without attempting to classify them into dialectic groups, a number of peculiarities probably borrowed from current usage and eliminated from the literary idioms. In this way we can explain how the Apabhraṁśa could appear sometimes more archaic, though usually more degenerated, than the learned Prâkṛits, in which the affectation of orthographic uniformity, has made the proscription of *tatsamas*, or at least of such as were too apparent, as large as possible.

[2] [*Note by translator.* — It is almost unnecessary to state that the fact of his being the translator of M. Senart's luminous arguments, in no way binds Mr. Grierson to either accepting or denying their cogency.]

[3] *Academy*, October 1870.

[4] At the same time I am unable to understand on what arguments the idea, expressed by Dr. Hoernle, that the Apabhraṁśa would appear to represent the popular language spoken by the Aryans, and the Paiśâchî the same language as spoken by the aboriginal tribes, is founded. Such an arrangement looks really too systematic, nor is it sufficiently justified by the few divergencies which distinguish the Paiśâchî from the Apabhraṁśa. Some of these, such as the hardening of soft consonants, are found now and then at all epochs, from that of Piyadasi to the Prâkrit of the monuments. Dr. Hoernle has himself remarked that, in the more modern grammarians, the confusion between the Paiśâchî and the Apabhraṁśa is perpetual (*Comp. Gram.* p. xx, note). I believe, indeed, that they are only two names to distinguish two things which, if not identical, are extremely analogous. It is perhaps for this reason that Vararuchi does not mention the Apabhraṁśa. It is probable that, at the period when his grammar was written, pedants had not yet pushed their taste for arbitrary differentiations so far as to distinguish between an Apabhraṁśa and a Paiś âchî. It is certain that, when the distinction first comes to our notice, in the *Prâkṛitalakshana* (III. 37-38), the two alleged dialects are characterised by traits, — use of the consecutive *r* in Apabhraṁśa, substitution of *l* and *n* for *r* and *ṇ* — which could, in no way, be held sufficient to constitute a difference of dialect. They alone suffice to shew the secondary, theoretical, origin of the separation. When we are told that in Paiśâchî the spelling *saṭa* (= *sṭa*) for Sanskrit *shṭa* occurs, are we to believe that this debased dialect has naturally perpetuated the etymological spelling? We cannot do so, any more than we can believe that the Apabhraṁśa preserved the consecutive *r*. It simply takes up in *tatsamas*, written with a liberty tolerated by its rudeness, and the borrowing of which this rudeness itself supports, the tradition which we have already found at work at Girnar, several centuries earlier, in spellings like *sêsṭê*, &c.

Dr. Hoernle's opinion regarding Ardhamâgadhî rests, unless I am mistaken, on but a weak basis. He has endeavoured to establish from the inscriptions of Piyadasi a geographical partition of the ancient dialects, which I have already, I believe, shewn to have little foundation. We have, as a fact, no indication of the existence, at that ancient period, of a dialect intermediate between the Mâgadhî and the Mahârâshṭrî. I would add that, by its name of **Ârsha**, the Ardhamâgadhî is at once classed as a literary language. It would be a strange phænomenon that we should have to take it as denoting a real idiom, — this dialect, whose sole peculiarity is the formation of the nominative singular in ê, and which, in other respects, save a few insignificant exceptions, is just the same as Mahârâshṭrî. It bears clearly on its face the mark of its artificial origin. I shall indicate, later on, what we may conjecture as to its formation; and certainly, the first impression awakened by its name, the notion which that name gives of a scholastic idiom, is not one that will mislead us.

It is true that, beside these instructive names, other dialects received local titles which connected each with a definite tract of country. I do not even wish to insist on the fact that the principal dialect, the one which serves as the basis for the teaching of the grammarians, instead of habitually receiving its name of Mahârâshṭrî, is called Prâkṛita, the Prâkṛit *par excellence*, which manifestly contrasts it, as an artificial language, with that other learned and literary language, which is Saṁskṛita, the Sanskṛit. This detail can well have only a secondary importance, and it remains certain that several Prâkṛits are designated by geographical names; **Mahârâshṭrî, Saurasênî, Mâgadhî.** It is natural to conclude that they are connected respectively with the countries of the Mahârashṭra, of the Surasênas, and of Magadha. But to what degree, and in what sense are they connected?

That each borrows certain characteristic peculiarities from the popular dialect of the country of which it bears the name, is a thought which will at once occur to the mind. Several facts confirm it. Some of the phænomena attributed to Mâgadhî by the grammarians — the formation of the nominative of *a*-bases in *ê*, the substitution of *l* for *r* — are also found in the official dialect of Piyadasi, and the situation of the royal residence entitles us to consider that as approximately representing the idiom of Magadha. Whatever we may be led to think of the work of regularisation and of the cutting down to measure by the grammarians, it is certain that they have taken their materials for foundation, their constituent elements, from the vulgar dialects, and the names which have remained attached to the literary idioms, when they have a definite geographical meaning, deserve to be taken into serious consideration. Till the contrary is proved, they supply us with an historic basis, which we cannot abandon without committing a serious imprudence. So far as concerns the Mahârâshṭrî, the comparisons which the inscriptions of the western coast, in the land of Mahârâshṭra, permit us to institute, shew that no incompatability exists between what we can identify as belonging to the popular language, and the rules of the grammatical idiom. The only thing is that we must clearly understand under what conditions these comparisons present themselves. **Mahârâshṭra,** where we find at once both a long series of monuments, and, in the verses of Hâla, an ancient, probably the most ancient, instance of the application of Prâkṛit to literature, is **the tract most favourably circumstanced for us to form a clear idea, on actual evidence, of the manner in which the reform of the Prâkṛit grammarians was accomplished.**

On a consideration of the Prâkṛit inscriptions of the West we have been convinced that, although they are necessarily based on the popular language of the locality, they do not give us a rigorously faithful picture of it. Their orthography is not strictly representative; but, without having that stability which can only be assured by a complete grammatical culture, it tends to get as near as it can to etymology, that is to say to the orthography preserved by the learned language. It takes as the typical ideals of its writing those instances in which the pronunciation has departed least from the primitive form. The parallel use of Mixed Sanskṛit is there to prove that this conclusion does not arbitrarily attribute to the authors of the monumental orthography a predisposition which was not theirs.

What about the literary Mahârâshṭrî? We know, in the first place, that the grammarians distinguish two varieties, — the ordinary Mahârâshṭrî, which is that of Hâla and of a portion of the poetry of the plays, and the Mahârâshṭrî of the Jainas.[5] We can for the moment neglect the shades which distinguish these two groups; taken as a whole, they closely resemble each other, as we should expect in the case of dialects which, bearing the same name, must have sprung up in the same soil. **Between this literary idiom, and that of the monuments, numerous points of difference leap to the front the moment we examine them.** We must consider these differences more closely.

The literary orthography ordinarily weakens into the corresponding sonant the hard *ṭ*; I have quoted above, from the inscriptions, the spellings *mukuḍa*, *vâdaka*, *dhênukakaḍa*, *kuḍuṁbini*, *sâlakaṇi*, *sâdagêri*, *paḍidâtava*, *paḍiṭhâpita*, &c., by the side of the more usual writing which retains the consonant as in the standard Sanskṛit. The literary language readily weakens *p* into *b* or *v*, and it completely elides the medial *t*; I have quoted above the sporadic spellings *thuba* for *thûpa* (*stûpa*), *gôyamâ* for *gautamâ* (°*mî*). The grammarians teach that a soft consonant between two vowels is elided; in the monuments, we have met words like *bhayaṁta*, *bhaṁta*, beside *bhadaṁta*, *siaguta* for *śivagupta*, *pavaïta* and *pavayita* for *pavajita*, *bhôigi* and *bhôa* for *bhôjikî* and *bhôja*, *pâyuna* and *pâüna* for *pâdôna*, *uyaraka* beside *ôvaraka*, *chiarika*, beside the usual *chivarika*, *païṭhâna* for *paḍiṭhâna*, representing *pratishṭhâna*. The locative singular of bases in *a* is formed in the Prâkṛit of literature in *ê*, and more usually in *aṁmi*; if in the monuments it is almost always formed in *ê*, we, nevertheless, find examples like *jaṁbudipamhi* (Karli No. 10, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 91); and, beside the locative *tiraṇhumhi*, the spelling *tiraṇhumi* (i. e., *tiraṇhuṁmi*) (*Arch. Surv.* p. 106, No. 14). So, also, *baṁmani* beside *baṁmhana* in the same dedication. These instances prove that the termination *mhi* was altered, in a manner more or less constant, into *aṁmi* in the vulgar pronunciation.

The *y* is constantly changed into *j* in the regular writing, and, consequently, *yy* into *jj*, and the group *rya* into *jja*, through an intermediate *yya*. Cases like *sihadhayânaṁ*, (C. T. I., p. 31), No. 7; for °*dhajânaṁ*, *vâṇiyiyasa*, p. 16, No. 20, *puyathaṁ*, Kaṇh. No. 98, *râyâmacha*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. p. 99, No. 4 (perhaps we might add *bhôya* beside *bhôja*), prove that in real pronunciation there was no distinction between *y* and *j*. Elsewhere, beside learned spellings like *âchariya* (C. T. I., p. 100), *âcharia*, Kaṇh. No. 17, we meet the forms *âyyaka*, Kaṇh. No. 19, C. T. I., p. 60, No. 2; *bhayayâ*, C. T. I., p. 43, No. 6, &c., *payavasânê*, *Arch. Surv.* p. 114, No. 22; and the sporadic spellings, *bhajâya*, Kaṇh. 19, 27; *bharijâyê*, Nâs. 22; *bhâdrajaṇijja*, Kaṇh. 27, beside *pâṇiyya*, do not permit us to doubt that, between the grammars and the inscriptions, the difference was purely apparent, and simply graphic. I could quote other details, and, compared with the sûtras I. 29; III. 129, of Hêmachandra, point out, in the monuments, the spellings *âtêvâsini*, Kaṇh. 28, Kuḍa 22, *idâgni*, *Arch. Surv.* IV. 114, No. 3, &c., *dô*, Kaṇh. No. 3, beside *bê* (Mahad. 1), or *vê* (Junnar, 14).

These comparisons suffice to put in its true light the character of the grammatical dialect. It is founded on the same local basis as the idiom of the monuments: both represent the same language but at slightly different periods of its history: both modify its appearance by an orthography which is in part arbitrary, but dominated in each case by divergent predilections. The one, when it is inspired with learned recollections, ordinarily chooses as its standard the least altered etymological form: the other goes, so to speak, to the extreme limit of existing corruptions; it prefers to take the most advanced facts of phonetic deterioration, as the level which grammatical elaboration imposes with a more or less absolute regularity on the system which it has consecrated.

The arbitrary constructions of the school can, of course, work in more then one direction. We must expect not only to find different tendencies, but also to meet both partial instances of unfaithfulness to the regulative tendency, — and also elements and distinc-

[5] Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra*, Introd. p. xvii.

tions which are purely artificial, mingled in a variable proportion with the elements which have been directly supplied by the popular speech. A comparison of the various literary Mahârâshṭrîs, the parallel employment of which I have already mentioned, throws a striking light upon this point of view.

As Professor Jacobi (*loc. cit.*) points out, the Mahârâshṭrî of Vararuchi and the poets differs from that of Hêmachandra and the Jains in two main peculiarities. The former does not use the *ya-śruti*, and everywhere substitutes the cerebral *ṇ* for the dental *n* : the latter retains the dental *n* at the commencement of words, and when it is doubled. It is quite natural that the origin of these divergencies has first been sought for,[6] either in diversities of dialect, or in differences of time ; but I should be surprised if anyone, with the knowledge which we are now beginning to acquire of Indian epigraphy, could persevere in this view.

So far as concerns the first point, the introduction of a *y* between vowels — or, according to Hêmachandra, more exactly, between two *a*'s — which form an hiatus, I lay no stress on several circumstances, disagreement between the grammarians, disagreement between the rules of the grammar and the manuscript tradition,[7] which *à priori*, appear to indicate that this rule is susceptible of arbitrary extensions and restrictions. I content myself with calling the texts of the inscriptions as witnesses. The ordinary orthography is too ready to adopt the methods of the learned language to allow many hiatus to exist. I have, however, quoted many examples, and I could quote more; *bhôa, bhôïgi, pâüna, chiarika, païṭhâna, bhaaṁta, pulumâi, phulua* ; the spellings *chêtiasa* (Kaṇh. 5), *paṭiasiya* (Kaṇh. 4), the terminations *pavaïtikâu, pônakiasaṇâa*, (Kaṇh. 21), *bhayâa* (Kaṇh. 27). It follows that from an epoch earlier than that of our literary authorities, the local pronunciation supported the existence of the hiatus in Mahârâshtra, as well as in the other provinces of India. It must be assumed that, there as elsewhere, but not more than elsewhere, the hiatus implied a light utterance-break analogous to the soft breathing. If this has been denoted by means of the *y*, whether in all, or in special cases, the choice can be explained on the one hand by the imitation of a certain number of terminations of the learned declension, and on the other by the fact that the change in every case of an original *y* to *j*, left the sign for *y* available for a special function. Sometimes the inscriptions apply *v* for this purpose, as in *pulumâvisa* (Nâs. 15), *bhayâva vêliḍatâva* (Kuḍa, No. 23), and the parallel employment in this last inscription of the spelling *uyaraka*, for *uvaraka*, clearly shews that neither the *v* in the one case nor the *y* in the other represented any actual pronunciation. They are merely equivalent expedients for concealing from the eyes a hiatus which the recollections of the cultivated language caused to be considered as clumsy and barbarous. It was a similar idea, and not a chimerical peculiarity of a local dialect, which has caused the employment of the *ya-śruti* by one school, and which has subsequently caused it to pass into the rules of its grammars and into the usages of its books.

As for the use of the dental *n* and the cerebral *ṇ*, the case is, if possible, still more striking. At first sight, a dialect which invariably pronounces an initial *n* in one way and a medial *n* in another, should surprise us and put us on our guard. But the question is more general, and the case is susceptible of being argued with greater precision.

I must confess that I cannot sufficiently express my surprise to see nowadays the distinction between the cerebral and the dental nasal taken as a basis of classification when dealing with the ancient Prâkṛits. It will be remembered how the form of the cerebral I is known to none of the inscriptions of Piyadasi which are couched in the Mâgadhî orthography. The dental ⊥ is alone used. If this is a peculiarity of the dialect, it is very curious that, in the literary Mâgadhî, the dental *n* should, on the contrary, completely disappear, and that the cerebral *ṇ* alone should be admitted. At Bharhut, the ordinary inscriptions know only one ⊥, the dental *n* ; but there is, nevertheless, one exception, and it is characteristic. The royal inscrip-

[6] Jacobi, p. 16. — E. Müller, *Beitr. Zur. Gramm. des Jainaprâkṛit*, pp. 3 and ff.

[7] Cf. Pischel, *Hêmach.* I. 180.

tion of the eastern porch, dated in the reign of the Suṅgas, uses concurrently both forms ⊥ and I ; but in what way? It has *pôtêṇa*, *putêṇa*, *putêna*, probably *tôranaṁ* and certainly *upaṁṇa*.' If both forms are here known, it is quite clear that the distinction between them is, not popular, but arbitrary and learned. This is proved not merely by its inconsistencies and by its irregularities, but by the application of the cerebral *ṇ* to terminations in which its presence is explicable in Sanskṛit, but in Sanskṛit only, by the proximity of an *r* which has disappeared in the vulgar idiom. At Girnar, at the time of the edicts of Aśôka, where the distinction between *ṇ* and *n* is marked, the pedantic imitation does not go so far, — the cerebral *ṇ* never appearing in terminations. At Sāñchi, the state of affairs is very analogous to that which is presented at Bharhut. In all the ancient dedications the I is unknown. It only makes its appearance in an inscription of the reign of Sâtakaṇi (No. 190), the introducer of Sanskṛit into the epigraphy of the Andhras. At the other extremity of India, in the monuments of Ceylon, the signs ⊥ and I are evidently employed without distinction, and it is natural to conclude that the case was the same in the region from which that great island had borrowed its alphabet It is a curious fact that the only inscription (No. 57 of E. Müller) in which a deliberate distinction appears to have been made — we have in it *mahasaraṇê*, *budhasaraṇagatê*, beside *nati* (*nathi*), *aṭhânê*, *niyatê* — appears to be directly based on a Mâgadhî dialect, and yet, in its use of ⊥ and I, it deviates equally both from the practice of Piyadasi, and from the rules of the literary Mâgadhî.

Nowhere are things more clear than in the tract which interests us more immediately, the country of Mahârâshṭra. I have just drawn attention to the fact that in the root-portion of words, Girnar follows Sanskṛit in distinguishing between the two *n*'s. At Nânâghâṭ, the ancient Andhras knew nothing but the dental *n*. The cerebral I reappears in the period following, we have seen above under what conditions. The confusion is continual. No fixed rule allows us to disentangle it. Neighbouring inscriptions make exclusive use, the one of ⊥, the other of I. The meaning of this hesitation, of this medley, is further accentuated by the parallel facts concerning the palatal *ñ*. This nasal has disappeared in the literary Mahârâshṭrîs, and is replaced by the cerebral or by the dental. Nevertheless, in the inscriptions, we constantly find the genitive *rñô*, and also forms such as *hêrañika* (C. T. I., p. 54, No. 32). On the other hand spellings such as *kaliañaka* (C. T. I., p. 53, Nos. 28, 30) are of a nature to lead us to conclude that the *ñ* is no longer a living letter. We have, indeed, already quoted *âraṇaka*, *anô*, *anâni*, *hêranika*, *pûna*, *nâti*, &c., which shew that the use of the sign *ñ* is only a mere pedantic affectation.[8] It is certainly not otherwise with the signs ⊥ and I. In the inscriptions they represent a value which is in both cases absolutely identical; and if the grammatical reform of the literary dialects has assigned to them special *rôles*, it is owing to an arbitrary differentiation which has no connexion with the actual variations of the current pronunciation.

Although summary, these remarks are, unless I am mistaken, sufficient to mark the peculiar characteristics of Monumental Prâkṛit, and also, more especially, of the Literary Prâkṛits, and to present them under their true aspect. This is an indispensable preparation for elucidating **the problem with which we are concerned. It resolves itself into two terms; when and how were the Literary Prâkṛits constituted?** These two points embrace all the secondary questions.

It is a trite observation that languages, in the normal course of their history, are invariably subject to a gradual decay of their phonetic elements. This is a current down which all float. None can, of itself, go up the stream by its natural movement. This has ordinarily, and very naturally, been made the basis of the relative chronology of the dialects of India. The

[8] It is very possible that this state of affairs was in reality much more ancient. In fact, putting aside the peculiar spelling *ñayâsu* (G. VIII. 1), the edicts of Girnar, along with the ordinary orthography of *ñ* for *ny* have in one passage (VIII. 4) the reading *hiraṁna*. Inversely, while the *ñ* appears nowhere in the edicts in the Mâgadhî dialect, Dhauli presents an unique example in *paṭiṁñâ* for *pratijñâ*, always supposing that the reading of the *Corpus* is exact, which I have great difficulty in believing.

preceding remarks make evident with what particular reservations we should here surround the application of this principle. In themselves, the Sanskṛit forms are certainly more archaic; they are historically older than the Prâkṛit forms of the time of Piyadasi. **Yet that does not prevent Sanskṛit, as a whole language, in the form in which we know it now, having only succeeded in conquering for itself an existence long after the rise of his Prakṛit. So it is with the different Prâkṛits.** The general phonetic appearance of Pâli is certainly more archaic than that of Mahârâshṭrî. Have we any right to conclude that therefore it actually existed, in its definitive form and orthography, before Mahârâshṭrî? In no way. In short, we must carefully distingush between the constituent elements of the dialect, considered directly, and their utilization in the shape of a particular literary dialect, adapted to a certain order of production. We cannot apply to literary idioms, in part artificial and learned, the same measure as that which we apply to purely popular languages. They, the former, can, in a sense, go up the regular stream of their linguistic development. This is the very fact which we have proved for Mixed Sanskṛit. **When I speak of inquiring into the age of the Literary Prâkṛits I mean, not to determine the epoch to which the elements, morphological and phonetic, of which they are composed, can be traced up, but to fix the moment when they were arrested, crystallized, in a definite form for literary use. For this purpose the forms which are the most altered are those which are most instructive. They can be made to prove that such a dialect cannot be earlier than such a given epoch.** The better preserved forms prove nothing. They may have been either subsequently reconstructed in the light of the learned language, or preserved for a greater or less period by tradition before receiving their place and their consecration in the special dialect of which they finally formed an integral part.

The criterion, therefore, founded exclusively on the general phonetic appearance of the dialects must be resolutely put to one side, if we wish to avoid misconceptions regarding the most certain, the most characteristic features of the history which we are endeavouring to build up.

This being settled, **a two-fold object of inquiry presents itself. On the one side, the relation existing between the Prâkṛits of the monuments and that of the books, and of the other, the relation existing between the literary Prâkṛits and Sanskṛit.**

To set to deliberately, to convert, by systematic work, popular dialects into literary dialects with forms fixed for ever, is not so simple an idea that it would suggest itself of itself, and that it should not require any explanation. Such an undertaking must evidently be regulated on a prototype, on some pre-established model. India possesses a type of this description, Sanskṛit. Indeed, if we pay heed to the names, *prâkṛita* and *saṁskṛita* are correlative terms. The actual bond which connects together the two series of facts is certainly no less close than the formal relationship of the names which designate them. Historically, the earlier term is Sanskṛit. On that point there can be no possible doubt. It is the very elaboration and diffusion of Sanskṛit which has served as the basis and model for the elaboration of the Prâkṛits. They have been regularised in imitation of it. The recollection of this origin is perpetuated in the teaching of the grammarians. They take care to establish that Prâkṛit has Sanskṛit for its basis and for its source (*Hêmach.* I. 1, and Dr. Pischel's notes). It would be a mistake to attribute to the Hindûs, on the strength of such a remark, the idea of a linguistic genealogy founded on comparative analysis. When Vararuchi and others (cf. *Lassen, Instit. Ling. Prâkṛit*, p. 7) declare that the *prakṛiti* of Saurasênî is Sanskṛit, and that of Mahârâshṭrî and of Paiśachî the Saurasênî, it is quite clear that we must not take the proposition in an historical sense. It is nothing but a manner of stating that Saurasênî, in various characteristics, approaches Sanskṛit orthography more nearly than the other dialects, — that it is in a fashion midway between the learned language, and the dialects with a more altered orthography. It is not a genealogical classification, but an entirely practical one. It is something like a direct recognition of the method according to which these languages have received their grammatical fixation. This working has taken for its basis the grammar of the learned language, and for its principle the gradation of each of them on a determined level below the stage of Sanskṛit.

I now come to the second object of inquiry.

Monumental Prâkṛit and the Literary Prâkṛits start from the same source. Their main difference consists in this, that they have been unequally cultivated. The latter possess a character more stable, their mode of writing is more perfect. Is this to be explained by indifference to these particulars on the side of the former? Certainly not. The part which it plays as the official language of the inscriptions, the general level which it knows how to retain above the more altered local dialects, allow us to recognise in it an idiom already refined, and with an inevitable tendency, as is universal in India, to establish itself as a fixed and regular language. How could we believe, if there already existed, in the Literary Prâkṛits, a parallel model of better regulated and more complete orthography, that the writers could have, when using the language for inscriptions, neglected to profit by it, and to utilize its experience?

But general considerations are not sufficient. Whatever it be worth, the demonstration, to be conclusive, must be connected with precise and characteristic phænomena. **The facts relating to the graphic representation of double consonants have afforded us valuable assistance for establishing certain essential points in the comparative history of Classical and Mixed Sanskṛit, and the *data* of the same order are no less instructive in the new ground on which we tread at present.**

The Literary Prâkṛits observe every doubling without exception. There does not exist a single Prâkṛit text which departs from this rule, or a single grammarian who does not explicitly teach it, or shew by evidence that he assumes it. The strictness with which it is uniformly introduced in all the dialects shews that we have here a rule which has from the very commencement exercised its influence on the grammatical work.[9]

This mode of writing seems, in itself, to be perfectly simple; it is only the expression of the actual pronunciation. But the matter is not so easy as that. Not only does the most ancient orthography, that of the edicts of Piyadasi, abstain from observing it, but we have seen that Mixed Sanskṛit, in spite of the tendency which led it to approach historically older forms, adopted it slowly, and, as I have admitted, under the influence of Classical Sanskṛit. It is no less a stranger to the Prâkṛit of the monuments throughout the whole period with which we are now dealing. We are entitled to affirm this as a general fact, though I shall shortly point out certain exceptions, which, far from weakening the rule tend to emphasize its correctness.

This graphic usage of the literary Prâkṛits, which is inseparable from their very elaboration and from their grammatical establishment, was, therefore, not borrowed by them from earlier established customs. **It is not met in epigraphy, nor in the current practice which epigraphy certainly reflects. It can only have been borrowed by them, as it was borrowed by Mixed Sanskṛit, from the pre-existing orthography of Classical Sanskṛit.** I have just shewn that it was *à priori* more than probable that the very idea of refining the local dialects into literary tongues, and still more probably the principles under which the latter were elaborated, must have had their source in the existence, in the employment, and in the rule of profane Sanskṛit. This orthographical peculiarity lends to this view a new and positive foundation in fact, and certain *data* borrowed from epigraphy shew it in its full light.

I have said that the Prâkṛit of the inscriptions does not double its consonants. It remains, in this respect, faithful to the ancient tradition. This fidelity is not invariable, and does not endure to an indefinite period. **From a certain epoch, we find some examples of doubling appearing sporadically.** The last inscription of Vâsiṭhîputa Pulumâyî (*A. S.*, IV. p. 113, No. 21) has *sêtapharaṇaputtasya*. The termination *asya*, which is repeated in *sôvasakasya, abulâmavâthavasya*, clearly shews that the engraver employed this doubling in a moment of Sanskṛitizing imitation. In the purely Prâkṛit texts of Mâdharîputa Sakasêna, we meet

[9] Amongst the neo-Aryan languages, Sindhî, re-adopting in its case the primitive inexactness of the Hindû orthography, neglects to note these doublings: but it none the less faithfully observes them in pronunciation.

âyyakêṇa (*A. S.*, V. p. 19, No. 14), *âyyakêna* and *buddha* (*ibid.* p. 82, No. 19). The maintenance of the long vowel before the double consonant is here to reveal a Sanskṛit influence, and an analogous action is altogether natural in the participle *buddha*, which is identical in the learned language and in the popular tradition. Doublings (even purely Prâkṛit ones) are more numerous in No. 27 of Kaṇhêri (*A. S.*, p. 85) : *pâṇiyya°*, *bhâdrajaṇijjâṇaṁ*, *etta*, *ekka*, *ettô*, *puttâṇa*, *savvasêva*, *ṭṭhitânaṁ*, *tti*. This inscription is, generally speaking, rather couched in Mixed Sanskṛit, forms like *pratigrahê*, *putrasya*, *kulasya*, bear witness to a more or less direct action on the part of classical orthography. Its linguistic level is, in other respects, very uneven, and side by side with these Sanskṛit forms, appears a genitive like *dhutua*. Dr. Bühler, whose experience on this point is entitled to great respect, considers that this inscription, written in Andhra characters, contains some forms of more modern letters. It, therefore, most probably, belongs to the third century.

These facts speak clearly. **It is certain that Prâkṛit, as it was written on the monuments, was quite ready to accept the graphic doubling of consonants.** From the moment when the diffusion of Sanskṛit set the example of this doubling, this tendency shews itself in various dispersed instances, welling over from Mixed Sanskṛit to introduce itself into Prâkṛit. These instances form the evidence of the movement which was inevitably destined to carry on the Prâkṛits in its course. They shew also that this movement had not yet resulted in the fixation of the orthography of the Prâkṛits, for, in that case we should find in the Prâkṛit of the monuments, instead of rare indications, a constant practice.

Later facts prove that this is not an unfounded conjecture.

It will be remembered that after the commencement of the 3rd century, the series of epigraphical monuments is interrupted by an unfortunate *lacuna*. The most ancient inscriptions which come next to carry on the chain of tradition, are, so far as is at present known, a few epigraphs of the Pallavas. The earliest is an endowment of Vijayabuddhavarman.[10] Messrs. Burnell and Fleet agree, on palæographical grounds, in attributing it to **the fourth century.**[11] Of the four faces which are covered with writing, only the last is in Sanskṛit. In the condition in which they have come down to us, the three first do not appear to be susceptible of a continued translation, but that is not indispensable for our present purpose. Whatever may be the difficulties and uncertainties, the general fact which concerns us leaps at once prominently into notice. Words like *sirivijayakhandavammamahârâjassa*, *yuvamahârâjassa*, *sirivijayabuddhavammassa*, *pâduttare pâsê* shew us a Prâkṛit which, for the first time in the series of epigraphs, doubles its consonants like the grammatical Prâkṛits. This, too, is not an accident or a caprice. The copper-plates of Hirahaḍagalli, which belong to the same dynasty, and to the same time, and which have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Burgess,[12] use on the whole the same orthography.

The fact is of high importance. It conclusively testifies how **the writing of the monuments was naturally inclined to adopt the more regular and accurate orthography used by the Literary Prâkṛits. If, therefore, it had not adopted it sooner, it was because that use had not yet been established. It thus gives us a means for determining with sufficient approximation the epoch in which the final elaboration of the Prâkṛits occurred.**

To sum up. The reform of the Literary Prâkṛits was subsequent to the diffusion of Sanskṛit in profane use, and cannot therefore, be earlier than the first centuries of our era. In the 4th century it had been carried out; at least, the general system had been established. This is borne witness to by the reaction which it exercised upon the Prâkṛit of the monuments; all that we do not know is to what dialects it at first extended. The few examples of doubling which we find in the epigraphs of the end of the 2nd century, or of the beginning of the 3rd, would seem to mark this epoch as the period of this grammatical work.

[10] Fleet, *Ind. Ant.* 1880, p. 100.
[11] *Ind. Ant.* 1876, pp. 175 and ff.
[12] It has since been published by Dr. Bühler in *Epigraphica Indica*, Part I.

Without being in a position to state with positive accuracy, we cannot be far wrong in asserting that the second and third centuries are the earliest time at which it can have been brought forward into practice. It is clear that this work cannot have been contemporaneous for all the dialects, and that, for several, it has only been carried out at a much later period.

These conclusions compel us to accept an important consequence. This consequence is that all the Pâli-Prâkṛit literature which we possess is, in the orthographical form in which we now have it, later than the grammatical reform of the Prâkṛits, and later than the 2nd or 3rd century.

I must here do away with a scruple which might arise in the reader's mind, and suggest one explanation.

My last inductions are principally founded on the date of the doubling of consonants in writing. Am I not exaggerating the importance of an orthographical detail?

It will first be remarked that the argument drawn from doubling, if I have been right in insisting upon it on account of facts which allow us to treat it with a striking degree of accuracy, comes simply to confirm and to circumscribe, from the point of view of chronology, a proposition which *a priori* compelled its own acceptance. Or can any one doubt that the regularisation of the Prâkṛits, such as we find it both in grammatical manuals and in literary works, was not necessarily later than the final elaboration and diffusion into common life of Sanskṛit, or that it was not inspired by and modelled on it? This imitation of Sanskṛit perforce carries us, after what has been said above, to at least the second century.

Moreover, we must take care not to minimize too much the importance of this graphic phænomenon. For several centuries, through minor modifications, a certain orthographical system was maintained in the Prâkṛit of the monuments, without undergoing any attack, or submitting to any compromise. All at once, we find, one day, this system modified, and modified in a regular, constant manner, in one of its most characteristic traits. The incident, from a grammatical point of view, is not so petty. By its very suddenness, by the strictness with which the new principle is applied, it indicates that a revolution of some magnitude has intervened.

This doubling may pass for a detail, but it is not an isolated one. It forms an integral part of a more general reconstruction. It is one of the most apparent manifestations, but it is far from exhausting them. The fixation of the Prâkṛits by the learned has also touched other points. There is no appearance or indication of its having been executed in successive stages, and, so to speak, in several acts. It can only be understood as taking place at a single blow in the first dialects which were subjected to it. It could subsequently have extended to the others by a natural process of imitation. If we prove the application of one characteristic feature of the system, we may be assured that that system in its entirety has just, for the first time, been put in practice.

A decisive fact testifies to the importance of this moment in the history of the Prâkṛits. It is natural that one graphic system should disappear from use on the arrival of a system, which was more complete and more consistent to itself. That is what happened to Mixed Sanskṛit in the presence of Sanskṛit. Now, with the 3rd century, Monumental Prâkṛit disappears without return. The Pallava inscriptions are in pure Pâli, and after that epoch, Sanskṛit remains, alone amongst the tongues of Aryan stock, as the language of epigraphy.

The objection, therefore, appears to me to be divested of serious importance.

As for the explanation, I can be brief.

Of Prâkṛit of earlier date than the grammatical reform, we possess no positive documents other than epigraphic evidence. All the literary works are written according to the system established by the grammarians, and they all bear evident traces of the levelling process which followed the scholastic reform. **I conclude from this that all,** from the Sinhalese canon and the canon of the Jainas to the verses of Hâla and to the dramas, are, in the actual form in

which we now have them, **of later date than the labours of the grammarians, and consequently, than the third century.**

Are we, therefore, to conclude that the dialects which the schools retouched, had never, before this epoch, been applied to literature? Such is not my opinion. We shall see, on the contrary, that the use for which several have been specialized, the archaic form which several of them have preserved, can only be explained by the existence of certain traditions, either literary or religious. People composed stanzas in Mahârâshtrî before the collection of Hâla was written in its present form. Long before the Sinhalese *Tripiṭaka* was fixed in the shape in which we now read it, there existed, amongst certain sects of Buddhists, a number of formulæ, rules, and legends transmitted in a dialect in its essence closely resembling the Pâli of our books. We must, nevertheless, take care not to exaggerate the accuracy or the importance of these earlier compositions. They must have remained purely oral, or, at most, had only received a written form, which was accidental and ephemeral. A sect, Buddhist, Jaina or other, which possessed, whether written, or even living in a finally established oral tradition, a definite and consecrated canon, would certainly never have consented to alter it by submitting it to a new grammatical remodelling. Moreover, this grammatical retouching must have been at first undertaken in answer to a demand, to give for the new requirements of editing and codification, the instrument which was necessary to them. **The fixation and the reform of a dialect peculiar to the sect, which was used for its fundamental texts, can only be conceived as occurring at the date when they were for the first time united in a definitive collection of traditions, which had hitherto been either imperfect or dispersed.** If they had been established sooner in a canonical *corpus*, the language of that *corpus* would itself have been the law. Its authority would have rendered reform both useless and impossible. This reform would, on the other hand, under the conditions in which it was produced, have been equally inexplicable, if we did not admit previous attempts at editing. Although imperfect and fragmentary, they have, in a general way, marked for each dialect the low-water mark of its phonetic development, and furnished the characteristic traits of its morphology.

It is expressly subject to this reserve that we must understand the conclusions which I have indicated. At the present moment, I am only dealing with a special class of considerations. It is unnecessary to say that there are arguments of another nature which appear to me to confirm these inductions. I here leave them aside, and only wish to point out, *en passant*, one interesting instance of agreement. There are reasons for believing that the stanzas of Hâla represent the most ancient specimen of Prâkṛit literature. In the course of his learned and ingenious labours on this valuable collection, Prof. A. Weber[18] has proved that the third century is the earliest date to which it is possible to refer it.

I have now replied, so far as the documents on which I depend appear to allow, to this first question; — at what epoch did the Literary Prâkṛits begin to be fixed and to establish themselves? We should also like to know how and under the influence of what circumstances this blossoming forth took place.

This question has hitherto been treated as a simple problem of linguistics. Each dialect has been considered as having been, at the epoch when it received its literary form, a spoken and living idiom. Taking this principle as a foundation, a series based solely on phonetic comparisons has been converted into a chronological scale. I have protested against this confusion, and indicated why, in my opinion, we must discard a criterion which has been adopted with too ready a confidence.

The literary elaboration of the Prâkṛits cannot have been earlier than the second or third century. It has been in no way proved, and, indeed, it is hardly probable, that it should

[18] Weber, *Das Saptaśatakaṁ des Hâla*, p. xxiii.

have taken place for all the Prâkṛits at the same time. Once given the initiatory impulse, the new comers could have followed a movement to which they were originally strangers. In each case it is a special question, less of linguistics than of literary history, which is necessarily difficult and delicate, and which demands thorough investigation for each dialect. I am not called upon to enter, nor should I have the means of entering, upon such an inquiry, even admitting — and I am very far from admitting — that each of these separate problems is at the present moment ripe for discussion. It is sufficient for me to indicate certain facts which appear as if they would throw some light on the problem as a whole.

On looking at it nearer, it resolves itself into two questions.

We must understand why some of the popular dialects were transformed into literary dialects more or less touched up by learned hands.

We must discover how and under what circumstances each received the particular form in which it has been ultimately fixed.

The previous existence of Sanskṛit gives an easy reply to the first question. **Learned languages have been settled in India in all parts and at all periods.** The continued tradition of a religious language distinct from the current tongue, the ancient creation of a literary language fashioned on its model, a language consecrated both by its origin and by the privileged position of its authors, — all these very special conditions sufficiently explain the fact. To this must be added the influence of the social constitution. By the overruling authority which it conferred on the Brâhmaṇs, it assured to scholastic formalism, to the preferences and undertakings of the learned, an empire altogether surer and more powerful than could otherwise have been expected.

I content myself, therefore, with merely pointing out the causes, the action of which has been so evident.

The second question is more complex: why should such and such dialects and not such and such others have been the object of this literary culture? How comes it that dialects in very different degrees of degeneration could have been fixed under parallel circumstances, and, more, at an epoch long posterior to the linguistic period represented by their respective constituent elements? What influences have determined the level at which each one has been arrested?

If the existence of a learned language, like Sanskṛit, is an indispensable postulate for the very existence of the Literary Prâkṛits, its influence was not confined to an initiatory impulse. It is manifest that the classical grammar has, in matters of detail, played the part of a regulator. The classical language fixed in all its parts, surrounded by so much authority and prestige, would present itself to learned labour as a type of perfection: its action could not fail to be powerful. It is the existence of it alone which can explain how such a partial reorganization, a partial levelling, could have taken place without throwing the whole into irremediable disorganisation. The model was there, at once a light and a restraint.

If we take these dialects in themselves and in their separate destinies, it is not difficult to discern several factors which have not only rendered possible, but which have prepared the way for, and which have inspired, their definitive constitution.

All the Prâkṛits have their roots diving deep into the popular language. The ethnic names which several bear, may, in one or more instances, be deceptive, but, certainly, all their essential elements are originally borrowed from the living language. This peculiarity is common to all, but all the popular dialects have not been raised to the rank of grammatical Prâkṛits. This learned crystallization of several of them, occurring at an epoch when Sanskṛit was coming into common use and had put in the hands of all an excellent literary instrument, must have had special reason for its motive in each particular case. Several such reasons, literary or religious, local or scholastic, will readily suggest themselves.

If the definitive fixation of the Prâkṛits, and, as a consequence, the drawing up into their present form of the works which have come down to us, cannot have been appreciably earlier than the third century, it is very plain that neither these languages, nor these works could have one day sprung from nothing. They must have had antecedents. There certainly existed, in a more or less rudimentary condition, long before this epoch, a popular and profane literature, hardly or not at all written, but nevertheless living. We find positive traces of it in the inscriptions. I need not refer, in the inscription of Siripulumâyi (Nâs. No. 14), to the well-known allusions to the Epic legend. The religious sects could have, nay, must have, from the age of their foundation, preserved teachings and relations, and, at the same time, a more or less altered tradition of the language which had at first served for their propagation. It is from these sources that the arbiters of the literary renovation were able to draw the characteristic elements of the idioms to which they gave a definitive form. **In several respects the situation of the Prâkṛits is altogether analogous to that of Sânskṛit as I understand it, and as I have sketched it above.**

If Mahârâshṭrî has become, in preference to every other dialect, the language of song-poetry, it is because it was in Mahârâshṭra more than elsewhere, that there had spontaneously developed a poetry which served as a model for more learned attempts. The Jainas, while using the Mahârâshṭrî, have introduced into it the termination ê of nominatives masculine. The name Mâgadhî preserved for their dialect well shews that this innovation is, as it were, a last echo of the recollections which they had kept of this country of Magadha, with which more than one historic tie connected them. It is evidently an analogous recollection which is expressed in the application of the same name, Mâgadhî, to the language of the Sinhalese *Tripiṭaka*. A few rare Mâgadhisms can hardly pass for a mark of origin. Several traces of Mâgadhisms, however, appear in the most ancient inscriptions of Ceylon, which seem to testify that, as we might expect, it was a kind of Mâgadhî which was employed in the propaganda of Piyadasi. The Sinhalese canon pretends to descend directly from it; in reality, an altogether different influence rules the language in which it is couched, — an influence probably emanating from the west of India. The Mixed Sanskṛit of the Buddhists of the North-West is the Prâkṛit orthography which was the most closely allied to Literary Sanskṛit, and it was it which, in all likelihood, was the soonest fixed in a lasting tradition. It is very possible that Pâli owes something of its archaic character to this leaning towards etymological orthography of which Western India has furnished us with multiple proofs. The tradition of it must have been, to a certain degree, preserved by the sect to which we are to attribute the drawing up of the southern *Tripiṭaka*.

From this point of view there is one fact which seems to me to be sufficiently striking to deserve being mentioned here. Three provincial Prâkṛits hold the place of honour in the grammars, the Mahârâshṭrî, the Mâgadhî, and the 'Saurasênî. It would give quite a false idea of the Prâkṛit grammarians to imagine that they claimed, under these three names, to include all the principal families of the popular dialects. Their only aim was always practical utility, and we shall be in no danger of wronging them if we affirm that they never conceived the idea of a general and methodical classification of all the Prâkṛit dialects. It is upon special conditions, local or historical, that the importance of these three dialects must be founded. Now, we learn from their origins, as indicated by their names, that they exactly correspond to the homes of the three systems of writing which the monuments allow us to descry in periods earlier than the grammatical one; the Mahârâshṭrî to the Monumental Prâkṛit of the West coast; the Mâgadhî to the official orthography of Piyadasi, and the 'Saurasênî, the one which possesses the most archaic aspect, to the Sanskṛitizing Prâkṛit of Mathurâ and the North-West. It seems that the more or less obscured recollections, the more or less interrupted perpetuation, of a tradition, founded on early attempts at writing, set in movement in these three homes, and at least facilitated the creation of literary dialects.

Whatever may be the value of this conjecture, one conclusion is certain. **It is only in**

the circumstance of an earlier tradition, local, religious or literary, kept up by means and under conditions which may have varied, that the grammatical reform, from which sprang the grammatical Prâkṛits in the form in which we know them, can have been possible. I am here content with pointing out the fact in its general aspect. I have not set myself to approach the thorny questions of literary history which surround the peculiar origin of each of these dialects. I have at least wished to shew, while laying before the reader the proposition to which the facts of philology appear to me irresistibly to drive us, that as a whole it presents none of those insurmountable difficulties which a mind pre-possessed by different theories might expect. In concluding, I wish to remark that this necessary allowance of a previous tradition, is an important corrective to what might seem too positive in my statements regarding the final redaction of the Pâli or Prâkṛit books. This reserve is indispensable. As for laying down the limits in each particular case, for accurately distinguishing between what is the work of the last editors, and what the inheritance of earlier tradition, such a task would be infinite. Perhaps we shall never be in a position to accomplish it in its entirety.

PART IV.

CONCLUSION.

The above observations have led me to touch on most of the more general problems which the linguistic history of ancient India presents. I cannot conclude without summing up the principal conclusions to which I have been conducted. They are, in several respects, in conflict with generally received ideas; but we must consider that, hitherto, the examination of these questions is, as is admitted by all, far from having ended in categorical results.[14] Our knowledge on this subject is still too incomplete, too floating, to allow a little novelty to excite surprise or to justify distrust. I have dealt with one sole order of considerations, with arguments based on epigraphy and philology, the only ones which were called forth by the principal subject of this work. I consider that these arguments furnish my views with a sufficiently solid basis; and I have every confidence that proofs of other kinds will come to add themselves to mine, and to gradually confirm them. I shall not be charged, I think, with having disdained these other sources of information. I well know all their value. Even if it be not true, as I think it is, that the series of facts to which I have confined myself is the one most likely to lead us to decisive results, the other considerations would hardly come within the limits which have been laid down for me.

The principal literary dialects of ancient India are three in number; the Vedic language, Classical Sanskṛit, and the group of Prâkṛits. To these we must add that idiom which was in a way intermediate between Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit, for which I have proposed the name of Mixed Sanskṛit.

1. **So far as concerns the religious language of the Vêdas, the inscriptions of Piyadasi indirectly testify that it was, at the commencement of the 3rd century before our era, the object of a certain amount of culture, and that this culture was purely oral. That is a point which has been discussed in the preceding chapter.**

2. **As for Classical Sanskṛit, its elaboration in the Brahmaṇical world, essentially based on the Vedic language, and on the school-language which might have formed, so to say, its prolongation, but enlivened by the first applications of writing to the popular dialects, should be placed about the 3rd century B. C., and the time following. Its public or official employment only commenced to spread abroad at the end of the first or at the commencement of the second century. No work of the classical literature can well be of earlier date than this epoch.**

3. **Mixed Sanskṛit is only a manner of writing Prâkṛit, consisting in going as near as possible to the orthography and the etymological forms known to the religious language.**

[14] I may refer the reader to the recent preface put by Prof. M. Müller at the commencement of his *Sanskṛit Grammar for beginners*, p. v., and also to the preface of Prof. Whitney's *Sanskṛit Grammar.*

Its use, born spontaneously with the first attempts at writing, continually developed, from the edicts of Kapur di Giri to the epigraphs of Mathurâ. Used specially by the Buddhists, it stimulated the Brâhmaṇs to the codification and diffusion of a more consequent, more refined language, profane Sanskṛit. **The coming into use of Literary Sanskṛit marks its disappearance.** It had, in the meantime, owing to its diffusion in the reign of Kanishka, assured its own survival, as a semi-literary dialect, in certain Buddhistic schools.

4. **There remain the Prâkṛits. Popular in their origin, they have, in the form in which they have been employed, and which has come down to us, undergone a process of fixation, and of orthographical and grammatical reform. It is Sanskṛit, and the exactly analogous process of learned labour to which Sanskṛit owes its own existence, that inspired and guided this process. It cannot have taken place before the end of the 2nd century, and towards the end of the 4th we may suppose it a completed operation. None of the grammars which teach the literary Prâkṛits, and none of the books couched in one or other of these dialects, can, under its existing form, be of earlier date than this period.** At the same time, it must be clearly understood that, far from excluding the existence of literary attempts and of a more ancient tradition, this theory supposes them as an indispensable preparation. It only excludes the idea of works having received a definitive form, of a canonically arrested tradition, the existence of which would have rendered all grammatical reform both superfluous and impossible.

It is needless to say that **the correctness of the dates** which I have just now mentioned **depends**, to a very high degree, **on the correctness of the dates which we attributed to the inscriptions.** The chronological series of the monuments appears to me to be well established, and if we suppose that some corrections in it are necessary, I do not imagine that they can be found to be of sufficient extent to modify the main lines which I have sketched out.

Everything, in this system, depends on, and follows, one natural and well-connected movement. The same tendencies, which we see at work in the earliest times, continue their action to the end. Throughout evolutions, each of which pre-supposes and engenders the next, the main motors remain identical. The continuation of the linguistic history during the period which we have surveyed, is the logical development of the tendencies which are revealed by the most ancient monuments. In this sense, this last chapter is closely connected with the direct object of our studies, the Inscriptions of Piyadasi.

FINIS.

THE DATES OF THE VAGHELA KINGS OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In my review of Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's most valuable *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1883-84, (*ante*, Vol. XVIII., p. 184ff.), **I expressed strong doubts as to the correctness of the Vâghêlâ dates, given in his new historical Fragment, p. 12, and by the Dharmasâgara in his Pravachanaparîkshâ, op. cit. p. 150.** But I was unable to furnish strict historical proof that Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's two authorities post-date the accession of Vîsaladêva and of two of his successors by two years. Lately Râo Sâheb D. P. Khakar, who has already furnished numerous valuable contributions to the history and archæology of Kachh, has kindly sent me an **eye-copy of a mutilated inscription, which settles the question. It is incised on a Pâliâ at Khôkhrâ in Kachh,** of which Râo Sâheb Khakar gives the following account:—

"The Pâliâ has a figure of a cow, feeding probably on Indian corn (maize) and suckling her calf. This Pâliâ is stated to have been in the Fort of Bhadrêshwar. But a Thâdêjâ daughter of the village of Khôkhrâ, near Angâr, having married in Bhadrêshwar, she thought that the cow might be worshipped in the Mahâdêva temple in her father's village, and so she sent it there, where the inscription was all buried, and the cow was worshipped. When I learnt of it in Sam. 1939, I got with great difficulty the buried portion of the Pâliâ excavated,

and found that the portion of it on which the object of the inscription was written, had been broken and lost, and after a year's inquiry I got no trace of it."

The fragment of the inscription, which appears to be **written in the ordinary Dêvanâgarî characters of the thirteenth century**, runs as follows:—

1 Ôṁ ‖ **Saṁvat 1332 varshê Mârga śudi 11 Śanâv**=ady=**êha** srî-
2 [ma*]d-Aṇahillapâtakê samasta-râjâvalî[ya*]-samalaṁkṛita-mahârâ-
3 jâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-prô-[prau]ḍha-pratâma(pa)-Nârâ-
4 ya[ṇ-â]vatâra-lakshmî-svayaṁvara-mahârâja-śrî-Sâraṁgadêva-ka-
5 lyâṇa-vijaya-râjyê śrî-śrî-karaṇâdô(dau) mahâmâtya-śrî-Mâva-
6 va-mahaṁ râdhi-[1]-śrî-Kânhê samasta-vyâpârân paripaṁṛi(tha)ya . . . .

The document belongs, therefore, to the reign of the **Vâghêlâ king Sâraṅgadêva** and mentions a minister, called Kânha, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa. Its date Saṁvat, *i.e.*, **Vikrama-Saṁvat 1332, Mârga śudi 11 Śanau** corresponds, according to Dr. Schram's Tables with **Saturday, Dec. 1, 1275 A. D.** The year was an expired year, both according to the northern and the southern mode of calculation.[2] The conflicting statements contained, the one in the *Vichâraśrêṇi* and Mr. Bhâû Dâjî's *Paṭṭâvali*, and the other in Dr. Bhâṇḍârkar's fragment and the *Pravachanaparîkshâ*, are:—

Vîsaladêva ruled	(I).	V. S. 1300-1318;	(II).	V. S. 1302-1320.
Arjunadêva ruled until	(I).	V. S. 1331;	(II).	V. S. 1333.
Sâraṅgadêva—	(I).	V. S. 1353;	(II).	V. S. 1353.

The date of Râo Sâheb Khakar's new inscription proves that the Fragment and the Pravachanaparîkshâ place Sâraṅga's accession too late and do not deserve to be credited.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 2.—*The Parrot Prince and his Princess.*[1]

Once upon a time there were **two parrot kingdoms** at Dehlî and Hansnâ Vihâr. The king of the former had a son and the king of the latter an only daughter. The subjects of both the kingdoms advised that the prince should take a wife and the princess a husband. So they both left their respective kingdoms in search of a partner. It so chanced that one night on their journey they alighted on the same tree, and the parrot prince hearing the leaves rattle enquired who was there. Each told the other who they were: and they were thinking of marrying together, when the prince said, "All women are faithless." "So are all men," said the princess. Thus they went on disputing and they finally agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the king of the country in which they happened to be.

So they both attended the king's court, and he said, "Produce your proofs."

Then the parrot princess said, — "Once upon a time seven sons of a king went out hunting and came upon a grand house in a jungle. Now this was the house of a demon (*dêô*), and the owner was away, leaving his six daughters and their handmaid in charge of his palace. The seven girls made friends with the seven princes, and they lived together for some time in the greatest happiness. Now the youngest prince had taken the handmaid as his partner, and one night he heard her say in her sleep, "What a misfortune has come on the wretched mother of these poor princes!" Next night she said the same words. So, when eating time came, the youngest prince refused to eat, unless the girl told him what she meant. After

[1] These letters cannot be correct.
[2] According to Professor Jacobi's new Tables, published in the *Epigraphica Indica*, the eleventh tithi ended on Saturday about 44 *ghaṭikâs* after mean sunrise (Laṅkâ).
[1] A folktale told by Dasrat Kharwâr: the Kharwâr is an aboriginal tribe in South Mirzâpur.

some hesitation she said — "The six girls, whom your brothers have taken to live with you, are the daughters of a demon, and he eats men. When he comes back he will devour all the six princes." "Is there any way of escape?" asked the prince. "Well!" she answered, "If you get hold of the horses of the demon and cross the ocean at a single jump you can escape.[2] To-morrow make a pretence of going out to hunt and do this. They did so, and just as they were jumping across the ocean the demon rushed up and seized hold of the hind legs of the horse, on which the youngest prince was mounted. Then the handmaid called out to her lover "Take your sword and cut off the hind legs of the horse and you will escape." The young prince did so, and the demon was left behind, and they crossed the ocean in safety. When they got over, the daughters of the demon asked, "How did you manage to escape our father?" "By doing as the maid, who was with me, told me to do," replied the Prince, who could not keep the secret. Then the demon's daughters fell on the maid and tore her to pieces.

"By this," said the parrot princess, "you may learn that a man is never to be trusted."

"Now, what have you to say?" asked the king of the parrot prince.

"Well," he replied, "there was once a Râjâ, who married a Rânî, and was bringing her home in a litter. By chance he got separated from his followers, and as they were going along the Rânî was suddenly taken sick and died. The Râjâ took her corpse out of the litter and laid it on a river bank. Seeing this dreadful sight the bearers all ran away. The Râjâ sat down by the corpse, and began to sing *Râm nâmî.* The God Mahâdêô, who generally lives in solitary places, came up and asked the Râjâ why he was lamenting. He told Mahâdêô of the misfortune that had fallen on him. "If I bring the Rânî to life, will you surrender half your life?" Asked Mahâdêô. "I agree," said the Râjâ. So Mahâdêô poured a little water on the Rânî out of his jar (*kamandal*) and the Rânî came to life again. Mahâdêô went away and the Râjâ and Rânî lay down to rest. While the Râjâ slept a merchant (*mahâjan*) came up with a horse laden with gold *mohars,* and the faithless Rânî abandoned the Râjâ, who had saved her life, and ran away with the merchant."

"By this," said the parrot prince, "you may learn that all women are faithless."

Then the Râjâ, who was trying the cause gave his decision — "Men as well as women," said he, "have their faults[3] and the best thing you can do is to get married."

And so they were married and ruled their two parrot kingdoms for many a year in happiness.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS IN MADRAS.

It is considered one of the greatest sins that a man can commit to kill a cow or taste its flesh; and it is also laid down that to eat curds, ghî, and honey together is an equal sin.

When cattle cross your path it is considered a sin to pass through them. You must wait till the way is cleared and then go on.

When flying-foxes are flying about during the day, it is a sure sign of a shower of rain immediately.

About the Garudan or Royal Eagle or White Kite there is a tradition among the Hindus of Southern India, that the bird serves as the *vâhaṇam* (vehicle) of Vishṇu, and on Sundays he is supposed to ride on it in the morning. Hence the Brahmans especially anxiously look out for it on Sunday mornings, in order to pay their respects to Vishṇu, through his sacred bird. On seeing it the ordinary Brâhmaṇ recites the following *slôkam,* which he supposes to be Sanskṛit :—

Kunkumamkita varnaya
Kundhêndhu śavalayicha
Vishṇuvâhaṇa namasthubhyaṁ
Pakshirâja êthê namaha.

[2] [This is a very interesting variant of the notion of the difficulties that hedge round the folktale demon and life-index.—ED.]

[3] [So sensible and moral an ending to a "tricks of women" story is well worthy of remark.—ED.]

Some of the Brahmans believe that if a person sees this bird flying in the sky on a Sunday morning, at any time before breakfast, he will attain fulfilment of all his enterprises during the ensuing week.

Among the lower castes of the Hindus the ceremonies have a different aspect. Their priests buy a small quantity of flesh from the *bâzâr* and bring it home. With this they make it a point to feed the bird, and wait outside their houses for it to fly over them. When they see one they throw up bits of the meat, inviting the bird to take them. When the bits are all taken they pay obeisance to the bird and take leave. After this they bathe and take their meals, considering themselves to have received the benediction of Vishṇu.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

MALABAR COAST.

Unlucky Actions.

1. Never let any one tread on the nails of your fingers or toes, lest he become your enemy.

2. Never pour water into a *chunam* pouch at night.

3. Never take off the inner coating of the areca-nut at night.

4. Never look at the fox or jackal in the morning; but note the proverb: — "Did you wake this morning with a fox in your face?"

N. SANKUNNI WARIYAR.

MALABAR COAST.

Lucky Actions.

1. Always throw the outer rind of the areca-nut into the street, so that people walk over it.

2. Turn to the right when getting up in the morning from your bed.

N. SANKUNNI WARIYAR.

SPIRIT HAUNTS IN MADRAS.

Evil spirits seek always for their abode that portion of a tank or a river where someone has been drowned and lost his life, or the following trees:—

1. *Ficus Religiosa*, pipal, (*Arasu* in Tamil);
2. *Azadirachtā Indica*, Nim. (*Vêmbu* in Tamil);
3. Tamarind (*Puliyam* in Tamil).

Hence virgins, or pregnant women, and children, are usually warned not to approach these places at any time during the day or night.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

BOOK-NOTICE.

JOURNAL OF THE MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY. Edited by H. DHARMAPALA, Calcutta, May 1892.—No 1. Baptist Mission Press, for the Buddha Gaya Mahabodhi Society.

The Buddha-Gaya Mahabodhi Society, or the Bud-Gaya[1] Society, for it is a little difficult to make out its title clearly from the publication before us was, we find, established at Colombo on May 31st, 1891, under the auspices of Colonel H. S. Olcott. This is good and also bad. Good because the Colonel has already shown that he can control a Society and a Journal which can live, and bad because he has also shown that his views of the Buddhist Religion are as bold as they are delightfully visionary. The complete and unconscious misapprehension of every aspect of the subject he affects to have deeply studied is indeed the most charming part of the addresses he delivers. He is always poetical and nearly always wrong in every view to which he gives expression. He is "chief adviser" of the new Society, and in the first number of its Journal are many echoes of his ideas. There is the same magnificent disregard of actual facts, and the same enchanting inaccuracy as to details in historical references on every page, that have always distinguished the writers on Theosophy. Here is a fine sample:—

"It is only a baseless tradition that Buddhism was destroyed by the Aryans. As yet no evidence has been forthcoming to show that the vandalism was done by them. But, on the contrary, there are facts and historical data to prove conclusively that the catastrophe was accomplished by the Muhammedan (*sic*) invaders of India. The temples of Vishnu, Siva and other devatás (*sic*) did not escape the fire and sword of the devastating Moslem. The destruction of Buddhism dates from the time of the invasion of India by Muhamad (*sic*) of Ghazni."

Could anything be more delightful than this? Just before the above passage we are told "that Buddhism was destroyed seven centuries ago in

[1] It is to be hoped that 'Bud-Gaya' will be dropped as hopelessly wrong etymologically.

India is beyond doubt." Muhamad (speaking under Col. Olcott's correction we understand that the conqueror's name was, however, Mahmûd) of Ghazni we thought lived nearer nine centuries than seven centuries ago. But then, two centuries of time are as nothing in the retrospect of a poet! And we are glad to hear, because it is news, that it was the wicked 'Muhammedan' (we follow the 'chiefly advised' writer in making 'Muhammedan' the correct adjectival form of 'Muhamad') who carried through the destruction of Buddhism in in India from start to finish. A little lower down we learn how it was done:—

"From the tenth to the twelfth centuries a systematic vandalism of sacred shrines was carried on by the devastating hordes of Arabs under Muhammedan generals."

The armies of the Ghaznavî and Ghôrî generals were, of course, all Arabs! We are learning quickly indeed; — but there is yet more to learn — much more than was ever dreamt of in our philosophy:—

"From the twelfth to the sixteenth century indigenous literature was not only not allowed to be cultivated, but every method was adopted to stamp out a national growth."

O shades of Akbar and Jahângîr and Dârâ Shikôh! O Chand Bardâi! O Kabîr! O Gurû Nânak! O Tulsî Dâs! O ye Mediæval Reformers! what say ye to this?

However, the 'Muhammedan' is evidently a red rag to the writers in the *Journal* of the Mâhabôdhi Society, and it may be that their personal feelings have warped their sense of historical accuracy.

The *Journal* is severe on those who differ from its views. "Sciolists and superficial critics, failing to grasp the philosophy, and merely for the sake of notoriety, condemn Buddhism as atheistic." Granted for the sake of argument. Let us hear what the scientific and deep critic has to teach us — for we confess to being with the sciolists in this matter: — "The cherished gods of the Aryans, the mild Vishnu, the protecting Brahma, and the guarding Indra (the differentiation between 'protecting' and 'guarding' is distinctly good), besides most of the *devas* and *devatás* have not been relegated into the land of myths. They have a niche in the pantheon of gods in the Buddhist system."

"The pantheon of gods in the Buddhist system" exhibits a truly scientific appreciation of the Buddhist philosophy no doubt, but we shall remain 'sciolists' nevertheless.

Passing by the muddling together of '*devas* and *devatás*', as exhibited in the extracts already quoted, we have to note a peculiarity in the *Journal*, which is typical of the theosophic variety of the scientific man. Outer sciolists, who lay claim to some knowledge of Indian languages, have a habit, when transliterating, of diacritically marking certain letters to show their form in the original. The scientific theosophist always tries to do the same, and the result is invariably startling. We have fine specimens before us now, *e.g.*, Vaishnáva, Mágadha (the country), Kusinágara, Priyadási (this is most excellent, for it has the advantage of being neither Pâli nor Saṅskṛit), and so on. And then again, if you write Śiva and Śaiva (p. 3), why write Sri and Sankaráchárya.

If the Mahâbôdhi Society's views of things ancient are astonishing, its ideas on contemporary movements are equally so:—

"The intellect of the educated has reached its ultimate development, and it is impossible to go back to the dualistic stage of religion, when scientific monism is gaining ground among the highest intellects of Europe and America. This scientific monism is the Advaita Philosophy of ancient India. This scientific and realistic monism in all its comprehensiveness was promulgated by Gautama Buddha twenty-five centuries ago."

This is well conceived, but the following is better from the pen of the 'chiefly advising' Colonel himself:—

"Western dogmatism cannot stand before it (the Arya Dharma of Śakya Muni, miscalled 'Buddhism'). Western men of light and learning welcome it, the weary-souled begin to hail it with enthusiasm. The two chief reviving agencies, the two channels through which it is flowing, are a book and a Society — the 'Light of Asia' and the Theosophical Society. Ten years hence Buddhism will have gained an unshakable foothold throughout Christendom."

This is enough for us! When Western men of light and learning accept the *Light of Asia* as a true exposition of Buddhism the Christian will deserve to go down before the Buddhist.

We have thus dwelt on the errors in the *Journal* of the Mahâbôdhi Society at length, because we fully sympathise with the general aims of the Society, which are apparently to protect the remains at Buddh-Gayâ from further neglect, to secure the funds of the temple from further misappropriation, and to ensure the preservation of Buddhist literature. The sooner therefore the conductors of the *Journal* of the Society cease to publish downright nonsense the sooner will they secure respect towards themselves, and general sympathy with their laudable objects.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

BY V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

No. 3.—AN INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.[1]

THE inscription, which I now publish, is on the southern wall of **the Bhaktavatsalasvâmin temple at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam** in the Chingleput District, Madras Presidency. It was copied by me on the spot, but I have not been able to make out a correct reading of the whole of the inscription, as it is much faded and in some parts illegible. It is in Tamiḻ characters of the Eleventh Century A.D. The first part of it is a eulogy on the reigning king, and is in verse in High Tamiḻ; the latter part is in ordinary prose and records the purchase of a piece of land by the temple authorities. The original text of the poetical portion appears to have been composed by a writer well versed in classical Tamiḻ. It has been engraved, however, either very carelessly or by ignorant hands; even common words have been misspelt, and no distinguishing mark has been made to denote the end or commencement of each line of the verse portion. The language being High Tamiḻ, and the characters somewhat indistinct, the deciphering of this part of the inscription would have been impossible, if I had not fortunately had with me copies of inscriptions, which I had taken from other temples in the Tamiḻ country. Three of these, which I detail below, have been of much use to me in reading this text.

INSCRIPTION No. 1.

An inscription on the northern side of the *Vimâna* of the temple dedicated to **Pâṇḍava-dûta-Perumâḷ** at **Kâñchîpuram,** which commences with the first 25 lines of the present text, and continues as follows :—

Text.

Nan maṇi âramum tiruppuyattalaṅkalum pôla vîramum tiyâkamum viḷaṅka pârmicha mêvalar vaṇaṅka vîra chimmâchanattu puvanamuḻutudaiyâḷodum vîṟṟiruntaruḷiya **Kôrâja-kêsarivarmmarâna Uḍaiyâr śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêvarkku** yâṇḍu añchâvatu . . . .

Translation.

In the fifth year of the lord **śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva,** *alias* **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman,** (here enter the translation of the first 25 lines) whose valour and munificence shone like the necklace of faultless gems and the garland of flowers on his shapely shoulders ; who deigned to sit on the throne of heroes with the goddess Earth, while his enemies bowed down to the ground before him.

INSCRIPTION No. 2.

An inscription in very clear characters, on the western wall of the Śaiva temple at **Kîḻpaḻuvûr** in the Trichinopoly District, which begins with the same words as in the present text up to the end of the 62nd line, and continues as follows :—

Text.

Neṟitorum nilaikaḷ iddaruḷi tiṟal koḷ vîra simhâsana vêddaṟuḷi poṅkoḷiyâramum tiruppu-yattalaṅkalum pôla vîramum tiyâkamum viḷaṅka pârmichai mêvalar vaṇaṅka vîra simhâsanattu avanimuḻutudaiyâḷodum vîṟṟiruntaruḷiya **Kôrâjakêsarivarmmarâna Tiripuvanachakkara-varttikaḷ śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêvarkku** yâṇḍu irupatâvatu . . . .

Translation.

In the twentieth year of the emperor of the three worlds, **śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva,** *alias* **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman,** (here enter the translation of the first 62 lines) who erected on all the public paths boundary-marks (of his territories) and obtained the throne of mighty heroes ; whose valour and munificence shone like the resplendent necklace and the garland of flowers on his sacred shoulders; who was pleased to sit on the throne of heroes with the goddess Earth, while his enemies bowed down to the ground before him.

[1] [The spelling of vernacular words in the English portion of this paper has been altered in accordance with the system followed in this *Journal*. The Tamiḻ texts have been left intact, as no facsimiles were to hand.—ED.]

INSCRIPTION No. 3.

An inscription on the eastern wall of the Saiva temple at **Tiruviḍaimarudûr** in the Tanjore District, which begins with the first 66 lines of the text and proceeds as follows :—

Text.

Chivanidattumaiyena **Tinachintâmaṇi** puvanamuḷutudaiyâḷodum kaṅkaivîṟṟiruntena maṅkaiyar tilatam **Êḷichaivallapi** îrêḷulakamudaiyâḷ vâḷiyumalarntinitiruppa ûḷiyum tirumâlakattuppiriyâtena tirumakaḷ tikaḷḷena **Tiyâkavalli** taruma ulakudaiyâḷiruppa * * * puvanamuḷutudaiyâḷodum vîṟṟiruntaruḷiya **Kôvirâjakêsarivarmmarâna Chakkaravarttikaḷ śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêvarkku** yâṇḍu 26vatu nâḷ nûṟṟeḷupattiraṇḍinil . . . . . .

Translation.

On the 172nd day of the 26th year of the emperor **śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** *alias* **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman,** (here enter the translation of the first 66 lines) who, worshipped by the whole world, was pleased to sit in state with **Dînachintâmaṇi,** the mistress of the whole world, like Siva with Umâ, and with **Êḷisaivallabhi,** the mistress of the fourteen worlds, the most beauteous amongst women, like Gaṅgâ with Umâ, and with **Tyâgavalli,** the charitable mistress of the world, like Lakshmî who is ever inseparable from Vishṇu, and with the goddess Earth.

Comparing the above three inscriptions with that which is the subject of this paper, and which is dated "in the 42nd year of the emperor **śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,**" it will be seen that it is beyond doubt that all the four refer to the same sovereign, because his name is given as Kulôttuṅga-Chôla in all of them, and the events of his reign mentioned in the earlier inscriptions are repeated in the very same words in the later. Considering the facts that these inscriptions are found in places very distant from each other, and that the same verses have been used for describing the reigning king, it would appear that it was the custom during this period to adopt a prescribed form of preamble in drawing up any important deed ; and as that form was in verse, it is most probable that it was composed by a poet of the king's court and circulated under royal sanction. This is borne out by epigraphical records of other Chôḷa kings ; for instance, the inscriptions of **Râjarâja-Chôḷa** begin with the words "Tirumakaḷ pôla perunilachchelviyum" ; those of **Vikrama-Chôḷa** commence "Pûmâlai milaintu ponmâlai tikaḷa" ; those of **Râjêndra-Chôḷa** open with the verse "Tiru manni vaḷara irunilamaḍantaiyum."

The four inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga noticed in this paper furnish a short history of his life. While he was *Yuvarâja*, he first distinguished himself by storming **Chakkarakôṭṭam.** He surprised the enemy there and captured a number of elephants, but left no permanent trace of his conquest. Then he had to fight against the kings of **Kuntaḷa,** that is the Western Châlukyas. About this time the Chôḷa country came to be without a king, and he marched southwards, and by right of inheritance ascended the throne of the Chôḷas. Before the end of the fifth year after his accession he vanquished the Southern or **Pâṇḍya** king, who was either taken prisoner, or killed in battle; for the inscriptions state that his head lay, pecked by eagles, outside the Chôḷa capital. **Vikkilaṇ,** who is doubtless the Western **Châlukya Vikramâditya VI.,** then invaded the Chôḷa territory, but had to retreat before the superior forces of the Chôḷas, and was hotly pursued from **Naṅgali** in the Mysore province to **Maṇalûr** on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where he crossed the river and sought safety within his own dominions. An expedition towards the west was next conducted by Kulôttuṅga in person, and **Koṅgumaṇḍalam** was subjugated. Two expeditions were also sent to **Siṅghaḷam,** apparently with no great results.[2] Then he wished to conquer the **Pâṇḍimaṇḍalam,** and equipped a large army. After the death of the Pâṇḍya king above alluded to, his kingdom evidently became dismembered, and **five Pâṇḍya princes,** who were in power, fled in dismay before the Chôḷa forces, and sought refuge in

[2] These were most probably the two Chôḷa invasions mentioned in the *Mahâvaṁsa* (chap. lviii.) as having occurred during the early part of the reign of Vijayabâhu.

inaccessible jungles. The whole of the Pâṇḍya country as far as Cape Comorin and **Kôṭṭâṛu** was annexed to the Chôḷa empire. Then the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Manaar and the wild elephants on the Western Ghâṭs became the property of Kulôttuṅga before the close of the 20th year of his reign. It was, I believe, after this important event that he proclaimed himself "emperor of the three worlds;" for in the inscription No. 1 his name is given as "Uḍaiyâr śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa-dêva," whereas in No. 2 it is "Tribhuvanachakravartigaḷ śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva." Within six years afterwards the **Kaliṅgamaṇḍalam** was conquered; but from the 26th to the 42nd year the empire seems to have enjoyed peace, no mention being made of any wars in subsequent inscriptions. Three of Kulôttuṅga's queens are named in the inscription No. 3, *viz.* **Dînachintâmaṇi, Êḻiśaivallabhî** and **Tyâgavallî**; but only the last two are mentioned in the text, which forms the subject of this paper.

No era or astronomical day is given in the inscriptions to enable us to ascertain the period of the king's reign; but from the leading events mentioned in them, it is certain that he is identical with the **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa of the Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi.** The poem speaks of his early exploits at Chakkarakkôṭṭam (canto x. stanza 23), the anarchy in the Chôḷa country (x. 26), his accession to the Chôḷa kingdom (x. 32), the defeat of the five Pâṇḍya princes (xi. 69), the battles on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ (iv. 7) and at Maṇalûr (xiii. 93), the conquest of the Kaliṅgamaṇḍalam (xii. 68), and the queen Tyâgavallî (x. 55). All these particulars occur in the inscription also. I have in my article on the *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*[3] identified the Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa of that poem with the first Eastern Chalukya king of the same name. And as it appears from inscriptions in the Telugu country that he bore the name of **Râjêndra-Chôḷa** before he acceded to the Chôḷa kingdom, there is no doubt that he is also that **"Râjiga, the lord of Vêṅgi,"** who, according to the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*,[4] took possession of the throne of Kâñchî on the death of the Chôḷa king. From the Chellûr grant we learn that Kulôttuṅga's third son, Vîra-Chôḷa-dêva, was installed as viceroy of Vêṅgî in A.D. 1078, and that before him, Kulôttuṅga's second son, Râjarâja II., held charge of Vêṅgî for one year, and his uncle, Vijayâditya, for fifteen years. It follows, therefore, that Kulôttuṅga succeeded to the crown of Vêṅgî in A.D. 1063.[5] But there is no record to show when he ascended the Chôḷa throne. From Tamiḻ inscriptions I find that a Chôḷa king named **Vîra-Râjêndradêva,** *alias* **Kô-Parakêsarivarman,** claims to have "bestowed the **Vêṅgîmaṇḍalam** on **Vijayâditya** who had bowed at his feet, conquered **Kaḍâram** for another king who had besought his assistance, forced **Sômêśvara** to give up the **Kannaradêśam** and drove him out of that country, and reduced **Iraṭṭapâḍi** for **Vikramâditya** who had sought refuge at his feet." The kings alluded to appear to be **Vijayâditya VII., viceroy of Vêṅgî** (A.D. 1063 — 1077), the Western Châlukya **Somêśvara II.** (A.D. 1069-1076), and **Vikramâditya VI.** (A.D. 1076—1127). That Vijayâditya was in danger of being deprived of his power by the Chôḷas, is also evident from one of the Gaṅga grants, in which it is stated that, "when Vijayâditya, beginning to grow old, left the country of Vêṅgî, as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chôḷas," **Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara** (A.D. 1071—1078) "caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region."[6] The above records seem to indicate that Vîra-Râjêndra, *alias* Kô-Parakêsarivarman, was the immediate predecessor of Kulôttuṅga on the Chôḷa throne, was contemporary with the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara II., and helped his younger brother, Vikramâditya in wresting from him a portion of the Châlukya dominions; also that **Kulôttuṅga did not take possession of the Chôḷa kingdom till about A.D. 1071.** This is confirmed by the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, which states that "the lord of Vêṅgî" seized the Chôḷa sovereignty some time after the death of Sômêśvara I. which occurred in A.D. 1069, and before Sômêśvara II. was taken prisoner by Vikramâditya VI. in A.D. 1076. If Kulôttuṅga had reckoned his regnal years from the day of his accession to the throne of Vêṅgî, **the date of the following inscription,** which is in the 42nd year of his reign, **would fall in A.D. 1105.**

[3] *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 338. [4] Dr. Bühler's edition, chap. vi. verse 26.

[5] Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 49-62.

[6] See Dr. Fleet's article on the Eastern Chalukya Chronology, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 276.

The concluding portion of the inscription, which is in prose, records a deed of sale, executed by the Brâhmaṇ proprietors of a village named **Vâṇavaṇmahâdêvîchaturvêdimaṅgalam** in **Kumiḻinâḍu** in **Âmûrkôṭṭam** in **Jayaṅkoṇḍachôḻamaṇḍalam.** The property sold was a portion of the village, which was intended to be used as garden land for the *Maṭha* of **Naminandi** Aḍigaḷ attached to the Śaiva temple at **Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam.** Naminandi is the name of one of the 63 devotees of Śiva, an account of whose lives is given in the Tamiḻ *Periyapurâṇam*, and the *Maṭha* was probably founded by him or by his descendants in his memory. The fact that the proprietors of the village met together in a *Mahâsabhâ* or great assembly, and executed this deed of sale, is evidence of the ancient system of land tenure peculiar to the Draviḍian people, under which the residents of each village were the common proprietors of all those parts of the village, which were not appropriated to any individual. Two taxes are mentioned, the *peruvâram* (great share) and *śilavuvari* (expenditure tax).[7] The first is the king's share, which is generally one-sixth of the produce; the second appears to be a local cess, levied to meet expenses incurred in the repair to tanks &c. in the village.

TEXT.

Svasti Srî!

Pukaḻ chûḻnta puṉari akaḻ chûḻnta puviyil
Ponnêmi aḷavum tannêmi nadappa
Viḷaṅku chaya makaḷai iḷaṅkôpparuvattu
Chakkarakkôddattu vikkiramattoḻilâl
(5) Putu maṇam puṇarntu mata varai îddam
Vayir âkarattu vâri ayil munai
Kuntaḷa arachar tantaḷam iriya
Vâḷ uṟai kaḻittu tôḷ vali kâddi
Pôrppari nadatti kîrttiyai niṟutti
(10) Vada tichai vâkai chûdi ten tichai
Têmaru kamala pûmakaḷ potumaiyum
Ponni âdaiyum nannilappâvai
Tanimaiyum tavira vantu punitaru
Tiru maṇi makudam urimaiyil chûdi
(15) Tannadi iraṇdum tada mudiyâka
Tonnila vêntar chûda munnai
Manu vâṟu peruka Kali yâṟu vaṟappa
Cheṅkôl tichai toṟum chella veṇkudai
Irunila viḷâkam eṅkaṇum tanatu
(20) Tiru niḻal veṇṇilâ tikaḻa
Oru tani mêruvil puli viḷaiyâda
Âḻ kadal tivântatarttu pûpâlar
Tiṟai vidu kuñcharam muṟai muṟai niṟpa
Viḷaṅkiya **Tennavan** karuntalai paruntalait
(25) Tidattan ponnakar puṟattidai kidappa
*   *   *   *   *
Cholletir kôdiṟṟallatu tankai
Villetir kôdâ **Vikkilan** kallatar
Naṅkili todaṅki **Maṇalûr** naduvin
(30) **Tuṅkapattirai** puka turatti eṅkaṇum
Padda veṅkaḻiṟum kedda tan mânamum
Kûṟiya vîramum   *   *   *
Êṟina malaikaḷum mutuku neḷippa
Iḻinta natikaḷum âṟudaintôda

[7] [Compare *śil-vari peru-vari*, 'the small tax (and) the large tax,' in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 87, text line 6.]

(35) **Viḻiñña** kadalkaḷum talai virittalamara
Kudatichai * * *
Tannâḷukantu tânum tânaiyum
* * * *
* * * *
(40) Cheyapperuntiruvum vâḷâ oṇkaṉ
Madantaiyar îddamum mîḷâtu kodutta
Veṅkari niraiyum **Koṅkumaṇḍalamum**
Sinkaḷam ennum paraṇi iraṇdum
Iruvichai kaikoṇdu iṇaiviya pukaḻodu
(45) **Pâṇḍimaṇḍaḷaṅ** koḷa tiruvuḷattadaittu
Vempari talaṅkaḷum poru kari kulaṅkaḷum
Tantira vâriyum udaittây vantu
Vada kadal ten kadal padarvatu pôla
Tan peruñchênaiyai êvi
(50) **Pañchavar aivarum** poruta pôrkkaḷattu
Añchi veruvi neḷittôdi
Araṇena pukka kâdaṛattudaittu
Maṟṟavar tammai vanacharaṛâkki
Oṟṟaiveñchuram êṟṟikoṟṟa
(55) Vichaiyat tampam tichai toṟum niṟutti
Muttin Chilâpamum muttamiḻ **Potiyilum**
Matta veṅkari padum maiyya **Chaiyyamum**
Kanniyum kaikkoṅd aruḷittennâd
Ellaikâddi kudamalai nâdduḷarachar
(60) Ellâm tani vichum pêṟa
* * * *
Kuṟukalar kulaiya **Kôttâr** ulpada
Neṟitoṟum nilaikaḷiddaruḷi maṟipunal
Kaliṅgamaṇḍalamum kaippaduttaruli[8]
(65) Tiṟal koḷâramum tiruppuyattalaṅkalum pôla
Vîramum tiyâkamum vilaṅkappârtoḻa
Chivanidattumaiyena **Tiyâkavalli**
Avani muḻutudaiyâḷudan iruppa, avaḷudan
Kankai vîṟṟiruntena maṅkaiyar tilatam
(70) **Eḻichaivallapi** êḻulakam udaiyâḷ
Vâḻirum ponninitiruppa
Âḻichûḷavani muḻutudaiyâlodum

[8] I give below the different readings in the preambles of the four inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva which I have examined. A stands for the inscription at Kâñchîpuram, B for that at Kîḻpaḻuvûr, C for Tiruviḍaimarudûr and D for Tirukkalukkuṉṟam.

Line 2. A has *nadatti* for *nadappa*.
Line 5. A has *vankaḷiṟu* for *matavarai*. B and C have *matuvarai* for *matavarai*.
Line 12. A has *ponnaṇiâdaiyum* for *ponniâdaiyum*.
Line 13. A and D have *tavirtu* for *tavira vantu*.
Line 16. A has *ponni* for *munnai*.
Line 20. B has *tirunilal veṇkudai* for *tirunilal*.
Line 23. A has *kalañchêr kaḷiru* for *kuñcharam*. B has *kalañcheṟṟiraḷu* for *kuñcharam*. C has *kalañchori kaliṟu* for *kuñcharam*.
Line 42. B & C. have *kaṅka* for *koṅku*.
Line 57. B has *teyva* for *chayya*.
Line 59. B has *êval* for *ellai*.
Lines 63 & 64. D has *appulattalaṅkaḷum koṅkumandalamum* for *maṟipunal kaliṅka mandalamum*.

Vîrachimmâchanattu viṟṟiruntaruḷiya **Châkkaravarttikal Srî-Kulôttuṅka-Chôḻadêvarkku** yându 42vatu **Jayaṅkoṇḍachôḻamaṇḍalattu Âmûrkôddattu Kumiḻinâddu Vânavanmahâdêvichaturvêdamaṅkalattu** makâchapaiyôm nilavilai âvaṇakkaiyeḻuttu. **Kaḷattûr-Kumiḻinâddu Ulakaḷanta-Choḻapuramana Chembian-Tirukkaḷukkunṟattu** udaiyâr tirukkaḷukkunṟamudaiya Mahâdêvar kôvil Chantiâ Chandesvaradêvarkku nâṅkal mada puramâka vittukkudutta nilamâvatu: eṅkaḷûr mêlmidâni[9] Kîraippâkkam kâdukaḷ veddi kaddai paṟittu tiruttikkoḷvatâka kudutta nilattukku kîḻpâṟkellai Urômâttellai uṟavum, tenpârkellai Tâḷaivêddellai uṟavum, mêlpârkkellai Vikâmbattellai uṟavum, vadapârkkellai Taṇduraiellai uṟavum, innâṅkellaikkudpadda nîrnilamum punchai nilamum mênôkkina maramum kîḻ nôkkinakiṇaṟum ivvûr madaiviḷâkattirukkum **Naminanti Adikaḷ Madattukkum** madappuṟamâka nâṅkaḷ iṟai ilichchi vittukkuduttu vilaiyâka nâṅkaḷ kaikkoṇda achai neṟkâchu pattum kaivilai aṟa vittu poruḷaṟakkaikkoṇdu vilai âvaṇam cheytu kuduttôm. Mahâ sapai ôm innilattukku vanta chilavu vari peruvâram eppêrppaddatum nâṅkaḷ iṟukkakkadavômâkavum. Iṟai iḻichchi vittukkuduttôm. Chapaikku chamainta târumavar Edduvamavan Âdittan Paṇapâlapaddaṇum, Mappirâraka Kumârachuvâmikkiṟamalittanum, Uṟuppudduttâḷâḷappaddanum, Padmapurattu Sri Ranganâtapaddanum, Appaddûr Chaṅkaranarâyaṇapaddanum, Kâvicharikkillai Tantikâmavittanum, Kiṟañchikoṉ Tâkkiramavittanum, ivvanaivarôm chantrâtitta varaikkum chilâlêkai paṉṉikoduttôm. Mahâsabhaiôm. Ippadikku ivai **Vânavanmahâdêvi-udaiyâṉ Chelvan Kumâran** eḻuttu **Âmûrkôddattu.**

TRANSLATION.

Health and Wealth! In the 42nd year of the emperor **Srî-Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva,** who, in his youth, first embraced the goddess of victory by his heroic deeds at **Chakkarakôṭṭam,** so that his empire on this earth, which is girt by the glorious ocean, may extend up to the golden mountain (Mêru); who, by his prowess, captured a multitude of rutting elephants, and routed the forces of the kings of **Kuntaḷa** at the point of his lance; who leading his troops of horse and unsheathing his sword, displayed the power of his arm and established his fame by his victories in the northern countries, and, coming southwards, espoused the goddess of the honeyed lotus flower (Lakshmî), and **Poṉṉi** (Kâviri), and the good lady Earth, who was without a consort, and by right of inheritance assumed the sacred and illustrious diadem (of the Chôḻas); whose pair of feet served as a broad crown to the ancient kings of this earth; who wielded his sceptre with such justice in all directions (in his dominions) that the rules of the ancient Manu prevailed and the river Kali (evil) was dried up; whose white umbrella shone like the moon over all the wide world; whose tiger (banner) played (in the breeze) on Mêru, without a rival; the elephants given in tribute to whom, by the kings of remote islands in the deep ocean, stood in many a row; outside whose golden town, the black head of the **Teṉṉavaṉ** (Southern or Pâṇḍya king) lay pecked by eagles; * * * * who drove from **Naṅgili** of rocky roads **Vikkilaṉ,** that never bent his bow except on a foe who had failed in paying him due respect, and forced him to enter the **Tuṅgabhadrâ** at **Maṇalûr,** abandoning his elephants which lay wounded on all sides, and bringing disgrace on his fair fame and boasted valour; who, with his army, commencing his march towards the west, on an auspicious day, caused the mountains to bend their backs, the rivers to forsake their beds, and the **Viḻiña** seas to be stirred and agitated * * * * * * and seized the great goddess of victory, bevies of bright-eyed women, and whole columns of fierce elephants, which the enemy were unable to save, and the **Koṅgumaṇḍalam;** whose fame was augmented by two campaigns in **Siṅghaḷam;** who, desirous of conquering the **Pâṇḍimaṇḍalam,** directed his vast armies, which, with hosts of generals, squadrons of fleet horses and battle-elephants, resembled the northern sea rushing to join the southern ocean, and when **the five Pâṇḍyas** fled in terror from the battle-field and sought refuge in the jungles, cleared those jungles and converted them into villages and made them (the Pâṇḍyas) lead the life of woodmen in a dreary wilderness, and planted pillars of victory on every side; who took possession of the

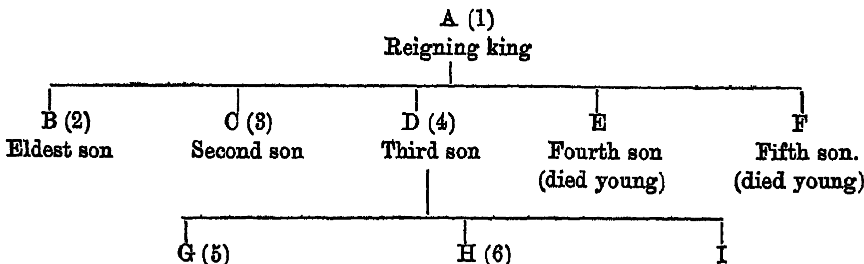
[9] [Read *mêl-piḍâgai.*]

pearl fisheries, and **Podiyam,** where flourished the three kinds of Tamiḻ (literature), and the mid **Sahya** hills (Western Ghâṭs), where huge wild elephants are captured, and **Kaṉṉi** (Cape Comorin), and fixed the limits of the Southern (Pâṇḍya) land; who sent to the upper world all the kings of the western hilly country * * and, scattering his enemies, erected on all the public paths boundary-marks (of his territories) including **Kôṭṭâṟu**; who conquered the **Kaliṅgamaṇḍalam** of embanked floods; whose valour and munificence shone like the gorgeous necklace and the garland of flowers on his shapely shoulders; who, worshipped by the whole world, deigned to sit on the throne of heroes with **Tyâgavallî,** the mistress of the whole world, like Siva with Umâ, and with **Êḻisaivallabhî,** the mistress of the seven worlds, the most beauteous amongst women, like Gaṅgâ with Umâ, and with the goddess Earth, — the deed in writing of a sale of land by the great assembly of **Vâṇavaṉmahâdêvi-chaturvêdimaṅgalam** in **Kumiḻinâḍu** in **Âmûrkôṭṭam** in **Jayaṅkoṇḍachôḻamaṇḍalam.** The land that we have sold and given, to be used as a garden for a *Maṭha,* to Chantiâ[10] Chaṇḍêśvaradêva of the temple of our lord Mahâdêva of Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam in **Sembiyaṉ-Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam,** otherwise known as **Ulagaḻanda-Chôḻapuram,** in **Kaḻattûr-Kumiḻinâḍu,** is as follows: Of the land which we have given in Kîraippâkkam [?] [a western hamlet] of our village, to be improved by cutting down the jungle and by removing the stumps of trees, the eastern boundary is Urômâttu [?], the southern boundary is Tâḻaivêṭṭu [?], the western boundary is Vigâmbam [?], the northern boundary is Taṇḍurai [?]. Within these four limits, the wet land and dry land, the trees overground and the wells underground, we have sold to be used as a garden land for the **Naminandi-Aḍigaḷ-Maṭha** in the *maḍai-viḷâgam* of this town, exempt from taxes, and we have received as the price *achai nel*[11] *kâśu* ten. We have sold (the land and all our rights thereto) completely, and, having received the whole of the price, we have executed this deed of sale. We, the great assembly are bound to pay the *peruvâram,* the *śilavuvari,* and all other taxes that may be imposed on this land. Exempt from all taxes we have given it. The representatives of this assembly are:[12] . . . . We all have had this deed of sale engraved, so that it may last as long as the sun and moon exist. We, the great assembly. This is the writing of **Vâṇavaṉmahâdêvi-uḍaiyâṉ Selvaṉ Kumâraṉ** of **Âmûrkôṭṭam.**

THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION IN THE ALOMPRA DYNASTY OF BURMA.

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

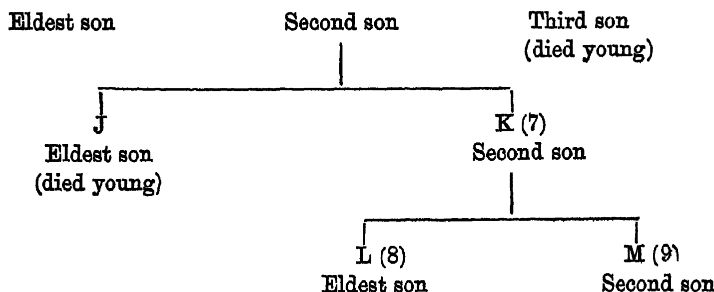
In Vol. XX. pp. 422-423, *ante,* reference was made to a statement that **the rule of succession in the Maṇipur State was, that all the brothers of the reigning king succeeded by seniority before his sons; failing brothers the king's sons succeeded in turn. The line of succession would therefore run thus:—The living brothers in order of seniority, then the sons of the last brother in order of seniority.** The tree of succession might in fact be as follows: —



10 [Read *Âdiddâsa* ?.]

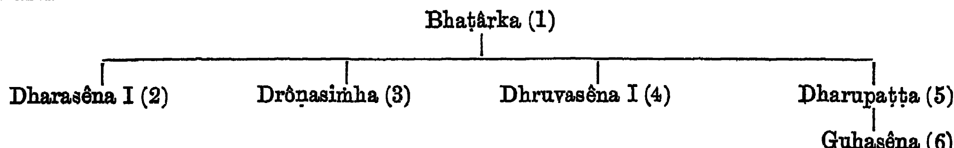
11 [Should the two preceding words be a misreading of *kâśu* 10 ?.]

12 [The names of these people are omitted in the translation, as their spelling is very uncertain. Each of them has either the attribute *bhaṭṭa* or *kramavid.*]



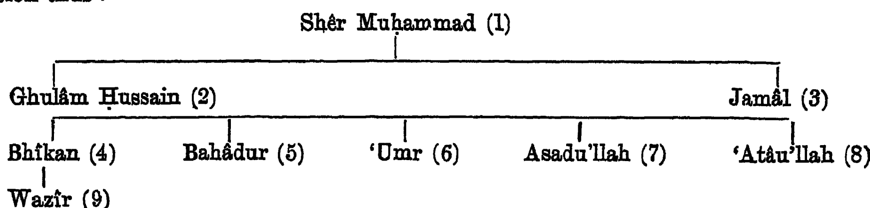
The points to note in the succession are: — (1) the father must, if possible, actually have been king; (2) brothers must succeed before sons. The next heir by analogy, failing brothers and sons, would be the eldest surviving son of the king before the deceased. *E.g.*, in the above tree, if king M had no sons or brothers, then the sons of king L would succeed in turn.

This custom is evidently widely spread over India and Burma, for (*loc. cit.* and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 273) it has been already shown in this *Journal* that a part of the Valabhî succession ran thus: —



The Genealogies of the Eastern and Western Chalukya Dynasties (*ante*, Vol. XX. p. 283, also p. 422, and Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 18-19) give the succession of brothers before sons in several instances; notably in the years between 633 and 663 A.D., and between 696 and 709 A.D. and between Saka 930 and 964.

The Genealogy of the Mâlêr-Kôṭlâ State (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 328—330) gives parts of the succession thus: —



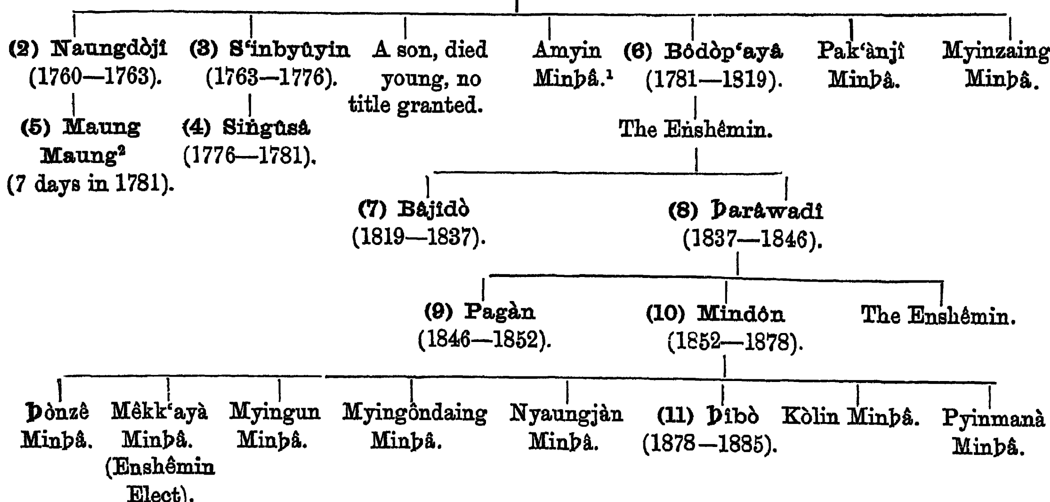
Properly speaking 'Atau'llah's son should have succeeded, and when Wazîr's line failed a successor was found in Ibrâhim 'Alî, (the present ruler), the great-grandson of 'Atâu'llah.

Throughout the Shân States (*ante*, pp. 119 –120) the rule of succession is brothers before sons in order of seniority.

There are three disturbing elements in the rule, however, which must always be taken into consideration in its application: — (1) where the ruler has a multiplicity of wives, there must always be a difficulty in determining seniority; (2) in most Oriental States might is right and that heir succeeds, who is, for any reason, the most powerful; and (3) the temptation, seldom withstood, to the *de facto* ruler to oust his brothers in favour of his sons. As a rule, it may be said that every brother and every son looks upon himself as the possible heir, and the actual succession frequently falls to him, who finally succeeds in the struggle for the throne on the king's death.

I give below the Genealogy of the Alompra (Alaungp'ayâ) Dynasty of Burma, as illustrating the persistency of this peculiar law of succession and also the vicissitudes to which it is liable in practical application.

THE ALOMPRA DYNASTY OF BURMA (1753—1885 A. D.)



With reference to the above table the following remarks are applicable in the present connection. It is commonly said in Burmese *Yâzàwins* (*Râjavaṁśas*), or Histories, that the reason why Alaungp'ayâ's sons succeeded him in turn is, that he expressed a dying wish to that effect.[3] I believe, however, that, whether he did so or not, the dynasty really followed what was felt to be the ancient and appropriate rule, and that the succession was accepted by the Court and people as the customary one.

Alaungp'ayâ left seven sons, one of whom died as a child before the time came to give him a title,[4] but all the rest grew to manhood and to be political forces in the country. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Naungdòjî, in the regular course, and then by his second son, S'inbyûyin. The disturbing elements in the rule of succession then began to work. S'inbyûyin nominated Siṅgûsâ, one of his sons, as his successor, and the succession was secured to him by a palace intrigue.

This caused a rebellion on the part of the next heir by right of succession, *viz.*, the Amyin Minþâ, who was killed in the course of it, and so put out of the way. Maung Maung, the son of Naungdòjî, afterwards raised a sudden palace revolt and deposed Siṅgûsâ. This did not fall

[1] The word Minþâ means 'king's son,' *i.e.* 'prince.' Reading between the lines of Sangermano, pp. 50ff of the 1885 reprint, it would seem that the Minþâ of the earlier Alompra kings held much the position of the Ætheling of the early English; *i.e.*, he was a local chief of the blood royal.

[2] The Paungâsâ of Sangermano, see pp. 53ff of the 1885 reprint.

[3] Sangermano, p. 50 (1885 reprint) repeats the story.

[4] Much after our own fashion, Burmese Queens, Princes and Princesses were given titles, generally after estates that were handed over to them for sustenance, a practice which, however, ceased with the accession of King Mindôn in 1852, who inaugurated the system of paying salaries to the members of his family, his ministers and officials. The rank of the title-holder was indicated by a word suffixed to the name of the place. Sometimes several titles were held by the same person, as with us. The titles of royal children were conferred generally on their reaching an age to be of political importance. Thus, *mîbayâ* = queen, *minþâ*-prince, *minþamî* = princess, and the titles ran thus: Limbàn Mîbayâ, Amyin Minþâ, Sànpênagô Minþamî. Titles were occasionally not connected with places, as S'inbyûmâyin, the Lady of the White Elephant. Kings on accession retained their princely title in the same way, generally from places, as Þarâwadî, Pagàn, Mindôn and Þìbò. Sometimes, however, their titles were descriptive, as S'inbyûyin, the Lord of the White Elephant. Kings had generally several titles, *e. g.*, Þarâwadî is equally well-known as Kôngbaung and Shwêbô, both place names, which is confusing. Confusion is further made worse confounded by the private names of these royal personages having come down to history; *e. g.*, Mindôn is still also known as Maung Lwin. Maung Maung, the fifth king of the Dynasty, had apparently no title (unless we grant Sangermano's name of Paungâsâ was a title), and was killed before he could give himself one to go down to history. The private name of the Myinzaing Minþâ, drowned by order of Bôdòp'ayâ in 1147 B. E. (= 1785 A. D.), was Maung P'ô Shin.

in with the Court and general views at all, and, after a seven days' reign, he was put to death by the Court in favour of the rightful heir, Bôdòp'ayâ, who, to settle himself on the throne, put an end to Siṅgûsâ.

Bôdòp'ayâ, like his brother S'inbyûyin, was a powerful ruler, and acted precisely in the same manner. That is, he nominated his son Eṅshêmin (Yuvarâja), against the rights of his two surviving brothers, the Pak'ànjî Minbâ, and the Myinzaing Minbâ. The former wisely acquiesced in the arrangement and died a peaceful death. But the latter rebelled and was killed.

Bôdòp'ayâ reigned for a long while and his son died before him, and the succession went to his elder grandson, Bâjìdò, who, in course of time, was deposed by his brother Þarâwadî (otherwise equally well-known as Kôngbaung and Shwêbô Min). Þarâwadî became insane and the country was governed by a regent, the Pagàn Minþâ, who was the king's rightful heir, being his eldest son by his chief wife. Two years later the regent became King Pagàn. After a while that strong and powerful prince, his brother Mindôn, deposed him, and proved to be the best ruler that Burma had had for many a decade. The acknowledged heir to Mindôn was his remaining brother, the Eṅshêmin, who was killed by his nephews, the Myingun and Myingôndaing Princes, in order to keep the succession to themselves, a very serious attempt being made on Mindôn's life at the same time.[5]

The succession to Mindôn consequently devolved upon one of his sons, as the Eṅshêmin's family was by rule and custom ousted from it. Another of the disturbing elements in the application of the rule of succession now became apparent. Who was to be considered Mindôn's eldest son and rightful heir? He had a great number of wives and concubines, the wives were of superior and inferior rank, and he had sons of all ages likely to survive him. As a matter of fact every son looked upon himself as the possible heir, only the Myingun and Myingôndaing Princes being out of the way, as outlaws after the murder of their uncle and their attempt to seize their father's throne. Also, it being practically impossible to decide rival claims as to seniority, Mindôn settled on that prince as Eṅshêmin, who had done him the best service; *viz.*, the Mêkk'ayà Prince who had accompanied him on his expedition to dethrone Pagàn.

However, on Mindôn's death, **Þîbò**,[6] a junior and inferior son, was placed on the throne, owing to the intrigues of a princess, **Sûp'ayâlàt**[7] and her mother, the **S'inbyûmâyin,** one of

[5] This Eṅshêmin was generally known to Europeans as the "War Prince"; and though the dignity of "Heir Apparent (= Eṅshemin)" was ostensibly conferred on him by his brother in recognition of his distinguished services in the rebellion which raised the latter to the throne, it is to be observed that in doing so Mindôn followed the rule of succession.

[6] This king's name is that known as Thibaw, Thebaw and Theebaw, corrupted to Theobald by the British soldiers at the time of the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885-86. "Theobald and Sophia" were the King and Queen of Burma according to the British Soldier, (see next note). Thibaw, (þîbò) is one of the principal Shân States tributary to the Burmese King, its ruler, the þîbò Sòbwâ, being quite as well known to the English in Burma as the king himself. It is curious to note that his predecessor, Mindôn, took his title from a valley in the þayetmyô District in British Territory. This was due to the fact that when Mindôn was a prince, the country that afterwards became the British Province of Pegu and consists now of the Irrawaddy and Pegu Divisions of Lower Burma, was still under the rule of the Burmese King.

[7] Both Sûp'ayâlàt (corrupted by the way into Sophia by the British soldier in Mandalay, like the Persian Sophy of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries out of Safavî) and S'inbyûmâyin are titles. *S'inbyûmâyin*, as already explained, means 'the Lady of the White Elephant.' *Sûp'ayâ* means a 'princess of the line': a woman whose father was a *de facto* king and whose mother was herself a *sûp'ayâ*, *i.e.*, not a woman whose descent was otherwise than directly royal on both sides. *Làt* means 'the middle of three.' So the title indicates that the bearer had an elder and a younger sister. She was in fact the daughter of Mindôn by a royal half-sister, and she married Þîbò, he half-brother. Sûp'ayâlàt and her elder sister, Sûp'ayâjî, were installed as co-queens on Þîbò's coronation, but the younger sister was strong enough to oust the elder from her conjugal rights. Subsequently Sûp'ayâgalê, the youngest sister, became junior queen to Sûp'ayâlàt. It is a general belief among Europeans in Burma that Þîbò's mother was not 'royal' in any sense. This is a mistake. Her title was Laungshê Mîbayâ, and she was of high royal descent, though not a *sûp'ayâ*, as above described. Her mother was a daughter of the Eṅshêmin of Bôdòp'ayâ (see *ante*, p. 289) by the daughter of the then þîbò Sòbwâ. Hence she was first cousin to her husband Mindôn. Hence also no doubt the choice of title for her son.

Mindôn's superior queens. The efforts of these ladies, the younger of whom became subsequently famous as the chief queen of Ɖîbò, were successful in consequence of the aid of two Ministers, the Kànpàt Minjî and the Kinwun Minjî, given for political reasons, which need not be here recounted, because of the recent date of the events following on the death of Mindôn in 1878. The superior claimants to the throne, *viz.*, the Ɖônzê, Mêkk'ayà and Nyaungjàn Princes, together with many others, were put to death, but the Myingun and Miyngôndaing Princes escaped slaughter, as they were in exile.

At the time of his deposition, in 1885, Ɖîbò's heirs were his half-brothers, the Myingun Prince in exile, (the Myingôndaing Prince having died in exile in 1884), and the Kòlin and Pyinmanà Princes. The lives of the two last had been spared on account of their youth and political insignificance. To the present day the Myingun Prince, still exiled from the country, considers himself the heir to the Burmese throne by established right of succession.

As an ancient authority for the rule may be cited, the following passage from Fausboll's *Jâtaka* (Vol. I. pages 127—133).[8]

"Atîtê Kâsiraṭṭhê Bârâṇasiyaṁ Brahmadattô râjâ ahôsi. Tadâ Bôdhisattô tassa aggamahêsiyâ kuchchhismim patisandhiṁ gaṇhi, tassa nâmagahaṇadivasê **Mahiṁsâsakumârô** ti nâmaṁ akaṁsu. Tassa âdhâvitvâ paridhâvitvâ vicharaṇakâlê raññô aññô pi puttô jâtô, tassa **Chandakumârô** ti nâmaṁ akaṁsu. Tassa pana âdhâvitvâ paridhâvitvâ vicharaṇakâlê Bôdhisattamâtâ kâlam akâsi. Râjâ aññaṁ aggamahêsitthânê ṭhâpêsi. Sâ raññô piyâ ahôsi manâpâ. Sâ piyasaṁvâsam anvâya êkaṁ puttaṁ vijâyi, **Suriyakumârô** ti tassa nâmaṁ akaṁsu. Râjâ puttaṁ disvâ tuṭṭhachittô, 'bhaddê puttassa tê varaṁ dammîti' âha. Dêvî varaṁ ichchhitakâlê gahêtabbaṁ katvâ ṭhapêsi. Sâ puttê vayappattê râjânaṁ âha: **'dêvêna mayhaṁ puttassa jâtakâlê varô dinnô; puttassa mê rajjaṁ dêhîti.' Râjâ, 'mayhaṁ dvê puttâ aggikkhandâ viya jalamânâ vicharanti, na sakkâ tava puttassa rajjaṁ dâtun'** ti paṭikkhipitvâ, taṁ punappuna yâchamânam êva disvâ: 'ayaṁ mayhaṁ puttânaṁ pâpakam pi chintêyyâ 'ti, puttê pakkôsâpêtvâ âha: 'tâta, ahaṁ Suriyakumârassa jâtakâlê varaṁ adâsiṁ, idâni 'ssa mâtâ rajjaṁ yâchati, ahaṁ tassa na dâtukâmô, mâtugâmô nâma pâpô, tumhâkaṁ pâpakam pi chintêyya, tumhê araññaṁ pavisitvâ mam' achchayêna kulasantakê nagarê rajjaṁ karêyyâtha' ti, kanditvâ rôditvâ sîsê chumbitvâ uyyôjêsi, * * * * * Sô taṁ Yakkhaṁ damêtvâ têna saṁvihitârakkhô tatth' êva vasantô êkadivasaṁ nakkhattaṁ ôlôkêtvâ pitu kâlakatabhâvaṁ ñatvâ Yakkhaṁ âdâya **Bârâṇasiṁ gantvâ rajjaṁ gahêtvâ Chandakumârassa ôparajjaṁ Sûriyakumârassa senâpatiṭṭhânaṁ datvâ.**"

"In times past Brahmadatta was king of Bârâṇasi in the country of Kâsi. At that time the Bôdhisatta was incarnated in the womb of his chief queen, and on the naming-day was named **Mahiṁsâsakumâra.** When the young prince could walk and run about, another son was born to the king, and was named **Chandakumâra.** When the second child could walk and run about, the Bôdhisatta's mother died. The king installed another wife as chief queen. She became his darling and delight. Owing to the bond of love subsisting between the king and the queen, a son was born and was named **Suriyakumâra.** On the birth of this son the king was delighted and said: 'My dear, I shall grant a boon to thy son.' The queen accepted the boon and bided her time to announce its nature. When her son had come of age, she said thus to the king: **'A boon was granted by my Lord to my son at the time of his birth; bestow the crown upon him.' The king replied:—'My two sons are as brilliant as two masses of fire; it is impossible for me to accede to thy prayer.'** Though thus refused the queen renewed her request over and over again, and the king thinking: 'This queen might, perhaps, harbour evil designs against my sons,' sent for them and addressed them thus: 'My dear sons, when Suriyakumâra was born, I granted him a boon. Now his mother asks for the kingdom; but I do not wish to give it to him. Womankind is wicked, and the queen might

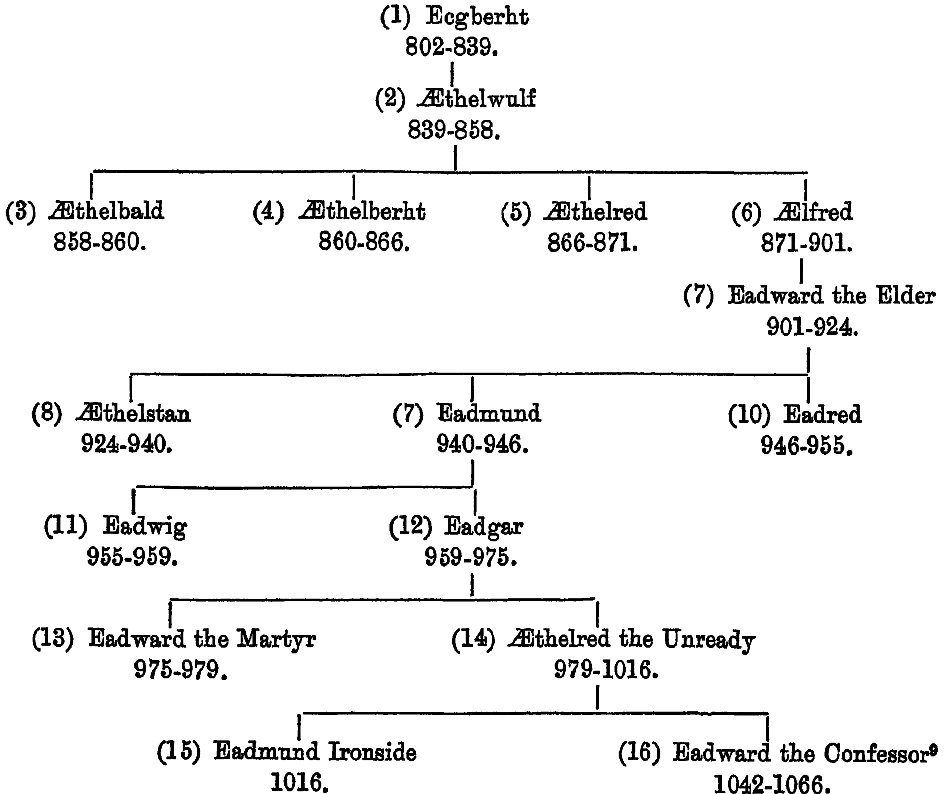
[8] I am indebted to Mr. Taw Sein Ko for pointing out this passage. This story is the sixth in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, Vol. I. pp 180-184, and is entitled *Dêvadhamma-Jâtaka.*

harbour evil designs against you. Retreat therefore to the forest, and on my death return and assume the reins of government in the city of your fathers.' Weeping and crying, the king kissed his sons on the forehead and sent them away. * * * * * * * He (Mahiṁâsakumâra) converted the Yakkha, and lived under his protection. One day, looking up at the stars, the prince became aware of the death of his father, and taking the Yakkha with him, went to Bârâṇasi and assumed possession of the kingdom. He bestowed the dignity of Uparâja on Chandakumâra and that of Sênâpati on Suriyakumâra."

No doubt a large number of interesting instances exist in the history of India and the surrounding countries, both of the rule quoted in this article and its application, the collection of which would prove of great use to the proper understanding of Oriental dynastic succession, and in determining approximately, where dates are wanting, the probable duration in years of a line consisting of a given number of Oriental rulers. For it must be borne in mind that, when a rule of such a description as that alluded to in this paper may be presumed to have existed, the number of the kings belonging to a certain family that actually ruled by no means coincides with the number of generations in that family.

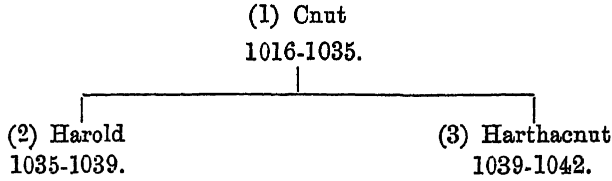
In connection with the subject of this paper I wish to draw attention to the genealogies of the early English and Scottish Kings, as possibly showing a feeling, if not a custom, similar to that pointed out above. The similarity in the order of succession is at least remarkable, even if it turn out to be due to a different set of causes.

As I understand the matter, these kings were elected by the people out of the grown men, capable of leading, who belonged to the royal family. But what we are now concerned with is the actual succession, to which this custom gave rise. Let us take first the successors of Ecgberht, the first general king or overlord of the English tribes.

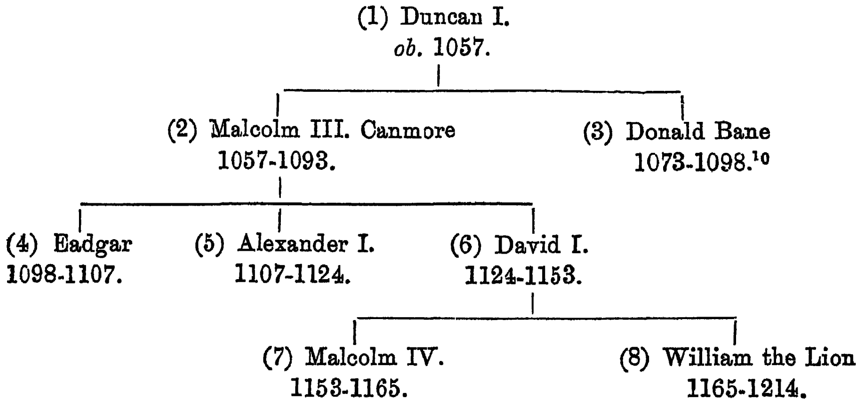


[9] Cnut and his sons having intervened from 1016 to 1042.

Now between Eadmund Ironside and Eadward the Confessor there intervened **Cnut the Dane** and his successors. Cnut had married Emma, the widow of Æthelred and mother of Eadward, and by her and a former wife had two sons, who succeeded in turn according to seniority, thus :—



Turning to the **Scottish kings,** we find the genealogy to run thus :—



The practical result then of the English custom of popular election was the succession of brothers before sons, and it will be observed that the succession was carried out in every case cited, for generation after generation, almost exactly in the manner in which it would naturally fall under a rule, such as that enunciated at the commencement of this paper. **The interest of these phenomena is in the question :—Were these elections governed by a feeling that the appropriate order of succession is that the brothers of the reigning king should succeed before his sons ?**

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from p.* 215.)

[Vol. XVII. p. 1].

In Bühler's list there follow :—

E. **Nandîsûtram** and F. **Anuyôgadvârasûtram,** without any name to connect them. In Râjêndra Lâla Mitra, *Notices of Ssk. MSS.* 3, 67 (Calc. 1874) and in the *Ratnasâgara*, p. 508 (Calc. 1880) both texts are mentioned in conjunction, but at the close of the Siddhânta after the mûlasûtras. In the Ratnas. the Anuyôgadv. precedes. On the other hand we have already seen (p. 427 fg.) that, at the time of the three *Sâmâyâris*, and indeed at that of the *Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha*, both texts were placed in a much earlier place of the Siddh., at the head of the païnna group; though in the *Vidhiprapâ* at least, their connection with this group is represented as uncertain (see 429n).

In bearing the stamp of individuality and having a systematic arrangement, both texts have a claim to a free and independent position. This shews that their author attempted to give an encyclopædic, but systematic, review of everything that appeared necessary to him as a means

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[10] Duncan II. connected by birth, usurped for a year, 1094-1095.

of information in reference to the sources and forms of a correct knowledge and understanding of the sacred texts. In this way [2] he could present his readers with a hermeneutical introduction.[1] These two works are admirably adapted to the use of any one who, having completed a collection or redaction of them, then seeks for light concerning the nature of sacred knowledge itself. The statement of the scholiast on the Nandî has no little internal probability[2] in asserting that Dêvavâchaka, *i. e.* Dêvarddhigaṇi himself, was their author. Furthermore, the list of teachers in the commencement of the Nandî and also in the commencement of mûlas. 2, as we shall soon see, breaks off[3] with Dûsagaṇi, whom the scholiast states to be the teacher of Dêvavâchaka, author of the Nandî. There is, however, no external support for this conclusion which is not borne out by any information to be derived from the contents. In fact, the contrary view seems to result from these sources of our knowledge; see p. 17 ff. The Anuyôgadv. contains all manner of statements, which would synchronize with the date of Dêvarddhigaṇi, 980 Vîra, *i. e.* fifth, or sixth century A. D. But I possess no information which would lead me to connect the composition of the Anuyôgadv. especially with him; and the difference in the terminology militates against the probability of both texts being the production of one and the same author; see pp. 9, 11, 21. That the Nandî is anterior to the Anuyôgadv. is made probable by some passages of the latter work, which appear to have been extracted from the Nandî. But the fact that the Anuyôgadv. is mentioned in the aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha list in the Nandî (see p. 12), makes for the opposite conclusion.

We find references to the Nandî in the remarks of the redactor scattered here and there in the aṅgas and upaṅgas; and especial attention is directed to the statement of the contents of the 12 aṅgas found in the N. This statement is found in greater detail in part 2 of aṅga 4. Hence the fact that in these references of the redactor, the Nandî and not aṅga 4 is cited. We do not read *jahâ samavâyê*, but *jahâ Nandîê* ; see 284, 352 (accord. to Leumann, also Bhag. 25, $_3$ Râjapr. p. 243) : — which must be regarded as a proof that the Nandî was the authority on which these references were based. The treatment of the subject in aṅga 4 is, then, merely an appropriation to itself and extension of the contents of this part of the Nandî. Other arguments, notably that many of the readings in the Nandî are older in special cases (see 349, 363) incline us to the same conclusion.

If now the nominal redactor of the entire Siddhânta or at least of the aṅgas and upaṅgas, Dêvarddhigaṇi, was also author of the Nandî, it becomes at once apparent why he referred to his own work in reference to so special a subject as the statement of the contents of the 12 aṅgas; and the account in aṅga 4 is to be regarded as an insertion made after D.'s time. See p. 19.

I find in the Siddhânta no remarks of a redactor in reference to the Anuyôgadvâras, though Leumann thinks to have discovered one (Bhag. 5, $_4$). In the text of Âvaśy. 10, $_1$ the Anuyôgadvâras. is mentioned together with, or rather after, the Nandî as a preliminary stage of advancement for the study of the sutta. [Both texts are in fact thought to introduce the study of each sutta that has been treated by a Niryukti. L.]

Both sûtras are composed in prose, though occasionally [4] gâthâs are inserted; that is to say if we except the 50 verses in the commencement of the Nandî. These gâthâs, in which the Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1 Decl. always ends in *o* and not in *e*, are manifestly the genuine productions of their authors. In the prose part, the preservation of the nom. in *e* shews that there is an attempt to reproduce the language and form of the sacred texts. The Nandî embraces only 719 granthas, the Anuyôgadv. about twice as many.

XLI. The **Nandi, Nandî, or the Nandisûtram.** The three sâmâyârî texts understand by nandî, or nandikaḍḍhâvaṇiâ (Âvi.), nandirayaṇavihi (Vi), an introductory ceremony, in long or

[1] "A glossary of the above-named sûtras and a description of five Jnânas" is the somewhat peculiar description of the contents of the *Nandisûtra* by Kâshinâth (p. 227).

[2] See also Bhâô Dâjî in the *Journal Bombay Branch R. As. S.* 9, 151.

[3] See Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15, note [2].

short form as the case may be, for the sâvayakachchâṇi (śrâvakakrityâni), especially for the didactic exposition or the recitation of the aṅgas, etc. It is almost probable that by this the recitation of our text is referred to. We read in Âvi.: taô gurû namokkâratigapuvvaṁ naṁdiṁ kaḍḍhaï, sâ chê 'yaṁ: nâṇaṁ paṁchavihaṁ . . , and then follows the real commencement of the Nandi. See below. This is, however, soon interrupted, and the citation passes to that variant textual form which is found in Anuyôgadv. Another change then occurs, and finally that enumeration of the sacred texts is reached which is found later on in the Nandi. We have, therefore, here no immediate citation from the text of the Nandi but a relation based essentially on the same foundation but in its form independent, a relation whose designation by the same word is based upon the appellative signification of this expression. We may compare the [5] similar use of the word nândî in Skt. for those introductory strophies of a drama, which are designed to bring good fortune. Cf. also nândîka as the name of a door-post, and nâṇdîpaṭa, a cover of a spring (P. W.). Haribhadra on Âvaśy. 9, 1 has the following: — âdimaṁgalârthaṁ naṁdî vyâkhyâtâ, and in the commencement of his commentary, *ibid.*: — nô-âgamatô bhâvamaṁgalaṁ naṁdî, tatra naṁdanaṁ naṁdî, naṁdaṁty anayê 'ty vâ bhavyâḥ prâṇina iti naṁdî. The signification of the title of our text is really: an introduction designed to bring good fortune. This title can refer either to the entire contents of the work such as I have above sketched, or, and this seems preferable, to the 50 verses which form the beginning.[4] In vv. 1—19 Vîra is praised, in vv. 20, 21 there is an enumeration of the 24 Jinas, in vv. 22, 23 a list of his immediate scholars, the 11 so-called gaṇadharas, and finally, from v. 24 on, a thêrâvalî beginning with Suhamma (1) and Jambû (2), and embracing in all thirty members; it closes in the third generation after Nâgajjuṇa (23) with Dûsagaṇi (30), who, according to the anonymous scholiast (on v. 27) was the teacher of Dêvavâchaka, the author.[5]

As we have already seen on page 471, this thêrâvalî varies, from the ninth member on, from the statements in the list contained in the *Kalpasûtra*. [6] The reason for this is apparent from a consideration of the remarks of the scholiast (avachûri) on v. 27: Suhastînaḥ śishyâvalikâyâḥ śrîkalpê uktatvât na ta(s)ya ihâ 'dhikâraḥ, tasyâṁ Naṁdikṛid-Dêvavâchaka-gurvanutpattêḥ. From this it is clear that the author of the avachûri considers Dêvavâchaka to be the author of the Nandi, and that this account does not emanate, like that of the śrîkalpa, from Suhastin (10). The evidence proves that it is rather to be referred to his immediate predecessor, or brother,[6] Mahâgiri (9), whose intellectual descent it makes known.

In reference to each of its members there exists great uncertainty,[7] according to the statements of the scholiast, who says of verses 31, 32: kshêpakatvâd vṛittau nô 'ktaṁ,[8] and remarks on vv. 33, 34: êtadgâthâdvayârtha âvaśyakadîpikâtô likhitô 'sti, avachûrṇâv api nâ 'sti, vv. 41, 42 is: vṛittâv avyâkhyâtatvât prakshiptam, and of Gôvindâchârya he says, on v. 43: śishyakramâbhâvâd vṛittau nô 'ktaḥ, âvaśyakatîkâtô likhitaḥ.

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[4] These recur, as has already been mentioned, in the commencement of the Âvaśy. nijj. in identically the same form.

[5] Cf. the name of the nândîmukhâḥ pitaras or of the nândîśrâddham. In the case of the latter was there any recitation of a list of ancestors?

[6] ? gurubhrâtarau in Klatt, *Indian Antiqu.* 11, 251a, or ubhâv api bhrâtarau in Dharmaghosha's Gurvâvali itself. Suhastin is characterized as the laghugurubhrâtar of Mahâgiri, also in the paṭṭâvalî of the Kharataragacha, Klatt, 246b. Klatt in accordance with other traditions (cf. *Kalpasûtra*) refers both to different gotras: and Mahâgiri to Elâpatyagotra (so here v. 27, Elâvachasagotta), Suhastin to Vâsittha. Have they different mothers?

[7] On this cf. Jacobi in *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.* 34, 252, 3, especially in reference to verses 27, 28, 36, 37, and Leumann's remarks, *ibid.* 37, 497 *fg*. In v. 27 we must read in Jacobi: Bahulassa sarivvayaṁ (vvayaṁ for vayasaṁ) vaṁdê instead of bahulassa Sirivayaṁ vaṁdê (see Klatt, l. c. 251b); in the scholiast we read iha Mahâgirêr dvau śishyau abhûtâṁ: Vahulô Valissahaś (cf. Kalpas. Thêrâv. § 6) cha; tatô Mahâgirêr anaṁtaraṁ Vahulasya yamalabhrâtritvât sadriśavayasaṁ, prâvâchanikatvêna pradhânatvât, Valissaham êvê 'ty arthah.

[8] Âryanaṁdila (21) v. 33 becomes then Ârya-Maṁgu(16)śishya v. 30. But even verse 33, in which Âryanaṁdila is mentioned, is doubtful: see above.

[7] The list reads[9]: 1. Suhamma, — 2. Jambu, — 3. Pabhava, — 4. Sijjaṁbhava, — 5. Jasabhadda, — 6. Saṁbhûa, — 7. Bhaddavâhu, — 8. Thûlabhadda, — 9. Mahâgiri (and Suhatthi, — 10. (Valissaha) the twin-brother of Vahula (see note 7 on p. 6), — 11. Sâi,[10] — 12. Sâmajja, Syâmârya,[11] — 13. Saṁḍilla, — 14. Ajja[12] Jîadhara, Jîta°, — 15. Samudda, — 16. Maṁgu[13] v. 30, — 17. Dhamma v. 31, — 18. Bhaddagutta v. 31, — 19. Vaara,[14] Vajra v. 31, — 20. Rakkhia v. 32, — 21. Ajjânaṁdila, *i. e.* perhaps Ajja Ânaṁdila (Ajja N° Schol.) v. 33, — 22. Nâgahatthi v. 34, — 23. Rêvaïnakkhatta v. 35, — 24. Khaṁdila vv. 36, 37,[15] — 25. Himavaṁta vv. 38, 39, — 26. Nâgajjuṇa[16] vv. 39, 40, 45, — 27. Gôviṁda v. 41, — 28. Bhûadinna vv. 42—45, scholar of Nâgajjuṇa, — 29. Lôhichcha v. 46, — 30. Dûsagaṇi vv. 47—49.

That this list actually reaches as far as the author or his teacher is rendered the more probable by the fact that in the last verse of the list (v. 50) the nâṇassa parûvaṇaṁ is stated to be the purpose of the account which is to follow — and this purpose reproduces correctly the contents of N. Next follow two secondary insertions, first a gâthâ, [8] which cites 14 examples or titles of stories in reference to capable and incapable scholars (the avachûri contains a more detailed account) and secondly a short polemical notice of the three kinds of parisâ, parshad, viz.: — jâṇiâ, ajâṇiâ and duvviaḍḍhiâ — each of which is illustrated by a gâthâ.

At this point the investigation of the jnânam begins, in which a principal part is played by the enumeration of the different categories and sub-categories of both the principal classes into which the jnânam is divided[17] — the pachchakkhanâṇam and the parokkhanâṇam. The latter contains much that is interesting. It in turn is twofold, âbhinivôhiya° (°bodhika) and sua° (śruta).

In the account of one of the two groups into which the âbhinivôhiyaparokkhanâṇam is divided, are inserted eight gâthâs, which contain the titles of stories which belong in this connection, and which are intended to serve as examples. The avachûri goes into detail on this point.

The suanâṇaparokkham is divided into 14 groups among which Nos. 5, 6, 13, 14 are of special importance: — The sammasuam 5, samyakśrutam, is explained as jaṁ imaṁ arihaṁtêhiṁ bhagavaṁtêhiṁ uppannanâṇadaṁsaṇadharêhiṁ . . . paṇîyaṁ duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagaṁ, taṁ jahâ: âyârô . . . diṭṭhivâô.[18] ichch-êyaṁ du°gaṁ ga°gaṁ choddasapuvvissa sammasuaṁ abhinna[19] dasa[9]puvvissa sammasuaṁ. The posteriority of its composition to Vajra at least is clearly brought out in this passage.

In michchhasuam 6 we find that enumeration of some 20 works, or classes of works, of Brahminical literature which I cited from the *Anuyôgadvârasûtra*[20] and discussed on Bhagav. 2, 248. This list is here more detailed and offers several variants: — Bhârahaṁ Râmâyaṇam Bhîmâ-

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[9] See Mêrutuṅga's *Thêrâvali* in Bhâu Dâjî, *Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. S.* 9, 151 (1867). Nos. 17—20 are not found therein (see p. 6), No. 21 is called Mandila (°dila), No. 23 Rêvaisiṁha, and the list gives one name more in mentioning Dêvar(d)dhi himself after Dûsagaṇi.

[10] Valissahaśishyaṁ Hârîtagotraṁ Svâtiṁ.

[11] Nominally author of up. 4, see p. 392.

[12] This epithet explained by Âryagotra is found also in Nos. 15—17, 19—22.

[13] ke 'pi Maṁgôr Âryadharmê 'ti nâmâṁtaram âhuh, No. 17 then falls out.

[14] According to the scholiast the daśapûrviṇaḥ (see Hem. v. 34) Âryarakshitas tachhishyo Durvalikâpushpaś cha navapûrviṇau, reach from Mahâgiri to Vajra. See page 348.

[15] Baṁbhadivagasîhê, Vrahmadvîpikaśâkh'palakshitân Siṁhân Siṁhâchâryân.

[16] Cf. the Nâgârjunîyâs in the Scholiast on aṅga 2, 1, 2, and see p. 265.

[17] nâṇaṁ paṁchavihaṁ: âbhinivôhiyanâṇaṁ sua° ôhi° maṇapajjava° kêvala°. Or duviham: pachchakkham and parokkham, and the latter is then: âbhinivôhiyaparokkhanâṇaṁ cha suanâṇaparokkhaṁ cha; the âbhi° is suanissiaṁ cha asuanissiyaṁ cha; both are fourfold, and the latter is divided into: uppattiyâ, vêṇaiâ, kammiâ, pariṇâmiâ buddhî (see p. 14n).

[18] In the scholiast sâmâyikâdi viṁdusâraparyaṁtam, see pages 244, 245, 348.

[19] tatô 'dhômukhaparihânyâ yâvat saṁpûrṇadaśapûrvadharasya; see p. 16n.

[20] Where it is characterized as nô-âgamaô bhâvasuyaṁ and as annâṇîhiṁ michhâdiṭṭhîhiṁ sachchhaṁdabuddhamaivigappiyaṁ; — cf. the 29vihaṁ pâvasuam Âvaśy., Ind. Stud. 16, pp. 115, 116. I denote the four MSS., to which I have had access as A B C R. The citations from Nand. are by Leumann.

surukkhaṁ[21] Kôḍillayam[22] sagabhaddiyâô[23] kappâsiyaṁ[24] nâgasuhumaṁ kaṇagasattarî[25] vaïsêsiyaṁ[26] Vuddhavayaṇaṁ[27] vêsiyaṁ[28] Lôgâyataṁ saṭṭhitaṁtaṁ[29] Mâḍharaṁ[30] purâṇaṁ vâgaraṇaṁ Bhâgavayaṁ[31] Pâaṁjalî Pussadêvayaṁ lêhaṁ (hêlaṁ MS.) gaṇiaṁ saüṇarûyaṁ[32] nâḍayâî,[33] ahavâ [10] bâvattari kalâô chattâri ya vêyâ saṁgôvaṁgâ. The commentary offers nothing in explanation :[34] tê cha lôkaprasiddhâḥ, tatô lôkata êva têshâṁ svarûpam avagaṁtavyam.

Under aṇaṅgapaviṭṭham (No. 14 is, however, treated of before No. 13) are enumerated **the titles of all the texts belonging to the Siddhânta at the time of the composition of the Nandî, but not included in the aṅgas.** This enumeration is extremely interesting. It must have been retained as a stereotyped list for a long period after the composition of the Nandî, since it is to be found *verbatim et litteratim* not only in the *Pâkshikasûtra* (P),[35] but also in the 3 sâmâchârîs (see pp. 369, 370) in a form that is but slightly different.[36] The great interest which attaches to this list is caused by the fact that the largest portion of the texts similar to these and now belonging to the Siddhânta is mentioned here, and that a different arrangement is observed. They are not enumerated in the special groups into which they are now divided. The names of these groups are partly wanting, *e.g.*, uvaṁga, païnna chhêasutta, mulasutta are not mentioned at all, and païnna occurs, but in a different meaning. A large number of titles or texts are mentioned which at present are either not found in the [11] Siddhânta, or, if found at all, are merely titles of subdivisions and not of independent texts; and in some cases these titles appear to have arisen from their connection with the subject-matter itself.

The aṇaṁgapaviṭṭham is divided into two groups: âvassayam and âvassayavaïrittam. The âvassayam is called chhavvihaṁ and six names for it are enumerated : sâmâiyaṁ chaüvîsathaô etc. Cf. my remarks on page 433 and on anuyôgadv. and mûlasutta 2. The âvassayavaïrittam is double : kâliyaṁ cha ukkâliyaṁ cha. Then follows the enumeration of the texts counted as belonging to the ukkâliyam :[37] 1. dasavêyâliyaṁ 45,[38] 2. *kappiyâkappiyaṁ*,[39] 3. *chulla-*

21 °ktaṁ A, °shkaṁ R.

22 Kôḍa° An., where ghôḍamuhaṁ (A, °ḍayamu° C, °ḍayasuhaṁ B, ḍayasuyaṁ R) follows. NBd. too has *khôḍamuham*, but after sayabha°.

23 sagaḍabha° B C R, sêtaṁbha° A.

24 kappâkappiam A.

25 °sattarî vêsiyaṁ B C R, vêsiyaṁ omitted in A.

26 so An. NBd. vasêsiyaṁ the Berlin MS. of N. (= MS.)

27 °vaṇayaṁ MS., Vuddhasâsaṇaṁ B C R, ruṭṭha(!)vayaṇaṁ A; in An. we find also Kâvilaṁ; also in NBd. Kâviliyaṁ comes before Lôga°.

28 têsiyaṁ NBd., B C R omit.

29 Already mentioned in the aṅgas, see Bhag. 2, 246, page 304 (cf. Kalpas. pp. 35, 101) and Max Müller: *India, What can it teach us?* p. 362.

30 See *Ind. Stud.* 13, 337, 88, 425 and Agnimâthara Vishṇupur. 3, 4, 18 (pp. 44, 45 Wilson-Hall).

31 Bhâgavayaṁ to saüṇarûvaṁ omitted in An.

32 saüṇarûvaṁ MS.; perhaps °ruyaṁ, otherwise the last of the 72 kalâs; see above p. 283. In the scholiast on Âvaśy. 12, 36 : saüṇipârô vi garahiô hôi we find the following peculiar statement: — śakuniśabdêna chaturdaśa vidyâsthânâni parigṛihyaṁte: aṁgâni chaturô vêdâ mîmâṅsâ nyâyavistaraḥ | purâṇaṁ, dharmaśâstraṁ cha sthânâny âhuś chaturdaśa || tatrâ 'ṅgâni shaṭ, tad yathâ : śikshâ vyâkaraṇaṁ kalpaḥ chhaṁdô niruktaṁ jyôtisham iti. The position of the aṅgas in the front of the list is one of the remarkable things in this statement.

33 Mâḍhara purâṇa vâyaraṇa B R; nâḍagâdî A.

34 Hêmachandrasûri on the Anuyôgadv. has likewise only: êtach cha Bhâratâdikaṁ nâṭakâdi-paryaṁtaṁ śrutaṁ lôkaprasiddhigamyam.

35 In the *Pâkshikasûtra* this is introduced by the words namô têsaṁ khamâsamaṇâṇaṁ jêhiṁ imaṁ vâiyaṁ aṁgabâhiraṁ ukkâliyaṁ (or kâliyaṁ) bhagavaṁtaṁ, taṁ jahâ: dasavêyâliyam . . . The *Pâkshikasûtram* is enumerated by Râj. L. M., see above p. 227, as the fourth mûlasûtram after the *Siddhântadharmasâra*. It sings the praises of each part of the Siddhânta (aṅgabâhira and duvâlasaṁga) and contains especially an acknowledgment of belief in the five mahavvayas.

36 The enumeration of the names in S. contains a different grammatical construction, *i. e.* the names are in the genitive.

37 The avachûri gives explanations (occasionally in detail) of at least some of the names. A large number of the names is, however, passed over in silence. [Explanations may however be found at the end of the *Vyavahârabhâshya*, as the corresponding part of the sûtra mentions most of the names.—L.]

38 These numbers represent the arrangement which I have observed here in essential agreement with Bühler's list in the enumeration of the parts of the Siddhânta.

39 The texts which are no longer found as separate texts in the Siddhânta, are printed in italics. On kappiyâk, (cf. kappâkappiam p. 9 n. 24), chullak. and mahâk., see the scholiast's remarks, p. 479 above.

kappasuaṁ 4. *mahâkappasuaṁ*,[40] 5. ôvâiyaṁ[41] 13, 6. râyapasêṇiyaṁ[42] 14, 7. jîvâbhigamô 15, 8. paṇṇavaṇâ 16, 9. *mahâpaṇṇavaṇâ*,[43] 10. *pamâyappamâyaṁ*,[44] [12] 11. naṁdî[45] 41, 12. dêviṁdatthaô[46] 31, 13. aṇuôgadârâiṁ 42, 14. taṁdulavêyâliyaṁ 29, 15. chaṁdâvijjhayaṁ[47] 30, 16. sûrapaṇṇattî[48] 17, 17. *pôrisimaṁḍalaṁ*,[49] 18. *maṁḍalappavêso*,[50] 19. *vijjâcharaṇavinichchhaô*[51] 20. gaṇivijjâ[52] 32, 21. *jhâṇavibhattî*,[53] 22. *maraṇavibhattî*,[54] 23. *âyavisohî*,[55] 24. *vîyarâyasuaṁ*,[56] 25. *saṁlêhaṇâsuaṁ*,[57] 26. *vihârakappô*,[58] 27. *charaṇavihî*,[59] 28. âura[13]pachchakkhâṇaṁ[60] 26, 29. mahâpachchakkhâṇaṁ,[61] 33 êvam-âî.[62] — To the kâliyam the following texts are ascribed: — 30. uttarajjhayaṇâiṁ[63] 43, 31. dasâô 38, 32. kappô 39, 33. vavahârô 37, 34. nisîhaṁ[64] 35, 35. mahânisîhaṁ 36, 36. *isibhâsiyâiṁ*[65], 37. Jaṁvuddîvapaṇṇattî 18, 38. *dîvasâgarapaṇṇattî*[66], 39. chaṁdapaṇṇattî 19, 40. *khuḍḍiyâ vimâṇapavibhattî*[67], 41. *mahalliyâ vimâṇapavibhattî*[67],

[40] Name of the first chhêdasûtra according to Âvaśyaka 8, 55, see pages 446, 479.

[41] So V., uvavâ° P, uvâ° N. Âvi. Svi.; in S before No. 5 we find: pamâyappamâyaṁ; pamây. here is No. 10.

[42] So also P Âvi., a form which suits râjapraśnîyam better than the usual pasêṇaïyyam; Svi. V. have pasêṇaïyassa but with one y; see p. 382.

[43] For explanation of the scholiast on Nos. 8, 9, see p. 392.

[44] In S before No. 5, in P after No. 15; pramâdâpramâdasvarûpabhêdaphalavipâkapratipâdakam adhyayanam (cf. Uttarajjh. Cap. 4), Avach.

[45] The Nandî itself! naṁdîtyâdi sugamam.

[46] °thuî P; in NED. P.S, transposed with No. 13 (°dârâô P).

[47] °vijjiyaṁ P, °vijjayaṁ NED.

[48] Is omitted here in PS and comes after No. 37; sûryacharyâprajnâpanaṁ yasyâṁ graṁthapaddhatau sâ sûryaprajnaptiḥ.

[49] pôrasaṁ P; paurushîmaṁḍalam iti, purushah śaṁkuḥ, purushaśarîraṁ vâ, tasmân niḥpannâpaurushî, sarvasyâ 'pi vastunô yathâ svapramâṇâ chhâyâ jâyatê tadâ paurushî syât, êtach cha paurushîpramâṇaṁ uttarâyaṇasyâ 'ṁtê dakshiṇâyanasyâ "dau cha êkaṁ dinaṁ syât, tataḥ param aṁgulasyâ 'shṭâv êkashashṭibhâgâ (8/61) dakshiṇâyanê vardhaṁtê, uttarâyaṇê cha hrasaṁti, êvaṁ maṁḍalê-maṁḍalê paurushî yatrâ 'dhyayanê varṇyatê tat paurushîmaṁdalaṁ, Avach. Cf. book 9 in up. 5 [and Bhag. 11, 11, L.]

[50] sûryâchaṁdramasôr yatra dakshiṇeshû 'ttareshu cha maṁḍalêshu saṁcharatôr yathâ maṁḍalân maṁḍalê pravêśê(°śo) vyâvarṇyatê san(tan)maṁḍalapravêśah, Avach.; cf. the first book in up. 5.

[51] vijjâ° P S; in P S transposed with No. 20; vidyâ samyag-jnânaṁ charaṇaṁ châritram, êtêshâṁ phalaviniśchaya pratipâdakô graṁthaḥ, Avach. [= Bhag. 20, 9 Leumann.]

[52] See p. 443.

[53] yatrâ "rtadhyânâdînâṁ vibhajanaṁ proktaṁ tat, Avach.; appears in the Vidhiprapâ among the païnnas in the eighth place. See p. 428.

[54] Omitted in Âvi. pr. m., maraṇâni praśastâpraśastarûpâṇi teshâṁ pârthakyêna yatra vibhajanam uktam. Avach.; see p. 428n.

[55] yatrâ (!) "tmanô jîvasyâ "lochanâ-prâyaśchitta-pratipattiprabhṛitikaraṇêna viśuddhir yatra vyâvarṇyatê tat, Avach. In Svi. V maraṇavisôhî in addition follows here.

[56] In P S after No. 25; sarâgavyapôhêna vîtarâgasvarûpaṁ vyâvarṇyatê yatra tat, Avach.

[57] yatra dravyabhâvasaṁlekhanâsvarûpaṁ pratipâdyatê, Avach.; three verses are added in attestation thereof: yathâ, chattâri vichittâiṁ vigaînijjûhiyâi chattâri | saṁvachchharê u dunni u êgaṁtariyaṁ cha âyâmaṁ || 1 || nâivigiṭṭhô atavô chhammâsê parimiaṁ cha âyâmaṁ | annê vi ya chhammâsê hôi vikiṭṭhaṁ tavôkammaṁ || 2 || vâsê kôḍîsahiyaṁ âyâmaṁ kaṭṭu âṇupuvvîê | girikaṁdarammi gaṁtuṁ pâuvagamaṇaṁ aha karêi || 3 || bhâvasaṁ, lekhanâ tu krodhâdipratipakshâbhyâsah (!). [The three verses are taken from the Âchâra-niryukti (287-289).—L.]

[58] vihâraḥ sthavirakalpâdirûpo yatra varṇyatê, Avach.

[59] visôhî P, °vibhattîê Svi.; châritrasya vidhih, Avach.

[60] The scholiast appears to have had before him another text than the usual one. See p. 437.

[61] mahat pratyâkhyânaṁ yatrô 'ktaṁ, Avach.

[62] Instead of êvamâî P has: savvêhiṁ pi êyammi aṁgabâhirê ukkâliê bhagavaṁtê sasuttê sa-atthê saggaṁthê sanijjuttîê sasaṁgahaṇîê jê guṇâ va bhâvâ va . . tê bhâvê saddahâmi . .

[63] êtâny adhyayanâni nigamanaṁ sarveshâm adhyayanânâṁ pradhânatvê 'pi rûḍhyâ 'mûny êvô 'ttarâdhyayanaśabdavâchyatvêna prasiddhâni, Avach.

[64] Without any explanation. See p. 460 for No. 35.

[65] In P S before No. 34; without explanation. See pages 259, 272, 280-81, 402, 429, 432, 442.

[66] In P S No. 16 is inserted here. The order in P is sûrap., chaṁdap., dîvasâg., in S: chaṁdap., sûrap., dîvas.; on dîvasâgarap. see pp. 268, 389, 429.

[67] khuḍḍiyâ and mahalliyâ also in S (*i. e.*, °yâvi°), not °yâê as we should expect; âvalikâpravishṭânâṁ itareshâṁ vâ vimânânâṁ prabhajanaṁ yatrô 'ktaṁ, sâ vimânapravibhaktir dvidhâ, 'lpâksharârthâ "dyâ, dvitîyâ mahâgraṁthârthâ. See the kârikâs above pp 223, 224 in reference to Nos. 40—44, 45—49 as the object of study for the eleventh and twelfth years. In aṅga 3 Nos. 40—49 appear together as forming the saṁkhêviyadasâu, or as the 10 ajjhayaṇas that belong in this connection. See pp. 273, 274.

42. *aṁgachûliâ*[68], 43. *vaṁgachûliyâ*[69], 44. *vivâhachûliyâ*[70], 45. *Aruṇôvavâê*[71], 46. *Garulôvavâê*[72], [14] 47. *Dharaṇovavâe*[73], 48. *Vesamaṇovavâe*[74], 49. *Velaṁdharovavâe*, 50. *deviṁdovavâe*, 51. *uṭṭhâṇasue*[75], 52. *samuṭṭhâṇasue*[76], 53. *nâgapariyâvaliyâo*[77], 54. nirayâvaliyâo[78] 20, 55. kappiyâo[78] 20, 56. kappavaḍiṁsayâo[79] 22, 57. pupphiyâo 21, 58. pupphachûliyâo 23, 59. Vaṇhidasâo 24, evâm-âiyâiṁ[80] chaürâsîi païnnagasayasahassâiṁ bhagavao Vaḍḍhamâṇasâmissa; ahavâ jassa jattiyâ sîsâ uppattiyâe[81] veṇaïyâe kammiyâe pâriṇâmiyâe chaüvvihâe buddhîe *uvaveyâ* tassa tattiyâiṁ painnagasahassâiṁ, pattegabuddhâ vi tattiyâ cheva; se 'taṁ kâliaṁ suaṁ. This is the conclusion in the Berlin MS. of N. Dr. Leumann, [15] however, says that this conclusion contains a large lacuna. We find in the edition of N :[82] êvamâîyâiṁ chaürâsîi païnnagasahassâiṁ bhagavaô [Usahasâmissa âititthagarassa, taha saṁkhijjâiṁ païnnagasahassâiṁ majjhamagâṇam Jiṇavarâṇaṁ, chaüddasa païnnagasahassâim bhagavaô] Vaḍḍhamâṇasâmissa, etc.

From this we may draw the conclusion that the 59 titles[83], according to the opinion of the author of the Nandî, represent merely a portion of the 84,000 païnnas (our MS. has 184,000 in the text !), which belonged to the first tîrthakara Ṛishabhasvâmin and to the 22 Jiṇavaras following him; but that at the time of Vardhamânasvâmin their number was reduced to 14,000. Or according to another view, each of the 24 tîrthakaras had just so many thousand

68 aṁgasyâ "chârâdêś chûlikâ uktânuktârthasaṁgrahâtmikâ gramthapaddhatiḥ; see pp. 255, 274.

69 so MS. P. Âvi., but vagga° Nsd, aṅga 3 (see p. 274), Svi., V. and Avach.: vargô 'dhyayanânâṁ samûho yathâ 'ṁtakṛiddaśâsv ashṭau vargâs (see p. 320), teshâṁ *kalikâ* (chûl° ?).

70 bhagavatîchûlikâ, see pp. 274, 296.

71 Aruṇô nâma dêvas, tadvaktavyatâyâh pratipâdakô graṁthaḥ, parâvartyamânaś cha tadupapâtahêtuh sô 'ruṇôpapâtaḥ; êvam garuḍôpapâtâdayô 'pi vâchyâh; see pp. 224, 274, 316; cf. Aruṇa as name of the dawn or as that of the charioteer of the sun. Up to this point the nominatives end in *o*, from this point on in *e*; so also in P.

72 Garuḍô° P. In P after 47.

73 So also S, but Varu° in P and scholiast on aṅga 3, Vara° in the text there (see p. 274). The king of the Nâgas is probably referred to.

74 In N after No. 49 we find vêsamaṇa = vaiśravaṇa.

75 utthânaśrutam, udvasanahêtukaṁ śrutaṁ, Avach. See page 224, where mention is made of four ajjh., which begin with uṭṭh., and which are the subject of the study of the thirteenth year. In this place, however, we find only Nos. 52—55 devoted to this year; but does No. 50, too, belong in this connection? In Sv. No. 50 stands between 52 and 53.

76 samupasthâpanaśrutaṁ, bhûyas tatrai 'vâ "vâsana(?)hêtukaṁ śrutaṁ; vakâralôpaḥ prâkṛitatvât, Avach.

77 so P, °yâvaṇiyâo MS.; °yâvaliyâṇaṁ Svi. V., °pâriavêlîâṇaṁ Âvi.; nâgakumârâs, têshâṁ parijnâ yatro 'ktâ, Avach.

78 so MS.[2] P, °lîo MS.[1]; °liyâṇaṁ S; No. 54 in the existing Siddhânta is the collective name of up. 8 to 12 and at the same time the specific title of up. 8; No. 55 is there merely another name for No. 54. See p. 418; and p. 420 for the explanation of 54—59. On page 420 we must read °gôcharâ graṁ°.

79 ḍaṁsi P, ḍiṁsi V.

80 Instead of êvâm-âiyâiṁ . . . P has 60 âsîvisabhâvaṇâô, 61 diṭṭhîvisabhâvaṇâô, 62 châraṇasamaṇabhâvaṇâô, 63 mahâsuviṇabhâvaṇâô, 64 têaginisaggâ naṁ savvêhiṁ pi êyammi aṁgabâhirê kâliê bhagavaṁtê . . (as above, p. 13, note [3]). These five names are cited in S. too with the following variations: châraṇabhâvaṇâṇaṁ (omitted in Âvi.), mahâsumiṇagabhâv. (V., also omitted in Âvi.), têyaga(têagga° Âvi.)nisaggâṇaṁ. — These five texts are found in the same order in the kârikâs mentioned in p. 224 as designed for the fourteenth to the eighteenth year of study. Têyanisagga is the special name of the fifteenth book in aṅga 5. See p. 301n.

81 See above p. 8, note [1]; *autpattikî, vainayikî karmasamutthâ pâriṇâmikî.*

82 The Avach. agrees with the account in our MSS.: — êvam âdîni chaturaśîtisaṁkhyâni prakîrṇakasahasrâṇi Ṛishabhasvâminas, tâvatpramâṇânâṁ śramaṇasahasrâṇâṁ sambhavât, prakîrṇakânâṁ cha tadrachitatvât; madhyamatîrthakritâm api saṁkhyêyâni prakîrṇakasahasrâṇi vâchyâni; Vardhamânasvâminaś chaturdaśasahasrâṇi. — anyê punar âhuh: idam Ṛishabhâdînâṁ chaturaśîtisahasrâdikaṁ śramaṇamânaṁ pradhânêsûtrarachanâsâmadhyam (or merely °chanâm?) adhikrityô 'ktaṁ, anyathâ sâmânyaśramaṇâḥ prabhûtatarâ api tadâ Ṛishabhâdikâlê âsîran. — anyê punar êvam âhuḥ: Ṛishabhâdînâṁ jîvatâṁ idaṁ chaturaśîtisahasrâdikam śramaṇamânaṁ, pravâhatah punar êkaikasmin tîrthê bhûyâṁsô 'py âsîran, tatra yê pradhânasûtrarachanâśaktisamanvitâh suprasiddhatatvaṁdhâya (?) tatkâlikâ api tîrthaṁ pravartamânâs tatrâ 'dhikṛitâ(ḥ ; êtad êva darśayann âha: ahavê 'ty-âdi sugamaṁ.

83 Or 60 including maraṇavisôhî (Svi. V. between 23 and 24) and 65 with the addition of the five names in PS.

païnnas, or pratyêkabuddhas[84] [16] as he possessed scholars endowed with the correct fourfold knowledge. Estimating these exaggerated figures at their true value, let us consider the 59 titles.[85] Of the texts now enumerated as parts of the Siddhânta the titles of the four païnnas 25, 27, 28, 34, of the sixth chhêdasûtra 40 and of two of the mûlasûtras, 44 and 46 are omitted. Of these the four païnnas are to be regarded as modern productions and later than the N ; the titles of the sixth chhêdasûtra 40 and of the fourth mûlasûtra 46 are not certain ; and, finally, the title of the fourth mûlasûtra 44, âvaśyaka, has been already mentioned. See on p. 11. The remaining 27 titles of texts of the present Siddhânta not belonging to the aṅgas (13 fg.) are one and all contained in the above list, though in a different order of arrangement and without any statement in reference to the names of their groups. Some, however, belong together as groups — the first four and the last five upâṅgas (Nos. 5—8 and 55—59) and the five chhêdasûtras (Nos. 31—35). Besides these the list contains 32[86] additional names which are not directly represented by texts in the existing Siddhânta. Among these there are five for which corresponding sections in the S. can be shown, thus : — 10 pamâyappamâyam, 17 pôrisimaṁḍalaṁ, 18 maṁḍalappavêsô, 38 dîvasâgarapannatti [, 64 têyaganisagga]. [17] In the Siddhânta there are references to 12 others; thus for 4, 36 (and 38), 40—49 ; 8 others are mentioned elsewhere 9, 21, 51, [60—64] ; and finally there is a whole list of titles (12 or 13), which cannot be attested from any source whatsoever, thus 2, 3, 19, 22, 23, 24 (a. b., including maraṇavisôhî — 27, 50, 52, 53). It is of special interest that we find statements concerning a whole series of texts held to belong to the kâliaṁ suam in old kârikâ verses. The source of these statements is not further attested. These texts were a special object of riper study at the time of the composition of these verses. Of Nos. 40—49, 51 (50—53 ?), 60—64 it is said that they were designed for the eleventh to the eighteenth year of study : 40—44 for the eleventh, 45—49 for the twelfth, 51 (50—53 ?) for the thirteenth, 60—64 for the fourteenth to the eighteenth year; the nineteenth year forming the conclusion with the study of the diṭṭhivâda. Cf. my remarks on pp. 225, 344, 345.

This list at least opens up to us a wide perspective for the literature existing at the time of the composition of N. It is certainly very remarkable that N is itself cited in this list (as No. 11). Is this the only work of the author inserted by him in the list ? Or did he avail himself of this capital opportunity to procure a resting place for other of his productions ? If in reality Dêvarddhigaṇi, the nominal redactor of the Siddhânta, is to be regarded as the author of N, then the discrepancy between this list and the existing Siddh., is especially remarkable. [18] Did all these differences arise after his time ? And is the division into the groups uvaṁga, païnna, etc., or the names uvaṁga, païnna themselves, etc., to be ascribed to a period subsequent to his ? In the case of the païnna this is evidently very probable.

Next follows the **aṅgapaviṭṭham** 13, the thirteenth group of the suaṇâṇaparokkham, which strictly belongs before the anaṅgapaviṭṭham. It is called duvâlasaviham and then the 12 aṅgas, âyârô to diṭṭhivâô (aṅga 5 as vivâhapannattî) are enumerated in order. This in turn is followed by the detailed statement of contents and extent of the 12 aṅgas, which (see p. 284 ff.) recurs in identical form but in greater detail in aṅga 4. This entire statement has been given on p. 257. We have already seen (pp. 284 ff. 349, 352, 361, 363, and 3) that its appearance in aṅga 4 was secondary, and that here we frequently meet with the older readings. When in the insertions in the aṅgas made by the redactor (even in aṅga 4) any reference is paid to his enumeration,

[84] pratyêkabuddhâ api tâvaṁta êva syuh ; — atrai 'kê vyâchakshatê : êkaikasyâ 'pi tîrthakṛitas tîrthê parimâṇâni prakîrṇakâni, tatkâriṇâm aparimâṇatvât ; kêvalaṁ pratyêkabuddharachitâny êva prakîrṇakâni drashtavyâni tatparimâṇêna pratyêkabuddhaparimâṇasya pratipâdanât. This explanation of *êkê* is designed to effect a perfectly comprehensible limitation, but cannot be brought in agreement with the context. The title pratyêkabuddha is of great interest. It occurs also in the aṅgas, see pp. 265, 334. Similar statements to the above are found in the scholiast on the first païnna. See p. 435. In the Vichârâmritasaṁgraha is quoted the following interesting citation from the pîṭha of a kalpabhâshya : suttaṁ gaṇahararaïyam tahêva pattêyabuddharaïyam cha | suyakêvaliṇâ raïyaṁ abhinna dasapuvviṇâ raïyaṁ ||

[85] Or 60 and 65, see p. 15, note [2].

[86] Or 33 and 38.

the citation is from the Nandî and not from aṅga 4. The Nandî and not aṅga 4 is therefore indisputably the source whence these citations are drawn. But whether or no the account here is really to be regarded as the source whence came the account in aṅga 4, appears to me to be still *in dubiis.* This assumption is rendered improbable by the fact there are very great differences in these accounts, not to mention that that of aṅga 4 is much more detailed. If, however, we regard the account in the N. as the source, then that in aṅga 4 is secondary and enlarged after it had effected a lodgment in that aṅga. [19] But on the other hand it is a perfectly legitimate conclusion that the account in N. and in aṅga 4 were drawn from a common source now no longer extant. Finally, it must be stated that the entire section in N. almost gives me the impression of being a secondary insertion. The fact that it too contains the most wonderful statements, called into existence by the effort of pure fancy (cf. especially the statements concerning aṅga 6 and aṅga 12), cannot readily be reconciled with that tradition which regards the Nandî as the work of Dêvarddhigaṇi, the nominal redactor of the whole Siddhânta. Dêvarddhigaṇi would have expressed himself in a more sober, definite way, and would not have given rein to such monstrous figments of the imagination. We must not, however, suppress the fact that the Pâkshikasûtram takes no notice of this detailed statement of contents and extent[87] of the 12 aṅgas, but limits itself merely to the enumeration of the twelve names.[88]

Then, too, the general observations in reference to the duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipidagaṁ, which are joined on to the account of each of the twelve aṅgas, are found here in just the same form as in aṅga 4; cf. pp. 368, 369. The five kârikâs form the conclusion. They contain statements in reference to the correct [20] attainment of the suanâṇam; the last one reads: suttatthô khalu paḍhamô, bîô nijjutti(!)-mîsiô bhaṇiô | taïôu niravasêsô, êsa vihî hôi aṇuôê || 5 || According to Leumann, the reference in Bhag. 25, 3 cites this verse as the conclusion of this entire account (*jâva* suttatthô . . . aṇuôê). The nijjutti is also mentioned.

Next follow some statements which are not noticed by the author of the avachûri, from which we may conclude that they were inserted at a later period, though they may in reality be of great age. They comprise a section in prose in reference to the aṇunnâ, anujnâ, and a renewed repetition of the titles of the 12 aṅgas and a reference to Usabhasêṇa, as the original source of the aṇunnâ. See p. 15.

The **commentary**, which I have before me (avachûri), the work of an anonymous author, is very short. The Calcutta edition contains the commentary of Malayagiri, according to Leumann. We have already seen that a *Nandivṛitti* is frequently cited — see pp. 353, 354 (Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha), 360 (Abhayadêva), — the citations from it being partly in Prâkṛit (gâthâ), partly in Saṇskṛit. In the scholium on the *Gaṇadharasârdhaśata* (see pp. 371, 458) Sarvarâjagaṇi ascribes a nandivṛitti to the old Haribhadra, who is said to have died 75 years after Dêvarddhigaṇi. The author of the *Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha* appears to ascribe such a nandivṛitti to Umâsvâmivâchaka who was about 50 years older (see pp. 371, 372). He says (fol. 3[a] of the Berlin MS.) tathâ châ "ha bhagavân Umâsvâmivâchakaḥ: samyagdarśanajnâna-châritrâṇi mokshamârga iti Naṁdivṛittau, vâchakaśabdaś cha pûrvagataśrutadharê rûḍhô, yathâ: pûrvagataṁ sûtram anyach cha vinêyân vâchayaṁtî 'ti vâchakâḥ, Naṁdivṛittau: [21] vâdî ya . . (see p. 353[n]). Such statements as these in reference to commentaries of so great an age are of great importance as regards the age of the Nandî.

XLII. The **Anuyôgadvârasûtram** is an encyclopædic review of everything worth knowing,[89] composed in anuôgas, questions and answers. It is composed in prose though there is

[87] I call attention here to the mention of the name Bhaddabâhu on aṅga 12, pp. 360, 367. It is noteworthy that he appears in the same gradation (though last in order) as the names Dasâra, Baladêva, Vâsudêva, Harivaṅsa, and consequently as a mythological personage.

[88] This is introduced in just the same manner as the previous one. See pp.10, 13: — namô têsiṁ khamâsamaṇâṇaṁ jêhiṁ imaṁ vâiyaṁ duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagaṁ, taṁ jahâ . ., and concludes in the same way: savvêhiṁ pi êyammi duvâlasaṁgê gaṇipiḍagê bhagavaṁtê sasuttê . . .

[89] An account of the method of defining and explaining the *Sastras*, Kash.

a frequent admixture of gâthâs. There are no subdivisions though a systemic arrangement prevails throughout.

As in the Nandî, the nâṇam is especially treated of here. The text commences forthwith with an enumeration of the same five forms of the nâṇa, which we find also in N. âbhinibôhiya°, suya°, ôhi°, maṇapayyava°, kêvala°. The second form, the suyanâṇam, śrutajnânam, is the one *par excellence* which is discussed further on in the Anuy. The subdivisions of the suyan. are indicated by means of the same names which we find in N, though the gradations are somewhat different; see p. 11. It is divided into aṁgapaviṭṭham and into aṁgabâhiram,[90] the latter into kâliyam and ukkâliyam; the latter of which again into âvassayam and âvassayavaïrittam.

Here in the An., the âvassayam alone is discussed. The author states that he desires to explain his work according to the following four points of view, though the real reason for this statement is not clear: âvassayam nikkhivissâmi, suaṁ (śrutaṁ) ni°, khaṁdhaṁ ni° ajjhayaṇaṁ ni°. After a kârikâ inserted here the author proceeds to a discussion of the âvassayam *per se*, [22] which is chaüvvihaṁ, viz.: — nâmâ°, ṭhavaṇâ°, davvâ°, bhâvâ°, respectively, the latter two being distinguished from the others as âgamaô and nô-âgamaô. At the end the synonyms (êgaṭṭhiyâ nâṇâghôsâ nâṇâvaṁjaṇâ nâmadhiyyâ) are stated as follows: — âvassayaṁ, avassakaraṇiyya, dhuvaniggahô, visôhî ya | ajjhayaṇachhakkavaggô nâô ârâhaṇâ maggô || samaṇêṇa sâvaêṇa ya avassakâyavvayaṁ havaï jamhâ | aṁtô ahô-nisassa ya tamhâ âvassayaṁ nâma ||[91] This designation as ajjhayaṇachhakkavagga points unequivocally to a definite text, divided into 6 adhyayanas. By the 6 adhyayanas we may understand the six kinds of âvassayam enumerated in the Nandî, above p. 11, and occurring below (see pp. 23, 24). These names as well as all the other synonyms of âvassaya belong to the domain of ethical, ritualistic or disciplinary matters. Our text, however, touches upon these subjects only occasionally.

Next to the enumeration of the synonyms of the âvassayam come the **suyam and the khaṁdha**, two of the four sections. To these we find that the same groups and sub-groups are ascribed as to the âvassayam; and an enumeration of the synonyms of each forms the conclusion. The verse containing the synonyms of the suyam is as follows: — [23] sua-sutta-gaṁtha-siddhaṁta-sâsaṇê âṇâ vayaṇa uvaêsê | pannavaṇa âgamê a êgaṭṭhâ payyavâ suttê[92] ||, that containing the synonyms of khaṁdha: — gaṇakâê a nikâê khaṁdhê vaggê tahêva râsî a | puṁjê piṁḍê niarê saṁghâê âula samûhê || The first names for "sacred text" refer then to the contents, the second to the extent. In one subdivision of khaṁdha, the nô-âgamaô bhâvakhaṁdhê, the following explanation is found (sê kiṁ taṁ nô-â°): — êêsiṁ[93] chêva sâmâiya-m-âiyâṇaṁ chhaṇham ajjhayaṇâṇaṁ samudâyas mitisamâgamêṇaṁ âvassayasuabhâvakhaṁdhê labbhatê, sê taṁ nô-âgamaô bhâvakhaṁdhê. By this is meant in all probability the connection of the totality of all the above cited six adhyayanas of the âvaśyaka, sâmâyika, etc.

The last of these four sections designed to explain the âvassayam, refers *ex professo* to the ajjhayaṇam, and begins with an enumeration of these six ajjhayaṇas. A kârikâ is first introduced,[94]

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[90] There is unfortunately no enume ration of the aṅgabâhira texts in An.

[91] = Viśesh. I, 871 f. I call attention to the following from the scholiast: — sâmâyikâdi-shaḍadhyayanakalâpâtmakatvâd adhyayanashaḍvargaḥ; tathâ abhiprêtârthasiddhaḥ samyag-upâyatvân nyâyô, mokshârâdhanâhêtutvâd ârâdhanâ, tathâ mokshapuraprâpakatvâd êva mârgah; — ahôrâtrasya madhyê.

[92] Between âṇa, âjnâ and vayaṇa one MS. has utti which, however, throws the metre out of order; uktir vachanaṁ vâgyôgaḥ scholiast; instead of suttê, sûtravishayê, we expect suê, śrutê, which, however, does not suit the metre.

[93] sâmâdiamâdîṇaṁ (!) A; eshâm êva prastutâvaśyakabhêdânâṁ sâmâyikâdînâṁ shaṇṇâm adhyayanânâṁ samudâyaḥ, samudâyasya samiti(r) nairaṁtaryêṇa, milanâ, . . samâgamas, têna nishpannô ya âvaśyakaśrutaskaṁdhaḥ sa bhâvaskaṁdha iti labhyatê.

[94] âvassayassa ṇaṁ imê atthâhigârâ bhavaṁti, taṁ: sâvajjajôgaviratî ukkittaṇâ guṇavatô a paḍivattî | khaliassa niṁdaṇâ vaṇa-tigichchhâ guṇadhâraṇâ chêva || âvassayassa êsô piṁḍatthô vanniô samâsêṇaṁ | ettô ekkekkaṁ puṇa ajjhayaṇaṁ kittaïssâmi || taṁ: sâmâiaṁ, chaüvisathaô, vaṁdaṇayaṁ, padikkamaṇaṁ, kâussaggaṁ pachchakkhâṇaṁ; tattha paḍhamajjhayaṇaṁ sâmâiaṁ, tassa ṇaṁ imê chattâri aṇuôgadârâ, taṁ: uvakkamê, nikkhêvê, aṇugamê, nayê.

which may have found its way from here to païnna 1 [24] — (see p. 133n), —, though both places may have drawn this verse from a common source. This verse states in brief compass the contents of each of the six ajjh. Then follow again the six names as in the Nandî. Next the first one, the sâmâiam, is designated expressly as the one which is treated of in the An. To it are allotted four aṇuôgadârâs, sections for questions related to the subject-matter. These sections are uvakkamê, nikkhêvê, aṇugamê, nayê, and under this division the rest of the text is divided, the uvakkamê taking the lion's share. In a MS. which I have before me, ms. or. fol. 762, = A, which contains 56 foll., the uvak. embraces foll. 5ᵃ to 53ᵇ. That which preceded was on foll. 1ᵇ to 5ᵃ; nikkhêva is on three leaves, to 56ᵇ; anugamê is despatched in ten lines on 56ᵇ and naê in six.

On p. 22 I called attention to the lack of harmony between the names of the six âvaśyaka groups and the actual contents of our text which purports to discuss them. This lack of harmony, which is increased by the table of contents adduced for each one in particular, is so great, that I have in vain attempted a solution of the mystery as to how our text can have the face to assert that it discusses the first of these, the sâmâiyam, or the sâvajjajôgavirati.[95] A genuine discussion is hardly touched upon, the real subject-matter being special topics pertaining to [25] matters of dogma and speculation, or to general matters of cosmological, anthropological, linguistic or literary interest.

Aside from this lack of harmony, another fact is in itself likely to excite the hostility of surprise: the word sâmâiya is used as the title of the first âvaśyaka, but in reference to the aṅgas we had learned to employ it in quite a different signification, viz.: — as the title of aṅga 1, whose contents it is true, might be characterized as sâvajjajôgavirati. The double use of one and the same word to designate two different *termini technici* is truly a matter to be wondered at. See 243 fg., 342 fg.

The contents of the sections uvakkama, etc., is very varied and in part extremely interesting; and the form, in which it is encased so to speak, is highly remarkable. The statements are heterogeneously arranged, and the connecting thread being purely external, there is no logical consecution. Everything is divided according to the fashion prevailing in the Siddhânta, into groups, species, sub-species, etc. The uvakkama e. g. is divided into âṇupuvvî (in A on fol. 5ᵃ to 15)ᵇ, nâmaṁ (to 27ᵃ), pamâṇam (to 51ᵇ), vattavvayâ (to 52ᵃ), atthâhigâra (ib.), samavayâra (to 53ᵇ). And the âṇupuvvî is in turn divided into nâmâṇupuvvî, ṭhavaṇâ°, davvâ°, khettâ°, kâlâ°, ukkittaṇâ°, gaṇaṇâ°, saṁṭhâṇâ°, sâmâyârî-â°, bhâvâṇupuvvî.

Without paying any greater attention to the stereotyped expressions of the text [26] than is necessary to mark the different passages where the statement in question occurs, I give here, according to the arrangement of the text, some of the most important data contained in it and at the end, a *resumé* of the results of interest for the history of literature. It may be prefaced that the nom. sing. masc. I decl. ends now in *o*, now in *e*, and that in the verses, the nominative and case forms in general are frequently represented by the theme. In the case of feminine nouns thematic â î û are shortened.

A species of davvâvassayam (A 2ᵇ) is divided into lôiyam, kuppâvayaṇiyaṁ and lôuttariyaṁ. The first is referred to the usages of the *proceres*, who appear in the usual enumeration that we have met with in the aṅgas: jê imê râî-''sara-talavara-kôḍaṁbiya[96]-mâḍaṁbiya-ibha-seṭṭhi-sêṇâvaï-satthavâhapabhiiô.[97] The kuppâvayaṇiyaṁ describes in the following enumeration

[95] In the atthâhigâra section of the uvakkama in one MS.! the contents of all the six ajjhayaṇas is seemingly ascribed to the sâmâiyam alone. The actual facts of the case are different, see p. 37n.

[96] On talavara, see p. 38 fg. 313; kôḍaṁbiya from kuṭaṁba, the older form of kuṭuṁba, see *Ind. Streifen* 1, 284. Pañchadaṇḍachh. p. 41; yasya pârśvata âsannam aparaṁ grâmanagarâdikaṁ nâ 'sti tat sarvataśchhinnajanâśraya-viśesharûpaṁ maḍaṁbam uchyatê tasyâ 'dhipatir mâḍaṁbikaḥ.

[97] . . muhadhôyaṇa-daṁtapakkhâlaṇa-tella-phaṇiha-siddhatthaya-hariyâliya-addâga-dhûva-puppha-mallagaṁ-dhataṁbôlavattha-m-âiyâiṁ davvâvassayâiṁ kareṁti taô pachchha râyakulaṁ vâ dêvakulaṁ vâ sabham vâ pavaṁ (prapâm?) vâ ârâmaṁ vâ uyyâṇaṁ vâ niggachhaṁti.

the character of those sects which do not share the Jaina belief: — jê imê[98] charaga-chîriya-chammakhaṁḍiya-bhichchhaṁḍaga-paṁḍuraṁga-Gôyama-govvaïya-gihidhamma-dhammachiṁ-[27]taga-aviruddha-viruddha-vuḍḍhasâvagapabhiyaô pâsaṁḍatthâ, and states that these: Iṁdassa vâ Khaṁdassa vâ Ruddassa vâ Sivassa vâ Vêsamaṇassa vâ dêvassa vâ nâgassa vâ jakkhassa vâ bhûyassa vâ Muguṁdassa vâ Ayyâê vâ Koṭṭakiriyâê vâ[99] uvalêvaṇa-sammayyaṇâ-"varisaṇa-dhûvapupphagaṁdhamallâiyâiṁ davvâvassayâiṁ karêṁtî. The lôguttariam finally is referred to the merely external Jaina-yôgin: jê imê samaṇaguṇamukka-jôgî chakkâyaniraṇukaṁpâ hayâ iva uddâmâ gayâ iva niraṁkusâ ghaṭṭhâ maṭṭhâ tuppoṭṭhâ[100] paṁḍurapaḍapâuraṇâ[1] jiṇâṇaṁ aṇâṇâê(anâjnayâ) sachchhaṇdaṁ vihariûṇaṁ ubhayô-kâlam âvassagassa uvaṭṭhaṁti.

[28] In the **bhâvâvassayaṁ** (intellectual exercise) we read in the passage attributing a similar division to the lôiyam: puvvaṇhê Bhâraham, avaraṇhê Râmâyaṇaṁ;[2] and as regards the kuppâvayaṇiyam, it is said of the same sects as above (charagachîriya°) *i. e.* that they ijja-'ṁjali hôma-japa-uṁdurukka-namukkâra-m-âiyâiṁ bhâvâvassayâiṁ karemti.[3] The davvasuyam is characterized[4] as pattaya-potthayalihiyaṁ and as aṁḍayaṁ, voṁḍayaṁ, kîḍayaṁ, vâlayaṁ, vakkayaṁ.

The works of the Brahminical literature cited by me *ad* Bhag. 2, 248 are quoted in the case of the lôiyaṁ nô-âgamaô bhâvasuyam (see above, p. 9), where the same list is adduced from the Nandî, though in somewhat greater detail.

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[98] dhâti(?)vâhakâh saṁtô yê bhikshâṁ charaṁti tê charakâḥ; rathyâpatitachiraparidhânâś chîrikâḥ; charmaparidhânâś charmakhaṇḍikâh; yê bhikshâm êva bhuṁjatê na tu svaparigrihîtaṁ gôdugdhâdikaṁ tê bhikshâtâḥ, Sugataśâsanasthâ ity anyê; pâṁḍurâṁgâ bhasmoddhûlitagâtrâh; vichitrapâdapatanâdiśikshâkalâpayuktavarâtakamûlikâdicharchitavrishabhakôpâyatah (?) kaṇabhikshâgrâhiṇô Gautamâ(ḥ; cf. Kaṇabhuj, Kaṇâda!); gocharyânukâriṇô gôvratikâh, tê hi "vayam api kila tiryakshu vasâma" iti bhâvanâṁ bhâvayaṁtô gobhir nirgachhaṁtîbhiḥ saha nirgachhaṁti sthitâbhis tishthaṁti âsînâbhir upaviśaṁti bhuṁjânâbhis tathai 'va triṇapattrpaushpaphalâdi bhuṁjatê, tad uktaṁ: gâvîhi samaṁ niggamapavêsathâṇâsaṇâi pakariṁti | bhuṁjaṁti jahâ gâvî tirichhavâsaṁ vibhâvaṁtâ ||; grihasthadharma êva śrêyân iti . . grihidharmâs, tathâ cha tadanusâriṇaṁ vachaḥ: grihâśramasamô dharmô na bhûtô na bhavishyati | taṁ pâlayaṁti yê dhîrâh, klîvâh pâshaṁḍam âśritâ iti |||; Yâjnavalkyaprabhṛitirishipraṇîtadharmasaṁhitâś chiṁtayaṁti . . dharmachiṁtakâh; dêvatâ-kshitîśa-mâtâpitṛi-tiryagâdînâm avirodhena vinayakâritvâd aviruddhâ vainayikâḥ; puṇyapâpaparalôkâdyanabhyupagama-parâ akriyâvâdinô viruddhâ(h), sarvapâshaṁḍibhiḥ saha viruddhachâritvât; prathamam êvâ "dyatîrthakarakâlê samutpannatvât, prâyo vriddhakâlê dîkshâpratipattêś cha vriddhâs tâpasâḥ; śrâvakâh brâhmaṇâḥ . .; anyê tu vṛiddhaśrâvaka ity êkam êva padam vrâhmaṇavâchakatvêna vyâchakshatê (Buddha is therefore not referred to here! (see Bhag. 2, 214); and AC[2] R read vuḍḍha, BC[1] alone having vuddha); pâshaṁḍaṁ vrataṁ, tatra tishthaṁti 'ti pâshaṁḍasthâḥ; — on Gôyama fg. see Aupap. § 73. See chap. 15 in Varâhamihira's Bṛihajjâtaka (pravrajyâyôgâdhyâya), or Laghujât. 9, 12), *Ind. Stud.* 2, 287, where also vriddhaśrâvaka.

[99] Mukuṁdô Baladêvah; Âryâ praśâṁtarûpâ Durgâ; sai 'va mahishârûḍhâ tatkuṭṭanaparâ Koṭṭakriyâ; atrô 'pachârâd iṁdrâdiśabdêna tad-âyatanam apy uchyatê; the same arrangement of the gods, except Mukunda, occurs also in the Bhagavatî 3, 1, 66; see my treatise 2, 113. 1, 439.

[100] See p. 161 on Hâla 459 Bhuv.

[1] According to all appearance this speaks against the connection of the text with the Śvêtâṁbaras and refers it to the Digaṁbaras [cf. Bhag. 2, 187n. 321, where I have partially misunderstood the passage].

[2] See Bhag. 2, 248n, my treatise on the Râmây. p. 34; lôkê hi Bharata-Râmâyaṇayôr vâchanaṁ śravaṇaṁ vâ pûrvâparâhṇayôr êva rûḍhaṁ.

[3] ijyâ yâgah, athavâ dêśîbhâshâyâṁ ijjê 'ti (ishṭêti B) mâtâ (!), tasyâ namaskâravidhau . .; uṁdurukka tti dêśîvachanata uṁdu mukhaṁ, rukkaṁ vṛishabhâdiśabdakaraṇaṁ, dêvatâdipuratô vṛishabhagarjitâdikaraṇaṁ. — B has also iṭṭhaṁjali in the text; this is manifestly caused by a misunderstanding of the ligatures sht, shv and jj. See Vol XVI. Ind. Stud. 2n; ijja, mâtâ is to be referred either to root yaj or to âryâ.

[4] pat(t)rakâṇi talatâlyâdisaṁbaṁdhîni, tatsaṁghâtanishpannâs tu pustakâs, tataś cha patrakâni cha pustakâś cha, teshu likhitam; athavâ pôtaṁ vastraṁ (see *I. S.* Vol. 16, p. 155) pa(t)trakâṇi cha teshu likhitaṁ; — aṁḍayam haṁsagabbhâdi; haṁsaḥ pataṁgah, garbhas tu tannivartitakôśikârô . . tadutpannaṁ sûtram aṁḍajam uchyatê: âdiśabdah svabhêdaprakhyâpanaparah; — voṁḍayaṁ (bo° R, po° A) karpâsa-m-âdi, *Ind. Stud.* XVI. 111; vôṁḍaṁ vamanîphalaṁ tasmâj jâtaṁ voṁḍajaṁ; phalahî vamanî, tasyâḥ phalaṁ phalahaṁ karpâsâśrayakôśakarûpaṁ; — kîṭâj jâtaṁ kîṭajaṁ sûtraṁ; is fivefold: paṭṭê paṭṭasûtram (detailed citation from the vṛiddhavyâkhyâ), Malaê Malayavishayotpannaṁ, aṁsuê, Chîṇaṁsuê Chînavishayê, kimirâgê; — lômabhyô jâtaṁ vâlajaṁ; is fivefold: unniê aurṇikaṁ, uṭṭhiê aushtrikaṁ, miyalômaê, kutavê (kô°) uṁdururômanishpannaṁ, kittisê ûrṇâdînâṁ yad uddharitaṁ; — vakkayaṁ (vâgayam A) saṇa-m-âdi valkajaṁ, tatrâ 'tasîsûtraṁ Mâlavakâdiprasiddham. There is no direct statement in reference to the relations of these stuffs, consisting of down, cotton, silk (from Malaya and China), hair (wool, skin), plants (hemp, flax) to the śrutam. Their use as paper, etc. for MSS. is doubtless here referred to as in the case of pattaya°.

[29] In the enumeration of the names from âyâra to diṭṭhivâa (aṅga 5 as vivâhapannatti) the duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagam takes the place of the lôuttariyam, etc.

In the case of the **khettâṇupuvvî**, the groups of the ahôlôê (Rayaṇappabhâ to Tamatamappabhâ), tiriyalôê (Jaṁbuddîvê to Sayaṁbhuramaṇê), uḍḍhalôê (Sôhammê to Îsîpabhârâ) are enumerated, and in the case of the kâlâṇu°, the gradations of the divisions of time from samâê to savvaddhâ. As we learn from a second discussion of the subject in a passage later on (see pp. 34, 37), we have to deal here with a progression by 84's and not by 10's. Cf. Bhagav. 1, 427, above, pp. 268, 411, 412. In the case of the ukkittaṇâṇu° we find an enumeration of the 24 Jinas.

Under **nâmaṁ** we find all manner of linguistic, grammatical and other statements. Immediate dependence upon Sanskṛit literature is here very clear; thus *e. g.* as examples of monosyllables are cited the following four — hrîḥ śrîḥ dhîḥ strî (*sic*) in the Sanskṛit form, manifestly because they (cf. Piṅgala's chhandas 1, 12 *Ind. Stud.* VIII, 217, 218) are used in Sanskṛit grammar as customary (mûrdhâbhishikta) examples. The same fondness for Sanskṛit may be observed in the metrical rules concerning gender, statements in reference to the finals of nouns, (â, î, û, o and aṁ, iṁ, uṁ), saṁdhi (âgama, lova, pagadi *i. e.* prâkṛiti, and vikâra) and the five classes of words. For some of the names of these classes (*e. g.* nâmikam, naipâtikam, âkhyâtikaṁ aupasargikam, miśram) and the examples[5] of others, the Sanskṛit is used. The sacred author makes, ludicrously enough, [30] a wilful error of a slight character. He cites, besides, other examples of saṁdhi; vadhû ûhatê vadhûhatê, but Sanskṛit has no nominative or rather no form vadhû. The nomin. is vadhûs.

In mentioning a subspecies of **chhanâmê (shaṇ°)** the twelve aṁgas are again enumerated in detail (aṅga 5 again as vivâhapannatti), and the navapuvvadhara *jâva* choddasapuvvadhara mentioned (see Bhag. 2, 318). Under the head of all manner of aërial and heavenly phenomena the eclipses of the moon and sun are referred to.[6]

Under the head of **sattanâmê** we find a very thoroughgoing account of the seven svara's[7] interwoven with all sorts of gâthâs; under aṭṭhanâmê a similar account of the eight cases (vibhatti), under navanâmê of the nine poetical (kavva-)rasas. Each of the latter is illustrated by a corresponding gâthâ. See *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 154-58.

The following countries are enumerated under the head of a subspecies of dasanâmê, the khettasaṁjôga: — Mâgahaê, Malavaê, Sôraṭṭhaê Marahaṭṭhaê, Kuṁkaṇaê, Kôsalaê. If the first two of these names recall [31] the pre-eminent position occupied by Magadha and Mâlava at one time in India — see *Ind. Streifen* 1, 309, 344, — the two following names[8] refer *par excellence* to Jainism. That the list is limited to these six names, whereas in aṅga 5 it embraced 16 and 25½ in upâṅga 4, is a feature of significance which is probably based upon genuine knowledge of the facts. The list in aṅga 5 and in upâṅga 4 has no securer a foundation than that of a stereotyped literary tradition.

In another of these subdivisions, the **ṭhavaṇâpamâṇê**, which contains a discussion of the seven kinds of formation of names, we find an enumeration of the 28 nakkhattas, still begin-

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[5] Thus saṁdhi: âgamêṇaṁ . . padmâni payâṁsi, lôvêṇaṁ . . tê atra tê 'tra, patô atra paṭô 'tra, payatîê . . agnî êtau, patû imau, śâlê êtê, mâlê imê, vikârêṇaṁ . . daṁdasya agraṁ daṁdâgraṁ, sâ âgatâ sâgatâ, dadhi idhaṁ dadhîdaṁ, nadî îhatê nadîhatê, madhu udakaṁ madhûdakaṁ, vadhû (!) ûhatê vadhûhatê — then, after mentioning the five classes of words, the examples to illustrate them are given in Sanskṛit: — aśva iti nâmikaṁ, khalv iti naip., dhâvatî 'ty âkhy., parî 'ty aup., saṁyata iti miśraṁ.

[6] abbhâ ya abbharukkhâ saṁjhâ gaṁdhavvanagarâ ya ukkâ vâyâ disâdâghâ vijjû gajjiaṁ nigghâya jùvâ, jakkhâlittâ (yakshâdîptakâni, nabhodṛiśyamânâgnipiśâchâḥ) dhûmiâ mahiâ (dhûmikâh mahikâḥ) raügghâyâ (raja-udghâtâḥ, rajasvalâ diśaḥ) chaṁdôvarâgâ sûrôvarâgâ chaṁdaparivêsâ sûrapa° paḍichaṁdayâ paḍisûrayâ, iṁda-dhaṇû, udagamachhâ (°matsyâḥ, indradhanuḥkhaṁḍâni) kavihasiâ (kapihasitâny akasmân nabhasi jvaladbhîma-śabdarûpâṇi) amôhâ (amoghâḥ sûryabiṁbâd adhah kadâchid upalabhyamânaśakatoddhisaṁsthitaśyâmâdirekhâh) vâsâ . . . The same enumeration is found also Bhagav. Ed. p. 224 and in aṅga 3, 10, according to Leumann.

[7] See my treatise on the *Pratijnâsûtram*, pp. 109, 110.

[8] On Sôraṭṭhâê cf. Kalpas. Therâv. 9.

ing with kṛittikâ, though with their secondary titles (pussa, jeṭṭhâ, mûla, savaṇa, dhaṇiṭṭhâ, bhaddavayâ). Cf. *Ind. Stud.* X 285, 16, 268, 415. The patronymic formation of eight different names, one for each born under a definite nakshatra, is here specially treated of and also the names in: diṇṇa, dhamma, samma, (śarman), dêva, dâsa, sêna, rakkhia,[9] thus, *e. g.*, kattia, kattidinna (kitti°), kattidhamma, kattisamma etc. Furthermore the patronymics from the names of each of their 28 divinities;[10] thus aggiê, aggidinnê, aggidhammê etc. All this proves *eo ipso* that this kind of names was very popular at the date of the composition of the text itself, or rather at the date of its sources.

This is for the latter a [32] factor of synchronistical importance (see p. 40) since these nâkshatra names appear to have been exceedingly popular at the period of the gṛihyasûtra, and even of Pâṇini. See my treatise on the nâkshatra 2, 317 fg. As examples of patronymic kula-names Ikkhâgê (Aikshvâka), Nâyê (the kulam of Mahâvîra) and Kôravvê are cited. The following appear as pâsaṇḍa in the same connection: — samaṇê paṁḍ*a*raṁgê, bhikkû kâvâliê, tâvasê and parivvâyâê, s. Bhag. 2, 213n. The scholiast explains bhikkhû by Buddhadarśanâśritaḥ and on the other hand asserts that there is a five-fold division of samaṇa: niggaṁtha-Sakka ('Sâkya)-tâvasa-gêruya âjîvâ with which Abhayadêva too is acquainted (see p. 281n). He connects the pâṁḍ*u*râṁga with the naiyâyika. (But cf. above, p. 26.)

Under the head of **bhâvapamâṇa**, as a species of pamâṇanâma, the composition of words is first treated of. There are seven forms of this, the examples of the first form being given (see pp. 29, 30) in Sanskṛit, *viz.*: — 1. daṁda, examples: daṁtâś cha oshṭhaṁ cha daṁtoshṭhau, stanau cha udaraṁ cha stanôdaram, .. vastrapâtraṁ, .. aśvamahishau, .. ahinakulaṁ, 2. bahuvvîhi, 3. kammadhâraya, 4. digu, 5. tappurisa, 6. avvayîbhâva, and — 7. êkasêsa, the plural as a collection of several units (there is no dual). The eight-fold taddhitas follow the compounds:— kammaṁ 1 sippa 2 silôê 3 saṁjôya 4 samîvaô 5 a saṁjûhê 6 | issariâ 7 'vachchêṇa 8 ya taddhitanâmaṁ tu aṭṭhavihaṁ ||

It is peculiar that among these examples there are almost as many of pri*m*ary as of secondary formation and in fact [33] even compounds.[11] The commentary explains this peculiarity, which is to be ascribed to actual ignorance (cf. the wilful blunder, p. 30) as follows: — iha taddhitaśabdêna taddhitaprâptihêtubhûtô 'rthô gṛihyatê, tatô yatrâ 'pi tunnâê taṁtuvâê ity-âdau taddhitapratyayô na dṛiśyatê tatrâ 'pi taddhêtubhûtârthasya vidyamânatvât taddhitajatvaṁ (perhaps merely taddhitatvaṁ) siddhaṁ bhavati.

It is especially interesting that here saṁjûha, saṁyûtha are explained by the scholiast as graṁtharachanâ, so that the examples cited in the text are to be regarded as titles of literary compositions:— Taraṁgavatî, Malayavatî, Sattâuusaṭṭhi (attâ°) and Biṁdu are such names! dhâtuê is said by the text to be the third group of bhâvapamâṇa. It is explained in Sanskṛit in the following most singular fashion:— bhû sattâyâṁ parasmaibhâshâ, edha vṛiddhau, spardha saṁharshê, gâdhṛi pratishthâlipsayôr graṁthê cha, bâdhṛi lôḍanê, sê'ttaṁ dhâtuê. This is nothing more than the beginning of Pâṇini's dhâtupâṭha; see Westergaard Radices, p. 344. The fourth group, niruttiê, enumerates in Sanskṛit a large number of very peculiar etymologies: mahyâṁ śêtê mahishaḥ, bhramati cha rauti cha bhramarah, [34] muhur muhur lasati musalam, kapir iva laṁvate thach (v. l. are ghatti, bêti, sheti) cha karôti (patati cha is added by BC) kapitthaṁ, chid iti karôti khallaṁ cha bhavati chikkallaṁ, ûrdhvakarṇa[12] ulûkaḥ, khasya mâlâ mekhalâ.

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[9] The names in °bhûti, cf. Iṁda°, Aggi°, Vâyu°, are omitted strangely enough.

[10] ahi budhnya appears here as vivaḍḍhi (!), cf. vividdhi in aṅga 3 (p. 263); both are forms which are much more corrupted than the abhivaddhi (°vuddhi) of the *Sûryaprajnapti*, see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 295.

[11] On 1 taṇahâraê etc., — on 2 vatthiê, tunnâê taṁtuvâê etc., — on 3 samaṇê, mâhaṇê, — on 4 rannô sasuraê sâlaê, — on 5 girissa samîvê nagaraṁ girinagaraṁ, Vidisâê s. n. Vêdisṁa, — on 6 Taraṁgavaïkârê (in BR invariably kâraê), Malayavatti(vaï BR)kârê, sattâ(attâ BR)ṇusatthikârê, biṁdukârê (cf. dharmabiṁdu lôkabiṁdu, p. 457), — on 7 îsarê talavarê mâḍaṁbiê . . — on 8 arahaṁtamâyâ, chakkavaṭṭimâyâ, Baladêvamâyâ, Vâsudêvamâyâ.

[12] ûrdhvakarṇa . . . omitted in B.

Under the head of **pamâṇa**, that is divided into davva°, khetta°, kâla° and bhâva°, the measures of space, length of liquids, time and dry measures are treated of *in extenso*. There are frequent citations of lengthy passages of antique colouring, which deal in the form of a dialogue with the instruction of Gôyama (by Mahâvîra) on this point. A very minute doctrine of atoms is also found here, see Bhagav. 2, 256.[13] The enumeration of the measures of time is similiar to that in the kâlâṇupuvvî, above page 29, the progression by 84's beginning three gradations after the quinquennial yuga. In the discussion on paliôvamê (palyôpama) we find inserted a lengthy passage from the Pannavaṇâ (ṭhiipaa) in reference to the duration of the continuance of creatures in their differnt gradations. This insertion is given in full in some MSS., in others the beginning and conclusion above are given, it being stated that it is a citation from the Pann. Not much farther on a question is introduced in the following fashion which does not seem original[14]: — tattha ṇaṁ chôdaê (chôdakaḥ, prêrakaḥ, prichhakaḥ) pannavayam (âchâryam) êvaṁ vayâsî, and then follow questions and answers in the usual way introduced by atthi ṇaṁ . . , and haṁtâ ! atthi. Later on [35] comes the dialogue between Gôyama (and Mahâvîra), clad in an old form which is probably caused by citations.

Under the head of **guṇappamâṇa**, the first group of the **bhâvappam.**, the **nâṇaguṇap.** is said to be four-fold: — pachchakkhê, aṇumâṇê, uvamâṇê, and âgamê. The last is divided into lôiyê and lôuttariê. To the lôiya is ascribed everything that is annâṇîhiṁ michchhâdiṭṭhiêhiṁ sachchaṁdabuddhimativigappiyam : — taṁ jahâ : Bhârahaṁ Râmâyaṇaṁ *jâva* (BCR, êvaṁ A) chattâri a vêdâ saṁgôvaṁgâ. Here we have a reference to an earlier enumeration. See above, pp. 9, 28. We find that jam imaṁ arahaṁtêhiṁ bhagavaṁtêhiṁ savvadarisîhiṁ paṇîaṁ duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagaṁ, taṁ : âyârê *jâva* diṭṭhivâê is considered to be lôguttariê. There are, however, other divisions of the âgama ; thus, those into suttâ°, atthâ° and tadubhayâ°, or into attâ°, aṇaṁtarâ° and paraṁparâ° original doctrine, doctrine that has been directly received, and traditional doctrine (see p. 216). The charittaguṇapamâṇê is said to be five-fold, sâmâiachar., chhêdôvatthâvaṇiachar.(AC, merely °ṭṭhâva BR) etc., and the sâmâia-char. two-fold : ittariê and âvakahiê ; s. Aupap. pp. 33, 41, and Leumann in the Gloss. According to Leumann's communication this division goes back as far as Bhagav. 8, 2, 25, 7. Is this the reason of the name of the chhêdasuttas ? Under nayapamâṇê three diṭṭhaṁtas, examples, are discussed in detail; in these an "avisuddhô nêgamô" is carried on from the general to the particular, or to the visuddhatarô etc., and finally an advance made to the visuddhô. In this section Pâḍaliputta appears as the residence of the person who is questioned (Dêvadatta, Skr., not °dinna !), [36] and as situated in the dâhiṇaḍḍha of the Bharaha khetta.[15] Under the head of parimâṇasaṁkh(y)â the kâliasuaparim, *i. e.* manifestly the first 11 aṅgas,[16] is contrasted with the diṭṭhivâa. The point treated of is their mutual division into,[17] and enumeration of

[13] Where uddharêṇu is to be translated by ûrdhvarêṇu, saṇha°, ussaṇha° by ślakshṇaślakshṇikâ, uchchhlakshṇa°; saṇha can be also for sûkshma; see Hem. 1, 118, where, however, we have ârshê suhumaṁ. Cf. 2,75 ? Hâla 732.

[14] While correcting the proof Leumann informs me of its occurrence in the Nandî, NEd. p. 335. It is also found in the âv. nijj. see p. 69.

[15] I notice in passing that the example given on Hêm. 2, 150, *i. e.* Mahura vva Pâḍaliutte pâsââ is in agreement with the examples in question found in the *Mahâbhâshya*. See Ind. 13, 380. Is this a case of direct borrowing ? See above p. 33. Mathurâ does not play any great part among the Jains, but see the special statements in the beginning of the *Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha* in reference to a Mâthurî vâchanâ (Skandilâchâryâṇâm abhimatâ).

[16] Likewise in Âvaśy. 8, 40 (below p 61); *i. e.* quite another terminology than that in N. (p. 11) and in the beginning of the An. itself (p. 21), where kâliya is a subdivision of anaṅgapaviṭṭha, or aṅgabâhira.

[17] veḍha, veshṭa, perhaps a group of verses ? nijjutti an explanatory section ? anuôgadâra a paragraph tatra paryavâh paryâyâ dharmâ iti yâvat, tadrûpâ saṁkhyâ paryavasaṁkhyâ (the meaning of paryava here as a preliminary stage of akkhara is obscure ; *per se* it doubtless denotes the different groups of the alphabet), sâ cha kâlikaśrute anaṁtaparyâyâtmikâ drashṭavyâ, êkaikasyâ 'py akârâdyaksharasya tadabhidhêyasya cha jîvâdivastunaḥ pratyêkam anaṁtaparyâyatvât ; êvam anyatrâ 'pi bhâvanâ kâryâ ; navaraṁ (!) saṁkhyêyâny akârâdyaksharâṇi ; dvyâdyaksharasaṁyôgâh saṁkhyêyâh saṁghâtâḥ ; suptiṅantâni samaya(?)prasiddhâni vâ saṁkhêyâni padâni ; gâthâdichaturthâṅśarûpâḥ saṁkhyêyâḥ pâdâh ; . . saṁkhyêyâ veshtakâh ; nikshêpaniryukty-upodghâtaniryukti-sûtrasparśikaniryuktilakshaṇâ trividhâ niryuktir (see p. 38) ; vyâkhyôpâyabhûtâni tatpadaprarûpaṇatâdîny (?) upakramâdîni vâ saṁkhyêyâny anuyôgadvârâṇi. — The division into granthas, or at least this name for the division is not mentioned here. It is really identical with silôga.

payyava, akkhara, saṁghâya, pada, pâda, gâhâ, silôga, veḍha, nijjutti, aṇuôgadâra, and from here on the enumeration of the uddêsaga, ajjhayaṇa, suakkhaṁdha, aṁga in the kâliasua, and of the pâhuḍa pâhuḍiâ, pâhuḍapâhuḍiâ, vatthu in the diṭṭhivâa.

According to the fourth aṅga and Nandî (see p. 354 fg. 631), the latter method of division does not belong to the entire diṭṭhivâa, but merely to the puvvas contained in it; [37] and the evidence of occasional citations made from the puvvas (and found in other works) prove that they were actually so divided. See *ibid.*

vattavvayâ is then divided into sasamayav. (sva°), parasamayav. and sasamayaparasamayav. The scholiast cites as an example of the second a passage from aṅga 2; the source of the one for the third is not stated.[18] Thus the nêgamavavahârô, but the ujjusua, explained by ṛijusûtra (°śruta!), *i. e.* the orthodox believer, recognizes only the first two vatt., and of these two the first alone as entitled to authoritativeness.

The atthâhigâra section consists[19] merely of the gâthâ: sâvajjajôga°, which states the contents (attha) of each of the 6 ajjhayaṇas of the âvassaya. See p. 24.

Under the head of samôyârê, samavatâra we find for the third time an enumeration of periods of time from âvaliyâ to savvaddhâ. See pp. 29, 34 In the second dâra, nikkhêva,[20] the author returns to the sâmâiam and describes in several verses the nature of the samaṇa [38] who possesses the sâmâiam.[21] Two of these verses recur in the sâmâiyajjhay. of the Âvaśy. nijj. 8, 109, 110. See pp. 67, 68. The last section of the nikkhêva, the suttâlavayanipphanna, is not given in full[22] by the author "for brevity's sake," lâghavatthaṁ, since its contents is, he says, contained in the third dâra, the aṇugama, which follows thereupon.

This deals particularly with the suttâṇugama and the nijjutti-aṇug., which latter is divided into nikkhêvanijj°, uvagghâyanijj° and suttaphâsianijj° (sûtrasparśika°) — see p. 36ⁿ. Of the gâthâs cited in it one in part recurs[23] in Âvaśy. nijj. 9, 6b.

Under the head of suttaphâsia° the correct pronunciation of the suttas is treated of. According to the scholiast there are 32 dôsas and 8 (or 6) guṇas, which he discusses at length.[24] The six different means[25] of making oneself certain of the correct understanding of the text are also mentioned; they are: — saṁhitâ-form of the text, pada-form, sense of the words, division of the words into component parts, consideration (of objections) and determination (rejection of the objections): saṁhiyâ ya payaṁ chêva payatthô payaviggahô | châlaṇâ ya pasiddhî ya chhavvihaṁ viddhi lakkhaṇaṁ.

[39] The **fourth dâram, nâê,** consists of 6 gâthas, of which the first four treat of the seven different forms of naya, *i. e.* method of conception, exegesis; they are: — nêgamê, saṁgahê,

[18] The latter passage reads: âgâram âvasaṁtâ vâ âraṇṇâ vâ pavvaïyâ idaṁ darisaṇam âvannâ savvadukkhâ vimuchchaṁtî 'tyâdi; on this the scholiast says: grihasthâh, âraṇyâ vâ tâpasâdayah, pravrajitâś cha Śâkyâdayah idam asmadîyaṁ matam âpannâ âśritâḥ sarvaduhkhebhyô vimuchyaṁta ity êvaṁ yadâ Sâṁkhyâdayaḥ pratipâdayaṁti tad êvaṁ parasamayavaktavyatâ, yadâ tu Jainâs tadâ svasamayavaktavyatâ, tataś châ 'sau svasamayaparasamayavaktavyatô 'chyatê.

[19] It reads: sê kiṁ taṁ atth° rê? jô jassa ajjhayaṇassa atth° rô In R, instead of taṁ we have sâmâiyassa atth°rô, and this is doubtless merely an example of how the verse is to be understood: sâvajjajôggaviraî sâ°atth°, ukkittaṇâ chaüvîsatthaassa atth° etc.; *i. e.* according to the scholiast; "arthâdhikârô 'dhyayanê" âdipadâd ârabhya sarvapadeshv anuvartatê.

[20] Is threefold: ôhanipphannê nâmani° suttâlâvayani°; ôhani° is fourfold: ajjhayaṇaṁ, ajjhîṇê (akshîṇa), âê (âyaḥ), jhavaṇâ (kshapaṇâ), names which are also: sâmâyikachaturviṅśatistavâdiśrutaviśeshâṇâṁ sâmânyâni.

[21] See Bhagav. 2, 186.

[22] He has probably lost his breath! The following sections are treated in a very fragmentary fashion.

[23] kiṁ kaïvihaṁ kassa kahiṁ kêsu kahaṁ kêchiraṁ (kachchi°) havaï kâlaṁ | kaï saṁtaram avirahiaṁ bhavâ-"garisa-phâsaṇa-nirutti || sâmâiam is to be supplied according to the scholiast. The verse recalls the *quis? quid? cur? contra, simile, paradigmata, testes* applied in German schools to the analysis of proverbs, etc.

[24] The scholiast is here very prolix, though the text is very compact and brief.

[25] See on this Haribh. on Âvaśy. 10, 1 etc.; in an avachûri on the oghaniryukti we read: askhalitapadochchâraṇaṁ saṁhitâ; padavibhâgaḥ padâni; padânâm arthaḥ padârthaḥ; padavigrahastu samâsabhâṁji padâni; châlanâ pûrvapakshâśaṁkâ; pratyavasthânaṁ nirâkaraṇêna svapakshasthâpanaṁ.

vavahârê, ujjusuè saddê, samabhirûḍhê, êvaṁbhûê. The scholiast says that they are named thus in reference to their connection with the sâmâyikâdhyayanam as the background of the entire work. Verse 5 gives a general definition of the word naya. Verse 6 makes known the fact that the sâhu, sâdhu, must hear all its forms with their manifold methods of representation, be purified by this means, and thus remain constant in his (correct) course of action. This concluding verse too thus refers directly to the sâmâyikaṁ, even if it does not mention it by name. It was quite necessary that here at the close some regard be had for the sâmâiam; the remaining part of the work refers to it but little.

I have collected on Bhag. 1, 373, fg. some of the **data regarding its age that can be extracted from the contests of the Anuyôgadv.** To the arguments that have been mentioned others may be added. In the forefront is the direct connection of the work with the grammatical Sanskṛit literature, especially the citation of the beginning of Pâṇini's Dhâtupâṭha. Next the information of a definite nature concerning the other literatures, Brahminical, etc., of that period. The nine kavvarasas point to a highly developed system of rhetoric, and the gâhâs cited therein demonstrate the existence of a rich Prâkṛit poetry after the fashion of the verses in Hâla's saptaśatakam. The names cited in the formation of taddhitas are perhaps to be regarded as titles of dramas (cf. nâḍagâdî at the end of the lôiya works) or [40] of romances. See p. 386. *Bhâratam* (but not Mahâbh.°) and *Râmâyaṇam* are mentioned three times in conjunction and undoubtedly were held in high esteem at that period. See my treatise on the Râm. p. 34. The contrast instituted between kâliaṁ suam and diṭṭhivâa is of importance to Jaina literature. At the date of this work and at that of the Nandî, see above, p. 11, there existed a work, consisting of six ajjhayaṇas, on the six âvaśyakas, the first of which is said to form the foundation of the Anuy., though no evidence can be drawn from the Anuy. itself to prove this assertion. Another fact that savours of antiquity is the special emphasis laid on the formation of the names of persons by means of the names of the nakshatras or of their divinities.[26] The first nakshatra names appear in the old kṛittikâ series, though no longer in their ancient form; and the names of the divinities are very much corrupted. The significance of the names Chîṇì, Sôraṭṭha and Marahaṭṭha, and those of the different pâsaṇḍas, or of each of the divinities honoured by them, must not be overlooked.

There is a **commentary by Hêmachandrasûri,** scholar of Abhayadêvasûri.[27]

[41] The conclusion is formed by

G. — The four mûlasûtras.

I have as yet not been able to make out the significance of this title,[28] which has come to light only in quite modern times in connection with these texts. In the second mûlasûtra the expression mûlasûtragâthâ (see p. 54) occurs (see scholiast on Âvaśy. nijj. 11, 61) though it is there probably used in contrast to the gâthâs of the nijjutti; so that mûlasûtra would mean nothing more than sûtra (see *ibid.* on 11, 39), *i. e.* the original to which the nijjutti belongs.

The three texts bearing the name mûlasûtra which I have before me (the fourth I do not possess) have in reality no sûtra form at all, but are almost entirely in metre; mûlas. 1 and 3 in the ancient style (see p. 238, 239), especially in ślôkas; the nijj. on 2 is in gâthâs.

They make the impression of being analogous to pariśishtas rather than sûtras. The mûlas., which is No. 2 in Bühler's list, has not been preserved in its sûtra form at all, only its

[26] As a matter of fact such names are not often found in the Siddhânta. The following examples, however, belong here: — Âsâḍha, Aggidatta, Sômadatta, Pûsamitta, Tîsagutta, Tisabhadda; cf. also Rêvaî-nakkhatta (above p. 7). It is surprising that the form in °bhûti is omitted, a form which is specially attested as occurring in Mahâvîra's time. Cf. also Pussabhûi, Siva°. See Mahâbh. on Pâṇ. 8, 2, 107 (Ind. Stud. 4, 381) on the common name of Agnibhûti.

[27] Other predecessors are Munisuṁdarasûri, Vîradêva and Jayasiṁhasûri; the gacha is śrî Harshapurîya, the kulam that of śrî Praśnavâhana. The well-known Hêmachandra is, therefore, not referred to, and the above-mentioned Abhayadêva is doubtless not the navâṅgîvṛittikṛit. Cf. pp. 276—7.

[28] Does it perhaps refer to the 5 mûlaguṇas (Âvaśy. 20, 6—8).

nijjutti being extant. The title of the fourth mûlas. expressly declares it to be a nijj.; and since both the others have essentially the same form, it is not an improbable conjecture to regard these too as nijjuttis to a sûtram of like name. On the other hand, however, special nijjuttis on each are cited by the scholiast, and these nijj. appear to be still extant. Of this kind are probably the two texts which the author of the Âvaśy. [42] nijj. 2, 5 declares that he composed on dasakâlia and uttarajjh°.

The prose portions found here have in places the old introductory formula: suyam mê âusaṁ . .; and the concluding formula of each of the ajjh. (and uddes.) of mûlas. 1 and 3: tibemi gives us an impression of their antiquity. Furthermore, the titles of all the 36 chapters of the first mûlas. are enumerated in the fourth aṅga, § 36 — hence this mûlas. with essentially the same contents must have existed at the date of aṅga 4. It appears to be cited also in the *Kalpasûtra*. In N. (above p 11 fg.) we find only the three titles of the mûlasûtras I have before me; the name of the fourth is omitted, and the title of the second plays there, as in the Anuyôgadv. (above pp. 11, 22 fg.), a very prominent part.

A very ancient author is quoted for the third mûlasûtram; and a single chapter (14) of the Âv. nijj. is ascribed to a definite author, although the author of the Âv. nijj. himself says, in the beginning of chap. 2, that he is author of a large number of nijjuttis on the most different parts of the Siddhânta, especially on several chêdasûtras, and, as already mentioned, on mûlas. 1 and 3. The Âvaśy. nijj. contains, therefore, a large amount of authoritative data in reference to the date of its composition.

The contents of all three texts belongs to the sphere of the vinayapitaka. The Nom. Sgl. Masc. of the 1 Decl. ends generally in *o*, but chiefly in *e* in the few prose sections; but both forms are found together occasionally, and in fact even in the same verse.

[43] The extent of mûlas. 1 is stated to be 2095 gr., that of 2 or its nijj. 2550, that of 3, 700 gr. The author of the commentary on 2 is said to have died Vîra 1055.

XLIII. **First mûlasûtram, the uttarajjhayaṇam,** in 36 ajjhayanas. The names of these ajjh., which are cited (see page 280) in aṅga 4, § 36, are identical with those in the MSS. with but a few exceptions. By the chhattîsaṁ cha apuṭṭhavâyaraṇâiṁ, mentioned in the Kalpas. Jinach. § 147, we must understand the Uttarajjh. according to the scholiast (Kalpalatâ). See Jacobi, p. 114. The correctness of this number (36) is corroborated by the concluding verse of the work itself. Haribhadra, on Avaśy. 8, 54, explains the isibhâsiâiṁ mentioned there by uttarajjhayaṇâdîni;[29] and *ibid.* 2, 5 both isibhâs° and uttarajjh° appear in conjunction in the text. The scholiast on Nandî explains (see p. 13 n.) the name uttar° by the sarvêshâm adhyayanânâm pradhânatvaṁ which belongs to this work. The author of the Âvaśyakanijj. states (2, 5) that he is also author of a nijj. on the Uttarajjh.

With the exception of chap. 29 and the beginning of 2 and 16 which three chapters commence with the formula: — suyaṁ mê âusaṁ têṇaṁ bhagavayâ êvam akkhâyaṁ (or t. bh. Mahâvîrêṇaṁ Kâsavêṇaṁ e. a.), the text is composed in metre and principally ślôkas, though there is an admixture of gâthâs, trishṭubh, etc.[30] The contents consist of direct ordinances in reference to a correct course of life, especially of the clergy, [44] and of recitals and parables illustrative of this life. Much of the contents makes upon us the impression of great antiquity and recalls similar Buddhistic texts and especially aṅga 2.

On this mûlas. we have a very detailed commentary, śishyahitâ, by Sâṁtisûri (Sâṁtyâchârya) in which frequent reference is paid to a nijjutti belonging to the text.[31] See pp. 41, 43.

[29] So also the anyê in the Vidhiprapâ; see pp. 429, 430.

[30] The metre is often very much out of order, as in almost all metrical parts of the Siddhânta.

[31] In a palm-leaf MS., dating itself 1307 (A. D. 1251) the 3 appears to me to be for an original 5; in which case the date would be 1507 (A. D. 1451). According to Jacobi, p. 9, the commentary of Dêvêṁdragaṇi, which was composed Saṁv. 1179 (A. D. 1123), is based upon that of Sâṁtisûri.

1. viṇayasuyajjhayaṇaṁ, 48 vv. begins: saṁjôgavippamukkassa aṇagârassa bhikkhuṇô | viṇayaṁ pâukkarissâmi | vâṇupuvviṁ suṇêha mê || The word buddha appears to be here and frequently elsewhere in the work, an honorific title of the teacher's (vv. 7, 8); cf. p. 263 (aṅga 2).

2. parîsahajjh., 46 vv. with a prose beginning, which enumerates how the 22 parîsahas: samaṇêṇaṁ bhagavayâ Mahâvîrêṇaṁ Kâsavêṇaṁ pavêiyâ. In the metrical portion the first person is used: parîsahâṇaṁ pavibhattî | Kâsavêṇaṁ pavêiya | taṁ bhê udâharissâmi | âṇupuvviṁ suṇêhamê || 1 ||

3. chaüraṁgaṁ, °giyyaṁ in S,[32] châu(raṁ)gijjaṁ V, 20 vv.; of the mânushatvâdi. In the commentary on v. 9 we find particular statements in reference to the seven schisms.

4. asaṁkhayaṁ, asaṁskṛitam, pamâyappamâyaṁ vâ V, 13 vv. Of pramâdâpramâdau (cf. No. 10 in the anaṅgapaviṭṭha list of N., above p. 11), and of the apramâda, maraṇakâle 'pi.

[45] 5. akâmamaraṇijjaṁ, 19 vv ; of the paṁḍitamaraṇaṁ.

6. khuḍḍâga-niyaṁṭhijjaṁ (cf. chap. 20), purisaviyyaṁ S, 18 vv. Of the vidyâcharaṇavikalpâs of the virata. Its appellation in S is very different though the name there suits the present contents very well.

7. êlaïjjaṁ (so also V; of êḍaka); ura(b)bhiyaṁ S and urabbhi also here in C, in an enumeration of the chapters which is added to the close of this MS. only: 30 vv.; urabhrâdidṛishtâṁtaḥ, resp. rasagṛiddhityâgah.

8. Kâvilîyaṁ, °lijjaṁ S V.; 20 vv. Of the nirlobhatvaṁ. It closes: ii êsa dhammô akkhâê | Kavilêṇaṁ visuddhapannêṇaṁ | . . tti bêmi || 20 ||

9. Namipavvijjâ, 62 vv. Of the charaṇaṁ prati niḥkaṁpatvaṁ; puttaṁ ṭhavijja rajjê abhinikkhamai Namî râyâ.

10. dumapattayaṁ, drumapattrakaṁ, 37 vv.; apramâdârtham upamâdvârêṇâ 'nuśâsanaṁ. Instruction addressed to Gôyama. It closes thus: — buddhassa nisamma bhâsiyaṁ | sukahiam atthapahôpasôhiyaṁ | râgâṁ dôsaṁ cha chhiṁdiyâ | siddhigayaṁ gâê Gôama tti bêmi || 37 ||

11. bahussuyapujjaṁ (°puvvaṁ V), bahuśrutapûjâ, 32 vv. — In v. 1 the refrain of 1, 1. 2, 1: pâukarissâmi, âṇupuvviṁ suṇêha mê.

12. Harikêsijjaṁ (Hariêsi° V), 47 vv. Of the tapaḥsamṛiddhi of Hariêsabala. The stories belonging here and also to the following chapters are related in detail in the commentary.

13. Chittasaṁbhûijjaṁ, Chitrasaṁbhûtîyaṁ, 35 vv.; nidânaṁ tyâjyaṁ nidânadosha | Kampillasambhûô Chittô.

14. Usuârijjaṁ, Ishukârîyaṁ, 55 vv.; of the nirnidânatâguṇa; purê purâṇê Isugâra nâmê (*i. e.* not as Ind. St. 2, 843).

[46] 15. sabhikkhu, °ugaṁ S, 16 vv. Of the bhikshuguṇâs. Each verse closes with the refrain: sabhikkhû, cf. Dasavêâlia 3, 10. Begins: môṇaṁ charissâmi samichcha dhammaṁ.

16. baṁbhachêrasamâhiṭṭhâṇaṁ, baṁbhagutti C, samâhiṭṭhâṇaṁ S. First an enumeration of the ten bambhachêras of the bhikkhu in prose, then 17 silôgas. Of the brahmachary agupti.

17. pâvasamaṇijjaṁ, pâpaśramaṇîyaṁ, 21vv. Of the pâpaśramaṇasvarûpaṁ, and of the pâpavarjanaṁ. Verses 3 to 19 close with the refrain: pâvasamaṇi tti vuchchaï

18. Saṁjaïjjaṁ, Saṁjayîyaṁ,[33] 54 vv. Of the bhôgarddhityâga. Kaṁpillê nayarê râyâ | udinnabalavâhaṇê | nâmêṇaṁ Saṁjaô nâma | migavvaṁ (mṛigavyâm) uvaṇigjâê ||

19. Miyâputtîyaṁ, Ma°ijjaṁ V, Miyacharitta (or Miyâchâritâ) S, 97 vv. Of the niḥpratikarmatâ, and of Miyâputta, son of king Balabhadda and of Miyâ; Suggîvê nayarê.

[32] S = Samavâya (aṅga 4); V = Vidhiprapâ, where the names are enumerated in detail.

[33] This might be *per se* for samyatîyam; since the pâpavarjanaṁ is: saṁyatasyai 'va, sa cha bhôgârddhityâgatu êva . .

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 13. — The Cowherd and His Wife.[1]

There once lived a man with his wife and three sons, and when the sons came to be of a suitable age, the parents got them married. The wives of the two elder sons, having also attained puberty, came and lived with their husbands, but the wife of the third son, who was himself very young, being still too small, of course remained at her father's house.

Several years passed and the father died. The two elder brothers took to their father's profession, cultivation, and the youngest, not being old enough to do any manual work, was told by his brothers to take the cattle out for grazing and such-like light work.

Now it happened that his wife, being now twelve years old, had attained puberty, and was in the habit of going to a well to draw water, where she used to see a shepherd, and, calling out to him, would sing:—

"*Âikâ na rê, âik na rê mâṅjiâ mêṇḍêvâlâ dâdâ rê,*
Aurâ mâṅzâ, aurâ rê nirap sâṅg mâṅjê jâsvantâ[2] *bhartârâ rê:—*
'Tûji na rê rambhâ[3] *na zhâili kêlû zaśi rê,*
Kêl zaśi na nimanâ rasâ âili rê.
Bagitêi rê, bagitêi pâṅch dissû tûji na rê, vâṭṭû rê,[4]
Nâhin tê na lâvilû dûsriaśiṁ na pâṭṭû rê.'"
Listen, O listen, brother shepherd,
These words of mine; this message tell to my beloved husband:—
'Your wife has grown up like a plantain-tree,
Like a plantain-tree, and like a lime she is full of juice.
She will wait, she will wait for you for five days,
Otherwise she will marry another.'

For three or four days she said the same thing to the shepherd, and the shepherd used to deliver her message to her husband, whom he happened to meet on the pasture ground. Three days had passed, and on the fourth the cowherd asked his mother to let him go and fetch his wife. It happened also that his two elder brothers had gone to another country to trade. So his mother said to him:—"Wait, my son, till your brothers come back, and then you can go with them and fetch your wife home."

The cowherd, however, would not listen to his mother's advice, for who could tell when his brothers would return, and he knew that if he did not go soon, in one day more his wife would take to herself another husband. So on the fifth day, instead of rising and taking his cattle to graze as usual, he would not leave his bed. His mother saw him still asleep; so she sang:—

"*Ûṭṭâ na rê, ûṭ mâṅjiâ jâsvantâ gôuṅwâliâ rê,*
Tûji na rê ḍhôraṁ na gûraṁ gôṭṭiaṅ gôṭṭû bândalian rê."
Rise, O rise, my beloved cowherd,
Your cattle are still tied up in every stall.

Then the cowherd, who was awake, thus sang to his mother:—

"*Sôrâviṁ gê, sôrâ âiê, âni lâvâviṁ vanâtû gê.*"
Unfasten, O unfasten, and let them loose in the forest.

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[1] [This quaint version of the "Taming of the Shrew" belongs to the "singing" class of tales very common in the Pañjâb, and there always associated, so far as I know, with the Rasâlû Cycle. This tale then is very important as evidence of what I have long suspected, that the incidents of the Rasâlû Cycle are common to all Northern India. Thus we now know that a "singing" tale of a type identical with those of that Cycle is current among the Salsette Christians without ascription to any particular hero. — ED.]

[2] *lit.*, victorious.

[3] *Rambhâ* is one that is an adept in singing.

[4] *lit.*, I will see, will see for five days your road.

His mother unfastened the cattle from the stalls and drove them towards the forest, but she and his sisters-in-law wondered what was the matter with him. They asked each other if any one of them had said or done anything to annoy him, but all pleaded ignorance. And his mother, thinking perhaps he was sick, called out her eldest daughter-in-law, and sang:—

"*Âikâ na gê, âikâ na mâṅjê mhôṭṭê nâ sûnê gê,*
Lâvâ na gê, lâvâ na sûnê gavêtânâ châvia gê ;
Kârâvia gê, kârâ na sûnê vakhanâchia zânâ gê,
Paratâvia gê, paratâ sûnê ḍhôṇḍiê sândiê gê,
Pâzâvia gê, pâzâ na sûnê tûjê jâsvantâ dirâ gê."

Listen, O listen, my eldest daughter-in-law,
Put, O put, daughter-in-law, keys to the drawers;
Take out, O take out, daughter-in-law, ingredients for medicine,
Grind, O grind them, daughter-in-law, on the stone mortar,
Give to drink, O give to drink, daughter-in-law, to your beloved brother-in-law.

When the cowherd heard what his mother had said to his sister-in-law, he sang in answer:—

"*Dûkatêi gê, dûkatêi âiê tûmchê mhôṭṭê na sûnêchaṁ pôṭṭû gê.*"

Is aching, is aching, mother, your eldest daughter-in-law's stomach?

By this he meant, of course, to tell his mother that he had no need of the medicine, which she had told her daughter-in-law to give him, but that his sister-in-law herself wanted it. His mother, however, did not understand the drift of what he said, and thinking perhaps that he did not like to take the medicine out of his eldest sister-in-law's hand, she called out to her second daughter-in-law, and thus sang to her:—

"*Âikâ na gê, âikâ na mâṅjê madalê*[5] *na sûnê gê,*
Lâvâ na gê, lâvâ na sûnê gavêtânâ châvia gê ;
Kârâvia gê, kârâ na sûnê vakhanâchia zânâ gê,
Paratâvia gê, paratâ sûnê ḍhôṇḍiê sândiê gê,
Pâzavia gê, pazâ na sûnê tûjê jâsvantâ dirâ gê."

Listen, O listen, my second daughter-in-law,
Put, O put, daughter-in-law, keys to the drawers;
Take out, O take out, daughter-in-law, ingredients for medicine,
Grind, O grind them, daughter-in-law, on the stone mortar,
Give to drink, O give to drink, daughter-in-law, to your beloved brother-in-law.

When his mother had done singing to her second daughter-in-law to give the boy medicine the cowherd, still in bed, thus sang to his mother:—

"*Dûkatêi gê, dûkatêi âiê tûmchê madalê sûnêchaṁ pôṭṭû gê.*"

Is aching, is aching, mother, your second daughter-in-law's stomach?

His mother now thought that he would not take any medicine even from his second sister-in-law, and so she said nothing. A little while afterwards the cowherd arose, and dressing himself very shabbily, took a horse from the stable, and took the road to his wife's house; though he had never seen his wife, much less her house. He thought, however, that the shepherd, who used to bring her message to him, would guide him there, and so he went on and on. On his way he came upon his sister's house, when his sister, seeing him dressed so shabbily, asked him what was the matter with him and where he was going. He told her how for two or three days successively he had received a message from his wife, and that he was going to fetch her home.

[5] *Lit.*, Middle; but second is meant.

"But," said she, "how will you find out your wife's house? And how will you know her? You have never seen her before!"

"I will go," he answered, "and wait for the shepherd, who will surely guide me."

His sister then said to him:—"Don't do so. Take these few stones with you. When your wife comes to the well and sings to the shepherd, you will know her; and when she has filled her pitcher and is about to lift it up on her head, throw one of these stones at the pitcher, which will be then charmed, so that she will be unable to carry it!"

The cowherd took the stones, and riding his horse went away. As he went along he came upon the well and there saw a young woman drawing water, and suspecting that it must be his wife he waited there. Soon afterwards he saw the shepherd driving his sheep to the pasture-ground. When the woman saw the shepherd, she sang:—

> "*Âikâ na rê, âik na rê mâṅjiâ mêṇḍêvâlâ dâdâ rê,*
> *Aurâ mâṅzâ, aurâ rê nirap sâṅg mâṅjê jâsvantâ bhartârâ rê:—*
> *'Tûji na rê rambhâ na zhâili kêlû zaśî rê,*
> *Kêl zaśi na nimanâ rasâ âili rê.*
> *Bagitêi rê, bagitêi pâṅch dissû tûji na rê vâṭṭû rê,*
> *Nâhin tê na lâvilû dûsriaśiṁ na pâṭṭû rê.'*"
>
> Listen, O listen, brother shepherd,
> These words of mine; this message tell to my beloved husband:—
> 'Your wife has grown up like a plantain-tree,
> Like a plantain-tree, and like a lime she is full of juice.
> She will wait, she will wait for you for five days,
> Otherwise she will marry another.'

The shepherd listened to her, and promising to deliver her message, went away again, as he had not seen the cowherd. The cowherd now made sure that the young woman was his wife, and waited till she had filled her pitcher, and when she was about to carry it, he hit it with one of the stones given him by his sister. As soon as the stone struck the pitcher, his wife was unable to lift it up. She tried all her strength, but to no avail; the pitcher was as if fixed in the ground. She looked about to see if there was any one about the place, whom she might call to help her, and saw the cowherd on horse-back, and as she, too, had not seen him before, she did not recognise him as her husband. She therefore thus sang to him:—

> "*Êhî na rê, êh na rê mâṅjiâ ghôrêvâlâ dâdâ rê.*"
>
> Come, O come, my brother groom.

But the cowherd answered:—

> "*Pailâ hâtû lâvin na gê tûjê zhôbalânâṁ gê,*
> *Ani dûsrâ hâtû lâvin na gê ghâgarilâ gê.*"
>
> One hand I will place upon your breasts,
> And with the other I will lift up the pitcher.

Upon this the wife sang to herself, addressing her mother:—

> "*Sadâṅchaṁ khânaṁ na âiê, sadâṅchaṁ na pinaṁ gê,*
> *Sadâṅchi ghâgar na âiê, sadâṅchi na chûmbalû gê,*
> *Âzû mâṅzaṁ zôrû kôniṁ khâlaṁ ge?*"[6]
>
> My usual food, mother, and my usual drink,
> My usual pitcher, mother, and my usual pad,
> Where is my strength gone to-day?

[6] *Lit.*, who has eaten my strength to-day?

She made another attempt to lift up the pitcher, but in vain; so she again beckoned to the supposed groom to come and help her, singing: —

> "*Êhi na rê, êh na rê mâñjiâ ghôrêvâlâ dâdâ rê.*"
>
> Come, O come, my brother groom.

But the cowherd sang as before: —

> "*Pailâ hâtû lâvin na gê tûjê zhôbalânâṁ gê,*
> *Ani dûsrâ hâtû lâvin na gê ghâgarilâ gê.*"
>
> One hand I will place upon your breasts,
> And with the other I will lift up the pitcher.

The poor woman had now no alternative, but to allow him to place one hand on her breasts. So he came, and having first placed one hand on her breasts, he only touched the pitcher with the other, and she was enabled to carry it as she would a feather. Taking up her pitcher she went to her house, our hero following her. His wife, however, did not like this; so she shut the door against him. And then he sang: —

> "*Ûgarâ gê, ûgar rambhâ darbâjâchâ khilâ gê.*
> *Âilâi na, âilâi tûzâ jâsvantû bhartârû gê.*"
>
> Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.
> Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

But the wife thinking he was only a groom, who had followed her with evil intentions, paid no heed to what he said, and hurled at him abuse in the following strain: —

> "*Mâñjê na rê jâsvantâ gôuṅwâliachâ kûtarâ nâhin sâzasil.*"
>
> You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's dog.

But our hero paid no attention to the abuse, and repeated his entreaties to his wife: —

> "*Ûgarâ gê, ûgar rambhâ darbâjâchâ khilâ gê.*
> *Âilâi na, âilâi tûzâ jâsvantû bhartârû gê.*"
>
> Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.
> Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

The girl, however, would not open the door, and continued to abuse him, singing: —

> "*Mâñjê na rê jâsvantâ gôuṅwâliachâṁ dûkar nâhin sâzasil.*"
>
> You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's pig.

Still the cowherd did not mind his wife's abuse, but sang: —

> "*Ûgarâ gê, ûgar rambhâ darbâjâchâ khilâ gê.*
> *Âilâi na, âilâi tûzâ jâsvantû bhartârû gê.*"
>
> Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.
> Is come, is come, your beloved husband.

But still the girl could not be persuaded to believe that the youth was really her husband, and therefore sang: —

> "*Mâñjê na rê jasvantâ gôuṅwâliachî mâñzar nâhin sâzasil.*"
>
> You are not worthy of being my beloved cowherd's cat.

For the third time the cowherd bore the abuse patiently, and for the third time he entreated her to open the door for him, singing: —

> "*Ûgarâ gê, ûgar rambhâ darbâjâchâ khilâ gê.*
> *Âilâi na, âilâi tûzâ jâsvantû bhartârû gê.*"
>
> Open, O open, wife, the bolts of the door.
> Is come, is come your beloved husband.

Thus they kept on for some time, one begging for the opening of the door, and the other abusing him instead, till the girl's parents, who had gone out, came in and recognising their son-in-law, took him into the house, introducing him to their daughter as her husband, and entertaining him as a son-in-law.

The day passed and in the evening, as there was no spare sleeping-room for them, the wife asked her sister-in-law to spare her room for them for the night, singing : —

" Diavâ na gê, diavâ kûñiad tûmchâ kâmbarâ gê.
Diavâ na gê kûñiad tûmchâ kâmbarâ gê."

Give, O give, sister-in-law, your room.
Give, O sister-in-law, your room.

Her sister-in-law willingly gave up her room to them for the night, and having taken their supper they went to bed. On the following morning, while she was still in bed, the cowherd's wife sang to her mother : —

" Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê kômala mâthianchaṁ na môgaraṁ gê !
Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê pûsalâ ḍôliañchâ kâzôlû gê !
Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê vâṅkharli mâthiachi na vînî gê !"

Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair!
Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes!
Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair!

To which her mother sang in reply : —

" Tô tê na gê, tô tê dhûê âilâi lûṅgalâ bhâgalâ gê.
Tô tê hâi dhûê lâjêchâ na cômbarâ ge."

He has come, he has come, daughter, knocked up and tired.
He is, daughter, a shy cock.

They then arose and another day passed, and in the evening, the cowherd's wife asked her aunt to spare her room for them for the night. She sang : —

" Diavâ na gê, diavâ kâkî tûmchâ kâmbarâ gê.
Diavâ na gê kâkî tûmchâ kâmbarâ gê."

Give, O give, aunt, your room.
Give, O aunt, your room.

Her aunt also gave up her room with the greatest pleasure, and when the night had come they took their supper and went to bed. Next morning, when she awoke, the cowherd's wife sang to her mother : —

" Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê kômalaṁ mâthianchaṁ na môgaraṁ gê !
Nâhin na gê, nahin âiê pûsalâ ḍôliañchâ kâzôlû gê !
Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê vâṅkharli mâthiachi na vînî gê !"

Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair !
Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes !
Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair !

And her mother again sang to her : —

" Tô tê na gê, tô tê dhûê âilâi lûṅgalâ bhâgalâ gê.
Tô tê hâi dhûê lâjêchâ na cômbarâ gê."

He has come, he has come, daughter, knocked up and tired.
He is, daughter, a shy cock.

When they awoke the following morning, the cowherd told his father- and mother-in-law that he wished to go home, and to take his wife with him. They had, of course, no objection,

and the mother made her daughter dress for the journey. While she was combing the girl's hair and putting on her a new rich *sâṛî* and other things, her daughter sang: —

> "*Kalâ na gê, kalâ âiê sâṛia ani gharia gê?*
> *Tô tê hâi na vâṭṭêchâ vâṭsaṛi gê.*"
>
> Why, why, mother, these *sâṛîs* and other clothes?
> He is only a passer-by!

But her mother, who knew better, paid no heed to her daughter's words, and when she was ready, she ordered a palanquin for her; but the girl would not sit in it, and had therefore to follow her husband on foot. Half way she complained that she was tired, upon which her husband taunted her: —

> "*Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê kômalaṁ mâthianchaṁ na môgaraṁ gê!*
> *Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê pûsalâ ḍôliaṅchâ kâzôlû gê!*
> *Nâhin na gê, nâhin âiê vâṅkharli mâthiachi na vînî gê!*"
>
> Not faded, not faded, mother, the jessamine from my hair!
> Nor rubbed off, nor rubbed off, mother, the lamp-black from my eyes!
> Nor dishevelled, nor dishevelled, mother, my hair!

And again with the words: —

> "*Kalâ na gê, kalâ âiê sâṛia ani gharia gê?*
> *Tô tê hâi na vâṭṭêchâ vâṭsaṛi gê.*"
>
> Why, why, mother, these *sâṛîs* and other clothes?
> He is only a passer-by!

When she was thus taunted she followed him quietly till they reached his sister's house. There he told her to get a large vessel with seven holes, and ordered her to fill it up with water. But how could such a vessel be filled? As fast as she poured water in it, it ran out through the holes! But she was made to bring water, till she was brought to submission and admitted him as her husband.

They then went to their house, and lived happily together to a good old age.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON THE NATIONAL CUSTOMS OF THE KARENNIS.

The Karennis, or the Red Karens, call themselves Kayâ. Their classical appellation is Kirâta. They inhabit the tract of country, lying between the parallels of 18° to 20° North latitude and 97° to 99° East longitude, with an area of about 7,200 square miles. They are a strong and hardy race, fierce and desperate fighters, and take a special delight in raiding into the neighbouring territories, kidnapping men, women, and children, and driving off cattle.

A raid, made on a village is either through the existence of some *chwê*, or on account of the favourable omens shown by a fowl's bones at the installation of a Chief.

The word chwê means an affair awaiting settlement, and is, in fact, a casus belli. The nearest English word, which would express its meaning, is 'feud.' Its literal meaning in Burmese is 'debt.' Among the Karennîs any wrong done against their persons, or property, or any insult done to their tutelary *nàts* is a *chwê*, and it must be expiated either by blood or presents. A *chwê* is not wiped off by the death of the original offender; his children and his children's children are held responsible for his wrongful acts. It is the persistence of this custom of 'feud' that causes the Kachins, Karennîs, Chins, and other wild tribes of Burma to have no union among themselves, in spite of their community of language, beliefs, and traditions, and splits them up into various clans at feud with one another.

A Chief among the Karennîs attains his position not by hereditary right, but on account of certain sacred characteristics. He must abstain from rice and liquor. His mother, while *enceinte*, must have eschewed these things and lived solely on yams and potatoes. She must not have eaten any meat, nor drunk the water out of the common wells; and in order to be duly

qualified for a Chiefship her son must continue these habits. Such a child is taken good care of, and in due time installed as a Chief in the following manner. A *hò*,[1] — a low, rambling rectangular bamboo structure — is built and the candidate for the Chiefship is placed in it. Each villager brings one bunch of plantains, one mat, and at least a quarter of a tical weight of silver as offerings. The amount of the silver offering, however, varies from a quarter of a tical to a full tical, according to the resources of the village. The villagers also bring fowls, whose bones are to be used in reading omens. They then proceed to pass a merry time the whole night long, drinking *kaung*, their national beverage, and dancing round the *hò* The fowls are killed and the leg bones are carefully scraped clean, and certain small holes in them are examined with a piece of straw or bamboo. If the holes on the right legbone are situated higher up than the corresponding ones on the left, the omen is considered to be auspicious. By this method of divination, which is quite a science among the Red Karens, the future of the candidate for a Chiefship is settled. The questions usually solved are whether the newly installed Chief will be one of might and power, whether the villages will prosper under his rule, and whether the people now assembled will be able to undertake forays successfully and with a minimum of loss to their side.

Every man is judge in his own case in Karennî, and the exaction of an indemnity in consequence of a chwê, which is an affair of honour, rests with himself. It is only in important differences and disputes that the Chief exercises his prerogative by stepping in as an arbitrator or peacemaker.

Divination by means of the bones of a fowl plays an important part in Karennî politics. All organized raids are determined in this way, and sometimes the subjects of a Chief disobey his orders, when the bones consulted predict unfavourable events.

The Karennis pay no regular revenue to their Chiefs. All that they are called on to pay is a silver offering, as described above, on certain days, as the anniversary day of the Chief's installation, or some festival day. Such silver pieces are hoarded in the hollow of the central post in the *hò*.

The Karennîs, like all other wild tribes, are noted for their fidelity to their oaths. There are different forms of oath-taking: — (1) killing buffaloes, eating their flesh, and preserving their horns, one being kept as a memento by each party participating in the ceremony;[2] (2) drinking water, in which a drop of human blood from a puncture in the arm has been infused; (3) eating a jack-fruit; and (4) exchanging spears The first three forms are used when an interchange of fraternity takes place. The fourth signifies that a reciprocal guarantee is given that no harm shall be done to the recipients. Sometimes, after deciding a knotty case between parties, who have a *chwê* against each other, a Karennî Chief gives his spear to one of the litigants in order to shield him from private vengeance.

T. S. K.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MISCELLANEOUS SUPERSTITIONS AS TO ANIMALS IN MADRAS.

If one happens to see a jackal on first rising from bed, there will be success in every enterprise undertaken during that day. It is a common custom among the Hindus of Madras, when a man meets with exceptional success, to ask him, "Did you see the jackal's face early this morning?"

If a horse neighs, or an ass brays, or a clock chimes, or a bell is rung, or a dog twitches his ears, or a gun is fired, just when one is contemplating the performance of anything, there will certainly be success in the enterprise or attainment of the object.

K SRIKANTALIYAR.

Ootacamund.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, THE MONUMENTAL ANTIQUITIES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH, described and arranged by A. FÜHRER, Ph.D, Archæological Survey, N.-W. P. and Oudh. Allahabad—Printed and Published by the Supdt., Govt. Press, N.-W.P. and Oudh; Calcutta.—Thacker, Spink & Co.; London.—Trübner & Co. and W. H. Allen & Co.; Leipzig.—Otto Harrassowitz. Imperial Quarto. 1891.

The new series of Archæological Survey Reports well begun by Messrs. Führer and E. Smith's handsome volume on the Sharqî Architecture of Jaunpur is worthily continued by the work which is the subject of this notice.

[1] [*ò* = *aw*, in 'awful'—ED.]

[2] Such a ceremony was performed by Kyetpôgyî (Chetpôjî), Chief of Western Karennî, and Mr. O'Riley, Deputy Commissioner, Toungoo, in 1857.

The book is printed in large quarto size on good paper, and the binding and typography are much superior to the work ordinarily turned out by official presses in India.

Some misprints and slips of the pen have escaped correction; for example, the name of the well-known **Bhar tribe** is perversely printed Bhâr, with the long vowel, throughout the book. I am familiar with the Bhar country, and am quite certain that the vowel is invariably short. In the spelling of Indian words Dr. Führer has allowed himself to fall into the sin of pedantry:—'jungle' is now as good English as 'verandah,' or 'mango,' and it is absurd to print the word as 'jangal.'

I do not understand on what principle the word Saiyid or Sayyid (سيد), is spelt Sa'îd, a form which is incorrect, both for transliteration and pronunciation.[1]

So much for small slips and defects. They do not seriously impair the value of the book, and need not be further dwelt on. While commenting on the external features of Dr. Fuhrer's book, I must not forget to mention that it is furnished with admirable indices. Careful readers should not overlook the important "Addenda et Corrigenda" at pp 331—334

The Classified Lists of the Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh contained in this volume have been prepared in compliance with orders issued by the Government of India in 1885. The system of classification adopted is designed as a guide to assist Government in deciding questions concerning the conservation and repair of ancient monuments. "**The object of this volume,**" observes the compiler, "is not only to produce complete lists, so far as known, of the antiquities and epigraphs in each district for the use of the Archæological Survey, but to furnish general information for the guidance of the many residents in these Provinces, with the view of enabling them, if their tastes so incline, to interest themselves in the character and history of the remains in their vicinity."

The work may be regarded as an abstract of Sir A. Cunningham's *Reports*, topographically arranged, and brought up to date.

I now proceed to notice some passages of special interest.

Page 8.—The **local name of the rock at Kâlsî** in the Dehra Dûn District is *Chitraśilâ*, "inscribed or pictured stone," and not *Chhatraśilâ*, or "canopied stone," as stated by Sir A. Cunningham.[2]

Page 23.—An old fort, in Tahsîl Sahaswân, 20 miles north-west from Badâon, has the **remarkable name of Kôṭ Sâlbâhan** (Śâlivâhana).

Page 35.—In **Pargana Bilârî of the Murâdâbâd District** "there is considerable **opportunity for antiquarian researches**, as nearly every second village has an old mound, or *dih*, to the west of it."

Page 36.—To the south-west of the village of 'Âzampur, in Tahsîl Hasanpur of the same district, "is a *khêrâ*, which is the site of ancient buildings. It is reported that there was here the **school of Fâizî Fayâzî**, brother of Abûl Fazl, the great historian of Akbar's time. The ruins of an arched doorway are still standing. The **earth of this mound** is carried off by people, who come from long distances, in order to give it to students to eat, as it is supposed to have very beneficial influence on the brain and memory!"

Page 42.—The **ruins at Mâtî** (Mâtṛipura) in Tahsîl Pawâyan of the Shâhjahânpur District are extensive and apparently would repay examination.

Pages 53—68.—These pages contain a good summary account of **the buildings at Agra.** Dr. Führer thinks that **the Palace of Jahângîr in the Fort** was probably built by Akbar, late in his reign, to serve as a residence for the heir-apparent and his family. He does not accept Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the building was erected by Ibrâhîm Lôdî.

Pages 105—107.—It is to be hoped that a full and connected account of **the discoveries at Mathurâ** will some day be published. Pending such publication the notes here given are of interest: "The **Kaṅkâlî Tîlâ** lies at the side of the Agra and Delhi road, much nearer the city than the Jamâlpur mound. On the summit stands the fragment of a carved pillar venerated at the present day, the supposed image of the goddess Kaṅkâlî."

In the hill itself were found buried two colossal statues of Buddha, each 7¼ feet high. Here also was found the large figure of an elephant standing on the capital of a pillar with an inscription of the Indo-Scythian king Huvishka.

During the extensive excavations, carried on by Dr. Burgess in January 1888, and by Dr.

[1] [It would be quite a different word, and would ordinarily represent سعيد.—ED.]

[2] [It should be noted that, in correcting General Cunningham's version of the name, Dr. Führer twice confounds *śilâ*, 'stone,' with *śîla*, 'virtue.']

Führer in January 1889, a large number of very interesting Jaina relics have been unearthed, namely:—a four-faced lion-capital of the Indo-Scythian period; a massive door-jamb, the three faces of which are divided into panels of equal size, containing scenes of domestic life represented under temple façades of the Nâsik cave pattern; several beautifully wrought panels, bearing inscriptions in the Maurya alphabet; twelve large statues of Digambara Tîrthaṅkaras, bearing inscriptions dated in the regnal years of the Indo-Scythian kings Kanishka Huvishka, and Vasudêva; and two colossal statues of Padmaprabhanâtha, dated Saṁvat 1036, or A. D. 978, and Saṁvat 1134, or A. D. 1088,[3] being donative gifts of the Śvêtâmbara community of Mathurâ.

Probably, on this mound stood the **Upagupta monastery** mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, which General Cunningham identifies with the Yaśa Vihâra inside the Katrâ. The railway from Mathurâ to Brindâban has been cut through the lower terrace of the Katrâ in January 1889, and during the excavations several Buddhist sculptures have been discovered, as well as a mutilated **inscription of the Maukhari king Mahâditya,** and a beautifully written slab, dated Saṁvat 1207, but partly damaged in the middle.

These inscriptions have been edited by Dr. Bühler for the *Epigraphia Indica.*

Page 138.—Concerning Jhûsî, in the Allahabad District, the ancient Pratishṭhânapura, the residence of Purûravas, the first prince of the lunar dynasty, the compiler remarks: "The only remains now existing are **the ruined forts of Samudragupta and Haṁsagupta.** Fifteen years ago twenty-four gold coins of Kumâragupta were unearthed here." Does this mean that the names of Samudragupta and Haṁsagupta are still remembered by the people? If so, the fact is curious. Who was Haṁsagupta?

Page 222.—Dr. Führer here recapitulates the **arguments** already published in his Jaunpur volume, which convince him **that Bhinlâ Dih in the Bastî District cannot be Kapilavastu,** the birth-place of Buddha, as Mr. Carlleyle and Sir A. Cunningham confidently believed it to be. Dr. Führer successfully attacks some of Mr. Carlleyle's fancies, but I do not think that his criticisms justify the conclusion that it is "evident that Bhinlâ Dih is *not* the ancient site of Kapilavastu." Some of Mr. Carlleyle's reasons for supposing it to be that site are undoubtedly invalid, but Bhinlâ Dih occupies approximately the position indicated by the Chinese travellers, and I do not see why it should not yet be proved to be Kapilavastu. But it must be admitted that satisfactory proof has not yet been given.

Page 229.—By an odd blunder Kumâragupta Mahêndra is described as the son of Skandagupta.

Page 271.—"It is interesting to note that in 1876 several **rectangular Chinese silver coins** were found close to the river Ganges in a *dih* at 'Alâu'ddînpur, about six miles west of Bângarmâû," in the Unâo District of Oudh.

Page 274.—The ancient village of **Sañchânkôṭ or Sujânkôṭ,** on the right bank of the river Sâî in the Unâo District, is **identified by Dr. Führer with the Sha-chi of Fa-Hian.** Sir A. Cunningham held that both the Sha-chi of Fa-Hian and the Viśâkhâ of Hiuen Tsiang are represented by the existing town of Ayudhya, or Ajodhya, and that both are identical with Sâkêtam. Dr. Führer holds that Ayudhya = Sâkêtam = Viśâkhâ, but that Sañchânkôṭ = Sha-chi.

Pages 306—313.—The account given in these pages of **Sâhêṭ-Mâhêṭ in the Gôṇḍâ District,** the site of the famous city of **Śrâvastî,** is the best yet published. But, remarks Dr. Führer, "notwithstanding the excavations made by General Cunningham in 1862 and 1876, and by Dr. Hoey, C.S., in 1885, as yet very little is known of the ruins covered with dense jungle[4] inside the old city, which must contain relics which would do much to elucidate some of the most interesting periods of Indian history. There can be no doubt whatever that a thorough and properly conducted excavation would be of great success, and yield many Buddhist and Jain relics; but it ought to be gone about in a scientific method."

Page 321.—Dr. Führer shows good reasons for believing that the well-known **fort at Dalmâu** on the Ganges, the most picturesque object in Oudh, was not originally a fort at all, but "consists really of two Buddhist *stûpas.*"

Page 323.—The **O'-yu-t'o of Hiuen Tsiang** has been identified with so many old sites in Oudh, that I hope Dr. Führer is correct in asserting that on topographical grounds and from a calculation of distances it may safely be identified with Jagatpur in the Râi Barêlî District.

19*th April* 1892. V. A. SMITH.

[3] There seems to be some mistake here: 1036—978 = 56, and 1134—1088 = 46. The passages in the text are quoted as amended by the list of Corrigenda.

[4] The author writes 'jangal,' but in this I decline to follow him. Nor can I consent to call my familiar friend, the coolie, by the outlandish name of 'qulî.'

SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

As far as I can ascertain, the majority of the coins which form the subject of this paper, are now published for the first time. Others (Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 24, 27, 30) were included, because the previously published readings of their legends were more or less capable of improvement. Most of the coins form part of those which were selected from the collection of the late Mr. T. M. Scott, of Madura, for the Government Central Museum, Madras, by me and Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari. The abbreviations are the same as *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 301, with the following additions:—

Atkins = *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, by James Atkins; London, 1889.

Thurston = *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula, and Catalogue of the Coins in the Madras Museum*, by Edgar Thurston; Madras, 1890.

Tracy = *Pandyan Coins*, by the Rev. James E. Tracy, M. A.; *Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the Session* 1887-88.

Tufnell = *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India*, by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M. S. C.; Madras, 1889.

Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore, has again obliged me by preparing the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plates were copied.

I. VIJAYANAGARA COINS.

No. 1. Harihara. M.

Obv. A bull, facing the right; in front of it, a sword. On a specimen belonging to Mr. Tracy, a four-pointed star is visible over the back of the bull.

Rev. { प्रतापह / राहर } Pratâpa-Ha- / râhara.[1]

The legend is surmounted by symbols of the moon and the sun. This coin is a variety of the coin No. 3, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 302.

No. 2. Mallikârjunarâya. MH.

Obv. An elephant, facing the left; above it, the Kanarese syllable *Nî*.

Rev. { ಮಲಿ / ಕಾಜುನರಾ / ಯರು } Mali- / kâjunarâ- / yaru.[2]

No. 3. *Ditto.* M.

Same type as No. 2, but the elephant on the obverse faces the right.

This and the preceding coin closely resemble Sir W. Elliot's No. 92, on which see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 304. Mallikârjuna was a son and successor of Dêvarâya II., whose latest date is Saka-Saṁvat 1371 expired, the cyclic year *Sukla*.[3] An inscription of Mallikârjunadêva, the son of Dêvarâya, on the left of the entrance into the first *prâkâra* of the Aruḷâḷa-Perumâl temple at Little Kâñchî is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1387 expired, the cyclic year *Pârthiva*. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother Virûpâkshadêva, whose inscription on the South

[1] Read *Harihara*. [2] Read *Mallikârjunarâyaru*. [3] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I. No. 81.

wall of the *Abhishêka-maṇḍapa* in the same temple is dated in 'Saka-Saṁvat 1392 expired, the cyclic year *Vikṛiti*.[4] The two Tamil dates are as follows: —

A. Inscription of Mallikârjuna.

'Srî-Vîrapratâpa-Dêvarâya-mahârâyar kumârar Mallikâ[r]jjunadêva-mahâ[râ]yar pṛidivi-râjya[m]=ppaṇṇi aruḷâniṉṟa Sakâbdam 1387ṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa P[ârd]dhiva-saṅvatsarattu Vṛiśchika-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pûrṇṇaiyum [N]âyaṟṟu-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Kâttigai-n[â]ḷ.

"While **Mallikârjunadêva-mahârâya**, the son of the glorious **Vîrapratâpa-Dêvarâya-mahârâya**, was pleased to rule the earth, — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Kṛittikâ, which corresponded to Sunday, the full-moon *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in the *Pârthiva* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1387."

B. Inscription of Virûpâksha.

Srî-Dêvarâya-mahârâyar ku[mâ]rar śrî-Virupâkshadêva-mahârâyar[5] p[ṛi]divi-râjyam paṇṇi aruḷâniṉṟa Sakâbdam 1392ṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa Vikṛiti-saṅvarsarattu Magara-nâyaṟṟu a[pa]ra-pakshattu amâvâsyai[yum] Âditya-vâramum peṟṟa Tiruv[ôṇat]tu nâḷ A[ṟ]tta-udaiya-puṇya-kâlattilê.

"While the glorious **Virûpâkshadêva-mahârâya**, the son of the glorious **Dêvarâya-mahârâya**, was pleased to rule the earth,—at the auspicious time of *Ardhôdaya* on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Sravaṇa, which corresponded to Sunday, the new-moon *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara in the *Vikṛiti* year, which was current after the 'Saka year 1392."

No. 4. **Sadâśivarâya.** MH.

Obv. God and goddess, seated.

Rev.	श्रीसदा	[Srî-Sadâ]-
	शिवरा	śivarâ-
	यरु	yaru.

This copper coin corresponds to the pagoda figured by Sir W. Elliot, No. 100; see *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 32.

No. 5. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the left.

Rev. Same as No. 4.

The obverse of this coin is an imitation of the copper issues of Kṛishṇarâya, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 306, No. 28.

No. 6. **Tirumalarâya,** H.

Obv. A boar, facing the right; above it, a sword and the sun.

Rev.	ಶ್ರೀತಿ	[Srî-Ti]-
	ರುಮಲ	rumala-
	ರಾಯ	râya.

This coin is figured by Sir W. Elliot in the *Madras Journal*, New Series, Vol. IV. Plate i. No. 11. The execution of the Kanarese legend is so barbarous, that the reading would remain doubtful, unless a similar Nâgarî legend did occur on the coins figured *ibid.* Nos. 12 to 17, which have nearly the same obverse as the coin under notice. A correct transcript of the legend on the reverse of these coins was given *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 307.

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[4] See also Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 245.

[5] Read *Virûpâksha*.

II. CHOLA COIN.

No. 7. M.

(Elliot, No. 152).

The obverse and reverse are identical. In the centre is a seated tiger,—the emblem of the Chôḷa king,—facing the right, with two fishes,—symbols of the Pâṇḍya king,—in front, and a bow,—the emblem of the Chêra king,—behind. The whole group is flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two *chaurîs.* Underneath is the legend:—

Obv. and Rev. { गंगैकोण्ड चोल: Gaṁgaikoṇḍa-Chôla[ḥ].

This coin is republished, because Mr. Thomas has misread it (Elliot, p. 132, note 1). The name or surname Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa, "the Chôḷa (king) who conquered the Gaṅgâ," survives to the present day in **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôḷapuram,** the name of a ruined city in the Uḍaiyârpâḷaiyam tâlukâ of the Trichinopoly district. The earliest reference to this city is in a Tañjâvûr inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Parakêsarivarman, *alias* **Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva.**[6] As this king claims to have conquered the Gaṅgâ,[7] it is not unreasonable to suppose that he bore the surname **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa (I.),** and that both the foundation of the city and the issue of the coin are due to him. A proof for the correctness of this supposition may perhaps be derived from the unpublished inscriptions on the walls of the ruined Bṛihadîśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-'Sôḷapuram. This temple is called **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷêśvara** in four Pâṇḍya inscriptions, while a mutilated inscription of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva I. refers to a temple named **Râjêndra-Sôḷa-Îśvara.** If, — what is very probable, — this temple has to be taken as identical with the first, it would follow that the founder of the Îśvara (Śiva) temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-'Sôḷapuram bore the two names Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa and Râjêndra-Chôḷa. Further, the surname Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa is applied to the maternal grandfather of Kulôttuṅga I. in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (x. 5). Though the same poem (x. 3) gives the real name of Kulôttuṅga's grandfather as Râjarâja, there is no doubt that, as Dr. Fleet (*ante,* Vol. XX. p. 279 f.) points out, this is a mistake or an inaccurate expression for Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who, as we know from the Chellûr grant, was the father of Ammaṅgadêvî, the mother of Kulôttuṅga I. A coin which resembles the one under notice, but bears the Nâgarî legend *Śrî-Râjêndraḥ* (Elliot, No. 153),[8] may be attributed to Parakêsarivarman, *alias* **Râjêndradêva.** An unpublished inscription of this king at Maṇimaṅgalam in the Chingleput district mentions a **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa (II.)** who was the uncle of, and received the title Irumaḍi-Chôḷa from, the reigning king. Subsequent to the time of Râjêndra-Chôla, the next mention of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôḷapuram is in an unpublished inscription of Râjakêsarivarman, *alias* **Vîra-Râjêndradêva,** at Karuvûr in the Coimbatore district. This inscription also refers to a son of the king, whose name was **Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa (III.),** and on whom the title Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya[9] and the sovereignty over the Pâṇḍya country were conferred by his father. According to the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi,*[10] **Gaṅgâpurî,** *i.e.* Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Sôḷapuram, continued to be the royal residence in the time of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva I.** (A.D. 1063 to 1112). In Bilhaṇa's *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* (iv. 21, and vi. 21) the city is mentioned under the name **Gâṅga-kuṇḍapura,** which the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. is said to have taken twice.

III. MADURA COINS.

No. 8. MH.

Obv. Two fishes.

Rev. (Tamiḷ.) { Śrî-Avanî-paśêgaraṅ=gôḷaga.

[6] *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. p. 105.

[7] *ibid.* p. 109, and Vol. I. p. 99.

[8] A third coin of similar type (No. 154) has *Uttama-Chôlaḥ* in Nâgarî, and a fourth (No. 151) *Uttama-Chôḷan* in Grantha characters.

[9] *Not* Sundara-Pâṇḍya-Chôḷa, as stated in Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography,* 2nd edition, p. 45, note 1.

[10] *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 339.

"The round coin (?) of the glorious **Avanîpaśêkhara** (*i. e.* the ornament of princes)."

No. 9. MH.

(Elliot, No. 139).

Obv. A standing figure, facing the right.

Rev. (Tamil.) { Śôṇâ- / ḍu ko- / ṇḍâṉ.

"He who conquered **the Chôḷa country**."[11] The correct reading and explanation of this legend is due to my First Assistant, Mr. Venkayya.

No. 10. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 9.

Rev. Two fishes; between them, the Tamiḻ legend :—

El-
lâ-
nta-
laiy-
âṇâṉ.

No. 11. MH.

(Elliot, Nos. 137 and 160).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 and 10.

Rev. Two fishes, surrounded by the Tamiḻ legend *Ellântalaiyâ.*

No. 12. MH.

(Elliot, No. 136).

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11, with the addition of the Tamiḻ syllable *Su* on the right side.

Rev. A fish between two lamps, surrounded by the same legend as on No. 11

No. 13. MH.

Obv. Same as Nos. 9 to 11.

Rev. (Tamiḻ.) { El- / lân- / talai- / yâ.

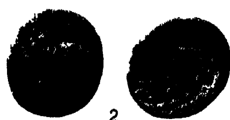
The legends of Nos. 11 to 13 appear to be abbreviations of the longer legend of No. 10, which on some specimens is further shortened into *Ellântalai.* Mr. Tracy, p. 2 f. pointed out that Sir W. Elliot's reading *Samarakôlâhala* is impossible, and suggested *Ellânagaraiyâḷan* instead. But the syllable which he reads *rai*, is clearly *lai* on all the coins. The preceding syllable might be *ka, ga* or *ta, da;* the sense requires the second alternative. The last syllable is distinctly *ṇâṉ* on No. 10. *Ellân-talaiy-âṇâṉ* means "he who is the chief of the world" and appears to be the Tamiḻ original of the Sanskṛit epithets *viśvôttarakshmâbhṛit, sarvôttara-kshmâbhṛit,* and *sarvôttîrṇamahîbhṛit,* "the king who is the chief of the world," which occur in verses 7, 8 and 15 of an unpublished inscription of Sundara-Pâṇḍya on the East wall of the second *prâkâra* of the **Raṅganâtha** temple at Śrîraṅgam. I would accordingly attribute the issue of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 to **Sundara-Pâṇḍya**, who ascended the throne in Saka-Saṁvat

[11] Śôṇâḍu is a contraction of Śôlanâḍu, as Malâḍu of Malainâḍu; see below, p. 344, and *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II. p 167, note 5, and p 229, note 2

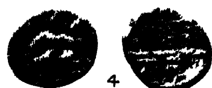
SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

Plate i.

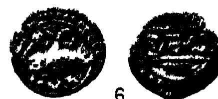

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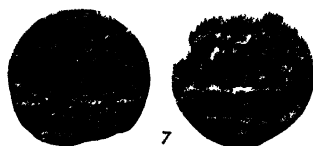

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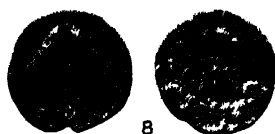

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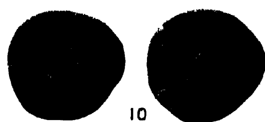

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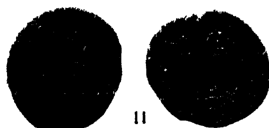

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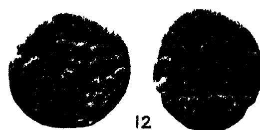

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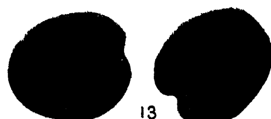

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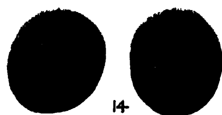

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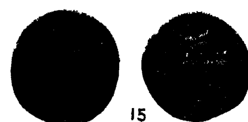

10


11


12


13


14


15

FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

1173 (*ante*, p. 122). This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that, on the obverse of some copies of the coins Nos. 10 to 13 (*e. g.* on No. 12 of Plate i), we find the Tamil̤ syllable *Su*, which appears to be an abbreviation of *Sundara-Pâṇḍiyan̤*. Compare *Dê* for *Dêvarâya*; *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 303, No. 12.

No. 14. **Viśvanâtha.** M.

(Tracy, No. 9).

Obv. Same as No. 13.

Rev. A sceptre between two fishes, surmounted by a crescent and surrounded by the Tamil̤-Grantha legend :—

[1.] Vi- [5.] n̤.
[2.] śva- [4.] da-
[3.] nâ-

Mr. Tracy, p. 6, took the final Tamil̤ *n̤* for a Grantha *s*, and the Grantha group *śva* for a Tamil̤ *va*.

No. 15. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes.

Rev. A crescent; below it, the Tamil̤-Grantha legend :—

Viśva-
nâda-
n̤.

No. 16. *Ditto.* M.

Obv. A sceptre between two fishes; above them, the Tamil̤ legend :—

Pâṇ-
ḍiyan̤.

Rev. The same legend as on No. 15.

Nos. 14 to 16 belong to Viśvanâtha, the first Nâyaka of Madura (A. D. 1559 to 1563). No. 16 shows that he wanted to be considered as the rightful successor of the Pâṇḍya dynasty.

No. 17. MH.

Obv. A standing figure.

Rev. { ವೆಂಕ / ಟಪ } Veṁka-
ṭapa.

This is a variety of No. 37, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 308.

No. 18. H.

Obv. Three standing figures.

Rev. { ವೆಂಕ / ಟಪನಾ / ಯಕ } Veṁka-
[ṭa]panâ-
[yaka].

No. 19. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure, which faces the right.

Rev. (Grantha.) { Vî-
rabha-
dra.

No. 20. MH.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the right.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀಅ / ನಂತ — 'Srî-A- / naṁta.

It is not known to which of the rulers of Madura the names **Vîrabhadra** and **Ananta** on the reverse of Nos. 19 and 20 refer. But the style of the kneeling figure on the obverse connects the Grantha coin No. 19 with the Tamiḻ coins of Bhuvanaikavîra (Elliot's No. 138) and Samarakôlâhala, and the Kanarese coin No. 20 with the Nâgarî coins of Kṛishṇarâya and Sadâśivarâya (No. 5, above).

No. 21. H.

Obv. A lion, facing the right.

Rev. (Tamiḻ.) { Miṇâ- / ṭchi.

Mînâkshî is the name of the goddess of Madura. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 203, queen Mînâkshî of the Nâyaka dynasty ruled from A. D. 1731 to 1736. The reverse of the coin may refer to the goddess, or to the queen, or to both at the same time.

No. 22. MH.

Obv. Same as No. 21.

Rev. (Tamiḻ.) { Madu- / rai.

No. 23. MH.

Obv. మధురా Madhurâ.

Rev. Same as No. 22.

The obverse of No. 22 connects this coin with No. 21. The bilingual coin No. 23 agrees with No. 22 in the reverse, which bears the Tamiḻ name of the city of Madura, while its Telugu equivalent occupies the obverse.

IV. BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY COINS.

No. 24. MH.

(Tufnell, No. 49; Thurston, Plate xii. No. 1).

Obv. ಶ್ರೀ 'Srî.

Rev. (Tamiḻ.) { Kum- / piṇi.

No. 25. MH.

Obv. An eight-pointed star.

Rev. Same as No. 24.

The reverse of Nos. 24 and 25 is an early attempt to transliterate the word **"Company"** in the vernacular character. The auspicious monosyllable *Śrî* (Fortune) appears to be inserted on the obverse of No. 24 from similar motives as the word *Śrîraṅga* on Nos. 26 to 29.

No. 26. H.

Obv. An orb, surmounted by a cross.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀ / ರಂಗ — 'Srî- / raṁga.[12]

[12] On some specimens of this and the next coins, the second line of the legend reads ಂಗರ instead of ರಂಗ

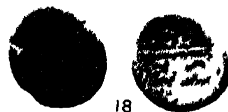
SOUTH-INDIAN COPPER COINS.

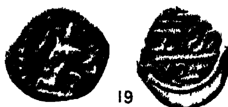
Plate ii.


16

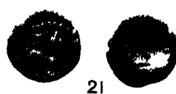

17a


17b


18


19

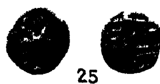

20

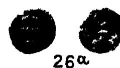

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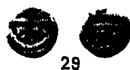

25

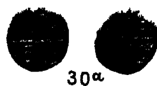

26a


26b


27


28


29


30a


30b

FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

No. 27. H.—A.D. 1678 (?).

(Atkins, p. 140, No. 34).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figure 78 inscribed in the lower portion of the orb.

Rev. Same as No. 26, with the addition of a double line between the two lines of the legend.

Mr. Atkins attributes this coin to the Bombay Presidency; but the Southern characters on the reverse prove it to be a Madras issue.

No. 28. H.—A.D. 1698.

Obv. { 16 / 98 } in a circle.

Rev. Same as No. 27.

No. 29. H.—A.D. 1705.

(Thurston, Plate xii. No. 3 ?).

Obv. Same as No. 26, but the figures 17 and 05 inscribed in the upper and lower half of the orb.

Rev. Same as Nos. 27 and 28.

The word *Śrîraṅga*, which appears on the reverse of Nos. 26 to 29, is, as a neuter, the name of a celebrated shrine of Vishṇu near Trichinopoly, but is also used in the masculine gender as an epithet of the god Vishṇu himself. This reverse was probably selected by the Company with the view of making their coin popular with the native public, and of matching the image of Vishṇu, which was engraved on all the Madras pagodas.

V.—FRENCH COIN OF KARIKAL.

No. 30. H.

(Tufnell, No. 48).

Obv. (Tamiḻ.) { Pudu- / chchê- / ri.

Rev. (Tamiḻ.) { Kâ- / raik- / kâl.[13]

Puduchchêri and **Kâraikkâl** are the original Tamil forms of the names of the French settlements Pondicherry and Karikal.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from page* 311.)

20. mahâniyaṁṭhijjaṁ (cf. chap. 6), mahânirgraṁṭhîyâṁ; aṇâhapavvayyâ S; 60 vv. Of the anâthatvaṁ; Sêṇiô Magahâhivô v. 2. The title found in S agrees with the contents (as was the case with 6 and 7).

21. samuddapâlijjaṁ (°lejjaṁ V), samudrapâlîyaṁ, 24 vv. Of the viviktacharyâ. Begins: Champâê Pâliê nâma । sâvâê âsi vâṇiê । Mahâvîrassa bhagavaô । sîsô sô u mahappaṇô ॥

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[13] No. 30 a of Plate ii shows the first and second lines of the obverse, and the second and third lines of the reverse; No. 30 b exhibits the second and third lines of the obverse, and the first and second lines of the reverse.

22. rahanêmijjaṁ, 49 vv. Of the anôrathanêmivach charaṇaṁ; utpannaviśrôtasikêuâ 'pi dhṛitiḥ kâryâ. Begins: [47] Sôriyapurammi nayarê | âsi râyâ mahiḍḍhiê | Vasudêva 'tti nâmêṇaṁ | râyalakkhaṇasâṁjuê || 1 || tassa bhajjâ duvê âsi | Rôhiṇî Dêvaî tahâ | tâsiṁ duṇhaṁ pi dô puttâ | ïtthâ Râma-Kêsavâ || 2 || v. 1[ab] | Samuddavijaê nâmaṁ | v. 1[d] || 3 || tassa bhajjâ Sivâ nâma | tîsê puttê mahâyasê | bhagavaṁ Ariṭṭhanêmi tti | lôganâhê damîsarê || 4 || . . .

23. Kêsi-Gôyamijjaṁ, Kêśi-Gautamîyaṁ; Gôtamakêśiyyaṁ S; 89 vv.; chittaviplutiḥ parêshâm api Kêśi-Gautamavad apanêyâ. Begins: jiṇê Pâsi tti nâmêṇaṁ | arahâ lôgapûiê | .. || 1 || tassa lôgapaîvassa | âsi sîsê mahâyasê | Kêsî Kumârasamaṇê | vijjâcharaṇapâragê || 2 ||. See p. 337 on upâṁga 2.

24. samiîu, samitîô S, pavayaṇamâyarô (!) C; 27 vv. Of the pravachanamâtṛisvarûpaṁ, *i. e.* the 5 samiti and 3 gupti, which are together also called aṭṭha samiîô: iriyâ-bhâsê-'saṇâ dâṇê uchchârê samiî iya | maṇôguttî vayaguttî kâyaguttî ya aṭṭhamâ || 2 ||. These are regarded as the mothers as regards the duvâlasaṁgaṁ Jiṇakkhâyaṁ pavayaṇaṁ. See *Ind. Streifen*, 1, 133, 209, 2, 047, in reference to the ethical three-fold division into maṇô, vaya, kâya.

25. jannaïjjaṁ, yajñîyaṁ, 45 vv. Jayaghôshacharitavarṇanadvârêṇa brahmaguṇâ ihô 'chyaṁtê. Begins: mâhaṇakulasaṁbhûô | âsi vippô mahâjasô | jâyâî-jamajannammi (yamayajñê) | Jayaghôsu tti nâmâô || ||

26. sâmâyârî, dasasâ° C, 53 vv. Only he who is in possession of the brahmaguṇas (chap. 25) is a yati, têna châ 'vaśyaṁ sâmâchârî vidhêyâ. This is ten-fold:[34] [48] âvassiyâ, nisîhiyâ,[35] âpuchhaṇâ, paḍipuchhaṇâ, chhaṁdaṇâ, ichhâkârô, michhakârô, tahakkârô, abbhuṭṭhâṇâṁ, uvasaṁpayâ. The similar enumeration in Âvaśy. nijj. 7, 12, where there is, however, a different arrangement (the same as in aṅga 3, 10, and Bhag. 25, 7 according to L.): — ichhâkârô, michhâ, tahakkârô (6—8), âva° . . chhaṁdaṇâ (1—5), nimaṁtaṇâ (instead of 9), uvasaṁpayâ (10). — Haribhadra on Âvaśy. nijj. 6, 88, says[36] that there are three kinds of sâmâchârî, 1. the ôghasâmâchârî, represented by the ôghaniryukti, on the 20th prâbhṛitaṁ (ôghaprâ°) of the 3. vastu (âchârâbhidhâna) pûrva 9, 2. the daśavidhasâmâchârî, for which our chapter and Âv. nijj. 7 is authoritative, and 3. the padavibhâgasâmâchârî, which too is represented by chhêdasûtralakshaṇân navamât pûrvâd êva nirvyûdha, or by kalpavyavahârau.[37] — Begins: sâmâyâriṁ pavakkhâmi savvadukkhavimukkhaṇiṁ | jaṁ charittâṇa niggaṁthâ | tinnâ saṁsârasâgaraṁ || 1 ||

27. khaluṁkijjaṁ, khulu° V, 15 vv. Of the śaṭhatâ; the aśaṭhatâ is the antecedent condition for the sâmâchârî. It begins: thêrê gaṇaharê Gagjê (Gârgyaḥ) munî âsî visârâê | âinnê gaṇibhâvammi samâhiṁ paḍisaṁdhâê || || The name comes from v. 3: khaluṁkê jô u jôêi, khaluṁkân galivṛisabhân (s. Hêm. 1263) yô yôjayati.

28. mukkhamaggagaî, sivamagga° C, 36 vv. Of the môkshamârga. Begins: mukkhamaggagaïṁ tachchaṁ | suṇêha jiṇabhâsiyaṁ . .

29. sammattaparakkamaṁ, samyaktva°; appamâô S. In prose; anaṁtaraṁ (in chap. 28) jñânâdîni muktimârgatvênô 'ktâni, tâni cha saṁvêgâdimûlâni akarmatâvasânâni; [49] yadvâ môkshamârgagatêr apramâda êva (on this then is based the title in S) pradhânaṁ. Enumeration of the 73 saṁvêgâdîni, means of deliverance (cf. Leumann, Gloss. Aup. p. 155, s. v. saṁvêjaṇa): saṁvêgê 1, nivvêê 2, dhammasaddhâ 3, gurusâhammiyasusûsaṇayâ 4, âlôaṇâya 5, niṁdaṇayâ 6, garihaṇayâ 7, sâmâiê and the remaining 5 âvassaya 8 — 13 etc. to akammayâ 73 (cf. the 48 saṁvêgâdîni, Bhagav. 16, 3, and 27 saṁv. in aṅga 4, 27, Leum.). As in the beginning (see p. 43) so in the end there is a direct reference to Mahâvîra: êsa khalu sammattaparakkamassa ajjhayaṇassa aṭṭhê samaṇênaṁ bhagavayâ Mahâvîrêṇaṁ agghaviê pannaviê parûviê daṁsiê nidaṁsiê uvadaṁsiê tti bêmi.

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[34] The word sâmâyârî recalls especially the *sâmayâchârikasûtra* of the Brahmins, with which the significance and contents of these texts is in agreement. From this I am led to conclude that sâmâyârî is an intentional deformation of sâmayâchârî; see pp. 228, 238, 243 fg.

[35] naishêdhikî, see pp. 452, 257.

[36] See pp. 357, 449.

[37] The three sâmâyârî texts which I have before me — see pp. 223, 369 fg. — contain another division than that stated above. Their contents is, however, connected, and they agree in the main with each other.

30. tavamaggijjam, °ggô S, °maïjjam V, 37 vv., tapômârgagati. Begins: jahâ u pâvagam kammam râgadôsasamajjiyam | khavêi tavasâ bhikkhû tam êgagamaṇô suṇa || 1 ||

31. charaṇavihî, 21 vv.; charaṇavidhi.

32. pamâyaṭṭhâṇam, 111 vv.; pramâdasthânâni. Begins: achchaṁtakâlassa samûlayassa | savvassa dukkhassa u jô pamâkkhô | tam bhâsaô mê paḍipunnachittâ | suṇêha êgaṁtahiyam hiyattham.

33. kammapayaḍî, karmaprakṛitih, 25 vv. Begins: aṭṭha kammâim (cf. Bhag. 2, 166) vuchhâmi | âṇupuvvim jahakkamam | jêhim baddhê ayam jîvê | samsârê parivattâê || 1 || nâṇassâ "varaṇijjam | damsaṇâvaraṇam tahâ | vêyaṇijjam | tahâ môham | âukammam tahêva ya || || nâmakayyam cha gôyam cha | aṁtarâyam tahêva ya. Closes: êêsim samvarê chêva | khavaṇê ya jâê (yatêta) buhê tti bêmi || || The nâṇam *e. g.* is (see N. Anuy. Âvaśy. Aupap. p. 41) five-fold: suyam, âbhinibôhiyam, ôhinâṇam, maṇanâṇam, kêvalam.

34. lêsajjhayaṇam, lêśyâ°, 62 vv.; anaṁtaram (in 33) prakṛitaya uktâs, tatsthitiś cha lêśyâvaśataḥ; apra[40]śastalêśyâtyâgataḥ praśastâ êva tâ adhishṭhâtatavyâḥ. Begins: lêsajjhayaṇam pavakkhâmi | âṇupuvvim jahakkamam chhaṇham pi kammalêsâṇam | aṇubhâvê suṇêha mê || 1 || Closes: appasatthâu vajjittâ | pasatthâu ahiṭṭhâê (adhitishṭhêt) muṇi tti bêmi || 62 | Bhag. 1, 160, Leum. Aup. p. 149.

35. aṇagâramaggam, °ggê S, °ggô V; 21 vv.; himsâparivarjanâdayô bhikkhuguṇâḥ. Begins: suṇêha mê êgamaṇâ magjam Savvannudêsiyam | jam âyaraṁtô bhikkhû | dukkhâṇa 'ṁtakarô bhavê || 1 ||. Closes: nimmamô nirahaṁkârô vîyarâgô aṇâsavô | sampattô kêvalam nâṇam sâsayam parinivvuḍa tti bêmi || 31 ||

36. jîvâjîvavibhattî, 268 vv. Begins: jîvâjîvavibhattim | suṇêha mê êgamaṇâ iô | jam jâṇiûṇa bhikkhû | sammam jayaï samjamê || 1 ||. Closes: ii pâukârê buddhê | ṇâyâê parinivvuê | chattîsa·ṇ uttarajjhâê | bhavasiddhîa sammaï (samvuḍê A) tti bêmi || 268 ||

At the end in some MSS. of the text and in the scholiast there are added some variant verses of the niryuktikâra in praise of the work: jê kira bhavasiddhiâ | parittasamsâriâ a jê bhavvâ | tê kira paḍhaṁti êê | chhattîsam uttarajjhâê || 1 || . . .

XLIV **Second mûlasûtram, âvaśyakasûtram.** By âvaśyaka, as we have often seen in the case of païnna 1, Nandî and Anuyôgadv., are meant six observances which are obligatory upon the Jain, be he layman or clerical. That the regulations in reference to these observations had an established text as early as the date of N and An., is clear from the fact that they appear in the Nandî as the first group of the aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha texts (see above p. 11); and in the Anuyôgadv. the word ajjhayaṇachhakkavagga is expressly given as its synonym. See p. 22. We have also seen [51] that the Anuyôgadvârasûtram claims to contain a discussion of the first of these 6 âvaśyakas (the sâmâiyam), but that this claim is antagonistic to that limitation of the sâmâiam to the sâvajjajôgaviratiin which frequently secures the Anuy. By this limitation an ethical character is ascribed to the work, the contents of which is, furthermore, at variance with the claim mode by the Anuy.

The âvaśyakasûtram is a work which deals with all the six âvaśyakas in the order[38] which is followed in the Nandî and Aṇuyôgadvâra, and discusses the sâmâiam actually, not merely nominally as the Anuyôg. does. Unfortunately we possess, not the text of the âvaśy., but merely the **commentary, called śishyahitâ, of an Haribhadra,**[39] which is as detailed as that on mûlas.

[38] See p. 484 on this arrangement.

[39] At the close he is called a pupil of Jinadatta from the Vidyâdharakula, or an adherent of Sitâmbarâchârya Jinabhata: samâptâ chê 'yam śishyahitâ nâmâ "vaśyakaṭîkâ, kritiḥ Sitambarâchârya Jinabhaṭamgadânusârinô Vidyâdharakulatilakâchârya Jinadattaśishyasya dharmatô jôiṇî (yâkinî!)-mahattarâmnânâralpamânarâ(?)chârya Haribhadrasya. The Gaṇadharasârdhaśata is here referred to (cf. v. 52 fg.) and the great Haribhadra († Vîra 1055); see pp. 371, 372, 456 fg. In Peterson's *Detailed Report* (1883) we find cited (pp. 6—9) under No. 12 a vṛitti of a Śrî-Tilakâchârya, scholar of Śivaprabha, composed samvat 1296.

1. Of this commentary there is but one MS., which, though written regularly enough, is very incorrect and fails in every way to afford the reader any means of taking a survey of its contents by the computation of the verses, etc. It labours under the defect of such manuscript commentaries in citing[40] the text with the *pratîkas* only and not in full, with the exception of foll. 73b to 153b[41] and some other special passages. The text is divided according to the commentary into [52] the six ajjhayaṇas, with which we are already acquainted: — 1. the sâmâiam, the sâvajjôjôgaviraî, which extends to fol. 196b, 2. the chaüvîsaïthava or praise of the 24 Jinas, extending to 204b, 3. vaṁdaṇayaṁ or honor paid to the teachers, reaching to 221a, 4. paḍikkamaṇaṁ, confession and renunciation (to 298b), 5. kâussaga, expiation to (315a), and 6. pachchakkhâṇaṁ, acceptation of the twelve vratas (to 342a).

By sâmâiam much more than the sâvajjajôgavirati is meant. It is etymologically explained by samânâṁ jñânadarśanachâritrâṇaṁ âyaḥ (35b). It treats not merely of the doctrine of Mahâvîra on this point, but also of the history of the doctrine itself, *i. e.* of the predecessors of Mâhâv., of himself, of his eleven gaṇaharas and of his opponents, the different schisms (niṇhagas, nihnavas) which gradually gained a foothold in his teachings. The latter are chronologically fixed. Haribhadra quotes very detailed legends (kathânakas) in Prâkṛit prose (sometimes in metre) in this connection and also in connection with the diṭṭhaṁta and udâharaṇa which are frequently mentioned in the text. These legends have doubtless been borrowed from one of his predecessors whose commentary was composed in Prâkṛit. The remarks of this predecessor, cited elsewhere either directly as those of the Bhâshyakâra (see on Nijj. 10, 47), or without further comment or mention of his name, he has incorporated into his own commentary. This too was here and there composed in Prâkṛit. Occasional reference is made to a mûlaṭîkâ (see on Nijj. 19, 122), which in turn appears to have been the foundation of the Bhâshyakâra.

[53] Even if we do not possess the text of the shaḍâvaśyakasûtram with its six ajjhayaṇas which was commented upon by Haribhadra, our loss is to a great degree compensated by a metrical Nijjutti. This is even called âvaśyakasûtram at the close in the MSS., and is probably the **only Âvasy. text which is extant.**[42] At least Haribhadra regarded it as an integral portion of his text. He has incorporated it, with but a few omissions, into his commentary, and commented upon it verse for verse. He cites its author not merely as Niryuktikṛit, °kâra, (*e. g.* on chap. 16, 17) as Saṁgrahaṇikâra, as Mûlabhâshyakṛit (*e. g.* 2, 135), or even merely as Bhâshyakâra (*e. g.* on 2, 70, 142, *i. e.* just as the author of the above mentioned commentary in Prâkṛit prose) but also occasionally as graṁthakâra, °kṛit (see for example Nijj. 8, 44, 10, 95), and even as sûtrakâra, °kṛit (*e. g.* Nijj. 1, 76, 16, 50). The verses of the Nijj. are occasionally called[43] sûtras by him! From a consideration of these facts we are led to the conclusion that the sole difference between the text commented on by Har. and the Nijj. lies in the different division — the text being divided into 6, the Nijj. into 20 ajjhayaṇas. See below. The fact that Har. does not cite at all some sections of the Nijjutti (for example the Thêrâvalî at the very start) may, however, be held to militate against the above conclusion. His text too contains besides the Nijj. several other parts, chiefly in prose, [54] which he calls sûtras or words of the sûtrakâra (see Nijj. 13, 53), *e. g.* especially a pratikramaṇasûtram given *in extenso*. He furthermore occasionally contrasts the sûtragâthâ or mûlasûtragâthâ with the gâthâs of the Niryuktikâra. See on Niry. 11, 39, 61.[44]

With this the following fact is in agreement: — several times in the MSS. of the Nijj. there are inserted in the text short remarks in Sanskṛit which refer to the proper sûtram. This sûtram has, however, not been admitted into the text, *e. g.* Nijj. 10, 2, 12, 176. In one case, chap. 20, this sûtra portion (in prose) has actually been incorporated into the Nijj.

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40 342 foll. Each page has 17 lines of 58—63 aksh. each.

41 Nijj. 3, 315—9, 3.

42 Cf., however, the âvaśyakaśrutaskandha in Kielhorn's *Report*, 1881, p. 92, and the shaḍâvaśyakasûtram in Bühler's paper in the *Journal of the Vienna Acad.* 1881, p. 574.

43 *e. g.* tathâ chê 'hâ 'padêśikaṁ gâthâsûtram âha Niryuktikâraḥ : saṁsâra° (2, 18).

44 In other passages, however, he says that the verses even of the Nijj. are sûtras! See p. 53, note 2.

It is, furthermore, noteworthy that in the Nijjutti, too, Haribhadra distinguishes different constituent parts and different authors (see p. 53). He refers its verses at one time to the niryukti(kâra), mûlabhâshyakâra,[45] and at another to the saṁgrahaṇikâra, or even sûtrakṛit (!). He thus brings these verses into direct contrast with each other[46] and subjects them to different treatment, by citing some, perhaps those of more recent date, in full, [55] either word for word or without commentary; while the remainder he cites as a rule merely by their *pratîkas* and then explains, first by a gamanikâ, or aksharagam., *i. e.* a translation of each word, and finally by expository remarks called out by the nature of the subject.[47]

Haribhadra too appears to have found a special defect existing in his sûtra text. Between chapters 8 and 9 of the Nijj. we ought to find the sûtrasparśinî nijjuttî according to his statement; but: nô 'chyatê, yasmâd asati sûtrê (!) kasyâ 'sâv iti. Haribhadra devotes a long discussion to sûtras in general, which recurs Nijj. 10, 2, 89, 11, 7 (sûtra and niryukti), 12, 17, 13, 55.

Using due caution in reference to an explanation of the mutual relation which exists in our text between Sutta and Nijjutti, and in reference to the form of the text of the Âvaśyakam which existed in the time of Haribhadra, I subjoin a **review of the 20 ajjhayaṇas of the existing Nijj.** The two MSS. which I possess (the second I call B) show many divergences from one another, some of which are explainable on the score of inexact computation of the verses. Other MSS. contain much greater variations. The passages cited in Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 100 (104) as 2, 97, and p. 101 as 2, 332, are *e. g.* here 3, 281 (291), 332 (342). Very great divergences come to light in the two MSS. in Peterson's [56] *Detailed Report* (1883), pp. 124 and 127. These MSS. are numbered Nos. 273 (= P) and 306 (= π, with a break in the beginning; and chapters 1, 2 and 6 are lost). The text is composed exclusively in gâthâs. One of its special peculiarities is formed by the frequent dâragâhâs, *i. e.* verses which state briefly the contents of what follows, principally by the enumeration of the catch-words or titles of paragraphs. Unfortunately the use or denotation of these verses is not regular; from which fact the benefit to be derived from this otherwise excellent method of division is materially reduced. The Nom. Sgl. Masc. 1. Decl. ends, with but very few exceptions, in *ô*.

It must be prefaced that Haribhadra treats chap. 1—10 under ajjhayaṇa 1, 11—12 under ajjh. 2 and 3 respectively, 13—18 under ajjh. 4, and the last two chapters under ajjh. 5 and 6 respectively. This is done, however, without specially marking off the conclusions of the chapters of the Nijj.[48] Only the conclusions of the six ajjhayaṇas are distinguished from the others.

1. **peḍhiâ, pîṭhikâ,** 131 vv. (in P the thirâvalî has nominally 125 and peḍhiyâ 81 gâ°!) It begins with the same Thêrâvalî (50 vv.) that occurs in the beginning of the Nandî, and treats, from v. 51 on, of the different kinds of nâṇa (cf. Nandi and Anuyôgadv.). Haribhadra does not explain the Thêrâvalî at all and begins his commentary (fol. 3) at v. 51: âbhinibôhianâṇaṁ | suanâṇaṁ chêva ôhinâṇaṁ cha | taha maṇapajjavanâṇaṁ | kêvalanâṇaṁ cha paṁchamayaṁ || 51 ||

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[45] *e. g.* 4, 3, iyaṁ niryuktigâthâ, êtâs tu mûlabhâshyakâragâthâ: bhîmaṭṭha° (4, 4—6).

[46] The sûtrakṛit appears here as later than the saṁgrahaṇikâra, fol. 260 a: — tân abhidhitsur âha saṁgrahaṇikâraḥ: ambê (Nijj. 16, 48) gâhâ, asi° (49) gâthâ; idaṁ gâthâdvayaṁ sûtrakrin-niryuktigâthâbhir êva prakaṭârthâbhir vyâkhyâyatê (sûtrâkṛitâ . . vyâkhyâyatê or sûtrakrin niryu° . . vyâkhyâti would be better); dhâdaṁti padhâḍaṁ ti . .; then follows the text of Nijj. 16, 50—64 in full but without commentary. Here it is to be noticed that one of the MSS. of the Nijj. in my possession omits these 15 verses from the text. See p. 59 in regard to the assumption that the Nijj. is the work of several authors.

[47] An occasional reference to other methods of treating the subject is found, *e. g.* 2, 61, iti samâsârthaḥ, vyâsârthas tu viśêshavivaraṇâd avagaṁtavyaḥ. Or on 10, 19, iti gâthâksharârthaḥ, bhâvârthas tu bhâshyagâthâbhyô 'vasêyah, tâś chê 'mâḥ (in Prâkṛit, but not from the Nijj.)

[48] Chapter 8 forms an exception, though at the end at least it says: samâptâ chê 'yam upôdghâtaniryuktir iti, but in such a way that it is not mentioned as the "eighth chapter"; nor is the statement made that it is concluded.

[57] 2. **paḍhamâ varachariâ,** 173 (178 P, 179 B) vv., treats, from v. 69 on, of the circumstances of the lives, etc., of the 24 Jinas, especially of Usabha, the first of their number. In the introduction it is of extreme interest to notice the statements of the author in reference to his own literary activity. It is as follows :

titthayarê bhagavaṁtê I aṇuttaraparakkamê amianâṇî I tinnê sugaïgaïgâê I siddhipahapâêsâê vaṁdê II 1 II

vaṁdâmi mahâbhâgaṁ I mahâmuṇiṁ mahâyasaṁ Mahâvîraṁ I amaranararâyamahiam I titthayaram imassa titthassa II 2 II ikkârasa vi gaṇaharê I pavâyâê pavayaṇassa vaṁdâmi I savvaṁ gaṇaharavaṁsaṁ I vâyagavaṁsaṁ pavayaṇaṁ cha II 3 II tê vaṁdiûṇa sirasâ I atthapuhuttassa[49] têhiṁ kahiassa I suanâṇassa bhagavaô I niyyuttiṁ[50] kittaïssâmi II 4 II âvassagassa dasakâ- I liassa taha uttarajjha-m-âyârê[51] I suagaḍê niyyuttiṁ I buchchhâmi taha dasâṇaṁ cha II 5 II kappassa ya niyyuttiṁ I vavahârassê 'va paramaniuṇassa I sûriapaṇnattîê I buchchhaṁ isibhâsiâṇaṁ[52] cha II 6 II

êêsiṁ niyyuttiṁ I buchchhâmi ahaṁ jiṇôvâêsêṇaṁ I âharaṇahêukâraṇa- I payanivaham iṇaṁ samâsêṇaṁ II 7 II

sâmâianiyyuttiṁ I buchchhaṁ uvâêsiaṁ gurujaṇêṇaṁ I âyariaparaṁparêṇa I âgayaṁ âṇupuvvîê II 8 II

niyyuttâ tô .atthâ I jaṁ baddhâ têṇa hôi niyyuttî I taha vi aï chchhâvêî I vibhâsiuṁ suttaparivâḍî II 9 II

There is no doubt that we have here the beginning of a work, [58] and that chapter 1 (which is itself called pîṭhikâ, support, complement) did not yet precede these verses at the period of their origin.[53] From vv. 5 and 8 we learn that the author does not intend to write an introduction merely for this second chapter, but that his work is designed for all the âvaśyaka matter and especially the sâmâiam. The separate statements of his account show that he intended to carry his investigations into the first two aṅgas too, the fifth upâṅgaṁ, three chhêdasûtras, two more mûlasûtras,[54] and, if Haribhadra's explanation of isibhâsiâi is correct,[55] to païnna 7 fgg.

If we compare these statements with those in the commentary of Ṛishimaṇḍalasûtra in Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 12, in reference to the ten niryuktis composed by Bhadrabâhu, it is manifest that they are identical (instead of kalakasya in the passage in Jacobi we must read kalpakasya), and that Bhadrabâhu must be regarded as the one who in our passage speaks in the first person. This conclusion, however, is not supported by the Thêrâvalî in chap. 1, which, as we have seen, p. 7, is much later than Bhadrabâhu. Nevertheless, we have just above formed the opinion that this contradiction is immaterial, since this pîṭhikâ is to be regarded as not extant at the time of the composition of chap. 2. [59] The greater is, however, the contradiction which is disclosed by other parts of the text, notably the first verse of the ôghaniryukti cited as 6, 89, and chapter 8, etc. The statements made there refer to a period much later than that of Bhadrabâhu, the old bearer of this name, and who is assumed to be the last chaüddasapuvvi († Vîra 170). All these statements must either be regarded as alien to the original text, or the

[49] arthapṛithutvaṁ.

[50] sûtrârthayôh parasparaṁ niryôjanaṁ niryuktiḥ; — kim aśêshasya śrutajñânasya? nô, kiṁ tarhi? śrutaviśêshâṇâm âvaśyakâdînâm ity ata êvâ "ha: âvassa°; — niryukti is perhaps an intentional variation of nirukti.

[51] samudâyaśabdânâm avayavê vṛittidarśanâd, yathâ Bhîmasêna Sêna iti, uttarâdhya ity uttarâdhyayanam avasêyam.

[52] dêvêṁdrastavâdînâm.

[53] They are placed thus in a palmleaf MS., No. 23, in Peterson's *Det. Report* (1883) (only 1, 51 âbhinibôhia . . , see p. 56, precedes) at the beginning of a text entitled "niryuktayaḥ," which contains at least several, if not all, of the above 10 niry.

[54] dasavêâliam is undoubtedly referred to under dasakâliaṁ. See the same denotation in v. 1 of the four gâthâs added there at the close. For the abbreviation see note 3 on p. 57 in reference to uttarajha.

[55] This is, however, extremely doubtful as regards the existing païnnam called dêvêṁdrastava. See pp. 442, 259, 272, 280, 281, 402, 429, 431, 43.

person in question may be one of the *later* bearers of the name of Bhadrabâhu, to whom these ten Niryuktis might be referred. The further course of the account would then determine to what and to how late a period this Bhadr. belonged. All this is, however, on the supposition that we should have to assume that all the other chapters of the Nijjutti were the work of but one hand! In this connection the distinction is of significance which Haribhadra — see above pp. 54, 55 — draws in reference to the separate constituent parts of the Nijj. The fourteenth chapter is expressly stated by him to have been composed by another author, *viz.* Jiṇabhadda. See my remarks on pp. 61, 62 in reference to the incorporation of the ôhanijjutti. The result is that chap. 14 and several other chapters (9, 11, 12, 20) exist in a detached form in the MSS., without any connection with âv. nijj. At any rate the statements made in the text remain of extreme interest since they show the interconnection of the ten niryuktis mentioned in the text, and their relation to one author. A good part of these niry. appears to be still extant. [60] As regards the MS. of the niryuktayaḥ, mentioned above p. 58n., we must confess that Peterson's account does not make it clear in which of the above ten texts it is contained. On the âchâraniryukti see p. 258, Peterson, Palm-leaf 62, Kielhorn's Report (1881) p 10; on a sûyagaḍanijj. see Pet. Palm-leaf, 59, a dasavêâlianijj. *ib.* 167. We have also citations from the nijj. in up. 5 and mûlas. 1.

What follows is very interesting :—

atthaṁ bhâsaï arahâ I suttaṁ gaṁthaṁti gaṇaharâ niuṇaṁ I sâsaṇassa(°ṇasa !)hi atthâê I taô suttaṁ pavattaï II 13 II

sâmâia-m-âiaṁ I suanâṇaṁ jâva biṁdusârâô I tassa vi sârô charaṇaṁ I sârô charaṇassa nivvâṇaṁ II 14 II

Here the *contents* of the doctrine is referred back to Arahan, but the *composition* of its textual form is ascribed to the gaṇaharas. See pp. 216, 345, above p. 35 and p. 80. The word sâmâiam, which we have found in v. 8 used as the title of the first âvaśyaka, is now used in its other signification, *i. e.* as the title of aṅga 1; for biṁdusâra is the title of the first pûrva book in the diṭṭhivâa, aṅga 12. See above pp. 243, 244.

3. **bîâ varachariâ,** 349 (also P π, 359 B) vv., of like contents.[56] It begins Vîraṁ Ariṭṭhanêmiṁ Pâsaṁ Malliṁ cha Vâsupujjaṁ cha I êê muttûṇa Jiṇê avasêsâ âsi râyâṇô II . . . Despite its seeming exactness, its statements give the impression of being apocryphal. Verses 287 (297) fg. treat of Siddhattha and Tisalâ,[57] the fourteen dreams of Tis., etc.

[61] 4. **uvasaggâ,** 69 (70 P π) vv., treats especially of Vîra.[58] The statements made here in chapter 4 take almost no notice at all of the facts in reference to the life of Vîra that are found here and there in the aṅgas; nor does the Kalpasûtram (see p. 474) devote a greater amount of attention to this subject.

5. **samavasaraṇam,** 69 (64 P) vv., as above.

6. **gaṇaharavâô,** 88 (33 P, 90 B) vv. (is wanting in π); the history of the 11 pupils of Vîra: Iṁdabhûi 1, Aggibhûi 2, Vâubhûi 3, Viatta 4, Suhamma 5, Maṁḍia 6, Môriaputta 7, Akaṁpia 8, Ayalabhâyâ 9, Mêajja 10, Pabhâsa 11 (see Hêmach. vv. 31, 32); titthaṁ cha Suhammâô, niravachchâ gaṇaharâ sêsâ (v. 5). The contents is as above, and almost no reference is paid to the account in the aṅgas. It concludes with the statement (above p. 48): sâmâyârî tivihâ: ôhê dasahâ padavibhâgê II 88 II; in B there follows, as if belonging to this chapter, as v. 89 the beginning verse of the ôghaniryukti, and thereupon the statement ittha 'ṁtarê ôhanijjutti bhâṇiyavvâ. In A v. 89 appears as v. 1 at the beginning of chap. 7 and then follows in partial Sanskrit: atthau[59] 'ghaniryuktir vaktavyâ; after this verse 1 of chap. 7 according to the new computation. There is probably an interpolation here. Since chap. 7 treats

[56] Jina 6 is called Paümâbha (v. 23), Jina 8 Sasippaha (v. 24), Jina 19 Malli appears as a masc. (Mallissa v. 30).

[57] On Dêvâṇaṁdâ see v. 279 (289); but Usabhadatta is not mentioned. We read Sômilâbhidhânô in the scholiast.

[58] Gôsâla v. 15 fg.

[59] attha instead of atra.

of the second of the three sâmâchârîs enumerated in 6, ,,, and the first receives no mention, it was necessary to remedy this defect. The third sâmâchârî is, according to the statements of the scholiast here and elsewhere, pp. 357, 449, represented by the two chhêdasûtras : kalpa and vyavahâra. It is very probable that the interpolation is not merely one of secondary origin, but an interpolation inserted by the author himself. [62] If this is so, he deemed the ôhanijjutti which he had before him (perhaps his own production) to be the best expression of the *first* form of the 3 sâmâchârîs, and consequently, not taking the trouble to compose a new one, incorporated[60] *brevi manu* this ôhanijj. (cf. above p. 59), or rather referred to it merely by the citation of its introductory verse. A complete incorporation brought with it no little difficulty, because of the extent of the text in question.[61] The economy of the whole work would have lost considerably if the entire text had been inserted. The text which we possess under this name and of which the first verse alone is cited here, consists of 1160 Prâkrit gâthâs.[62] I shall refer to it later on, and call attention for the present to what I have said on p. 357n 2: — that the first verse cited here from it, in that it mentions the dasapuvvi, excludes any possibility of that Bhadrabâhusvâmin, whom tradition calls the author of the ôghaniryukti, having been the first bearer of this name, who is stated to have been the last chaüddasapuvvi. The same, of course, holds good *à fortiori* of the author of our text, in which this verse is quoted.

7. **dasavihasâmâyârî**, 64 (P π, 65 B) vv.; cf. uttarajjh. 26; the enumeration here in chapter 7 is as follows (see above p. 48): ichchhâ, michchhâ, tahakkârô, âvassiâ nisîhiâ | âpuchchhaṇâ ya [63] paḍipuchchhâ chhaṁdaṇâ ya nimaṁtaṇâ || 1 || uvasaṁpayâ ya kâlê sâmâyârî bhavê dasavihâ u | êêsiṁ tu payâṇaṁ pattêa parûvaṇaṁ buchchhaṁ || 2 ||

8. **uvagghâyanijjutti**, 211 (214 B, 216 P, 210 π) vv. In vv. 40-50 glorification of Ajja-Vayarâ (plur. maj.), °Vaïrâ, Vajrasvâmin, who extracted[63] the âgâsagamâ vijjâ from the mahâpaïnnâ (see p. 251) and made ample use of the latter. In his time there still existed (p. 247) apuhattê kâliâṇuôassa, apṛithaktvaṁ kalikânuyôgasya, but after him (têṇâ "rêṇa, tata âratah, Haribh.), *i. e.* perhaps *through* him there came into existence puhattaṁ kâliasua ditthivâê a,[64] pṛithaktvaṁ kâlikaśrutê drishṭivâdê cha (v. 40). Tuṁbavaṇa, Ujjêṇî, Dasapura, naṃaraṁ Kusumanâmê (Pâṭaliputra) appear in regular order as exercising an important influence upon his life. In vv. 50—53 glorification of his successor Rakkhiajjâ (plur. maj.), Rakkhiakhamaṇa, *i. e.* of Ârya Rakshitasvâmin, son of Sômadêva and Ruddasômâ, (elder) brother of Phaggurakkhia and pupil of Tôsaliputta. These two names: Vajrasvâmin and Aryarakshita (cf. Hêmachandra's pariśishṭap. chaps. 12, 13), especially as they are regarded here as persons deserving of great honor, bring us to a period much later than the *old* Bhadrabâhusvâmin According to the statements of the modern Thêrâvalî (see Klatt, l. c. pp. 246b, 247a,) 252a, his death is placed Vîra 170, but that of Vajra, 400 years later, Vîra 584.[65] We will find below that [64] there is mentioned here another date later by several years. Hêm. v. 34 too says that Vajra is the last "daśapûrvin," one who still has knowledge of 10 of the 14 pûrvas, and in general that he is regarded as deserving great honour as regards the transmission of the sacred texts. See the account of Dharmaghôsha on the Kupakshakauśik., Kup. p. 21 (811). The two-fold division into kâliasua and diṭṭhivâa (also in the Anuyôgadv. above, pp. 36, 40), dating back as far as Vajra according to v. 40, is in contrast to a no less peculiar division into four parts, referred back in v. 54 fg. to Ârya Rakshita: kâliasuaṁ cha isibhâsiyâiṁ taïô a sûrapan-

[60] In the Vidhiprapâ (in v. 7 des jôgavihâṇa) the ôhanijjutti is said to be "ôinnâ," avatîrṇâ into the âvassayam

[61] Haribh. says: sâmpratam oghaniryuktir vâchyâ, sâ cha prapaṁchitatvât (perhaps on account of its fulness) na vivriyatê; and likewise at the end: idânîṁ padavibhâgasâmâchâryâh prastâvah, sâ cha kalpavyavahârarûpâ bahuvistarâ svasthânêd avasêyâ; ity uktaḥ sâmâchâryupakramakâlah.

[62] The ôghaniryukti, which in P π is actually incorporated with the text, has but 58 (or 79 π) verses. See below, p. 82.

[63] But according to the Gaṇadharasârdhaśata, v. 29, it was taken from the sumahâpaïnnapuvvâu! see p. 479.

[64] In v. 36 there was mention of 700 (!) or 500 nayas, êêhiṁ (v. 37) ditthivâê parûvaṇâ suttaatthakahaṇâ ya; each of the 7 etc. nayas — see p. 350 ff. and p. 39 — śatavidhah.

[65] See also Kupakshak. p. 21 (811)n.

nattî | savvô a ditthivâô chaütthaô hôi aṇuôgô || 54 || jaṁ cha mahâkappasuam jâṇi a sêsâṇi chhêasuttâṇi | charaṇakaraṇânuôga tti kâliatthô uvagayâṇi || 55 || Here then the isibhâsiyâiṁ (which Har. explains here by uttarâdhyayanâdîni! see above pp. 43, 58) and upâṅga 5 are enumerated as members holding equal rank[66] with the kâliasuam, *i. e.* aṅgas 1—11, and the diṭṭhivâa, *i.e.* aṅga 12. Although the "mahâkappasuam" and "the other chhêdasûtras" (kalpâdîni, scholiasts) are said to have been borrowed from aṅga 12, they are akin (or ṛishibhâshita) to the kaliasua, *i. e.* aṅgas 1 to 11. Such is apparently Haribh.'s conception of the passage.[67]

[65] In this text we notice that the different sections are frequently joined together without any break; and such is the case here. In vv. 56 to 96 we find very detailed statements in reference to the **seven ninhagas, nihnavas, schisms.**[68] After an enumeration (v. 56) of the names there follows a list of their founders, the place of their origin (v. 59), the date of their foundation (vv. 60, 61), and then a more exact list of all in regular order, though in a most brief and hence obscure fashion, the catch-words alone being cited. The kathânakas etc. adduced in the scholiast, help us but little to clear up this obscurity. The first two schisms occurred during the life of Vîra, the first (vv. 62, 63), the Bahuraya, bahurata, under Jamâli in Sâvatthî in the fourteenth year after he obtained knowledge (Jiṇâṇa uppâḍiassa nâṇassa), — the second (vv. 64, 65), the Jîvapaêsiya, under Tîsagutta (chaüdasapuvvi) in Usabhapura in the sixteenth year thereafter. The third schism (vv. 66, 67), the Avvattaga, avyaktaka, under Âsâḍha in Sêabiâ (Śvêtavikâ), in the 214th year after the end of Vîra's death (siddhiṁ gayassa Vîrassa). They were "brought back to the right faith" (Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 9) by the Muria (Maurya) Balabhadda in Râyagiha. The fourth schism (vv. 68, 69), the Sâmuchchhêa or °chchhêia under Asamitta (Aśva°) in Mihilapura (Mithilâ) is placed in the year 220 after Vîra.[69] The fifth (vv. 70, 71), [66] the Dôkiriya, under Gaṁga in Ullamatîra (? A, Ullaga B, Ulluga scholiast, Ullukâ in Skr.) in the year 228. The sixth, the Têrâsia, trairâśika, under Chhaluga in Aṁtaraṁjiâ, in the year 544, is treated of at greater length (vv. 72—87), though in a very obscure fashion. We have already seen (p. 351) that aṅga 12, according to the account of aṅga 4 and Nandî, devoted considerable attention to those schisms. Finally, the thêrâvalî of the Kalpasûtra (§ 6) contains several statements in reference to the Têrâsiyâ sâhâ and its founder Chhaluê Rôhaguttê Kôsiyagottê. The latter it calls the scholar of Mahâgiri, who, as in the thêrâvalî of the Nandî, is called the ninth successor of Vîra. But this is not in harmony with the above-mentioned date (544 after Vîra), since it is equivalent to an allotment of 60 years to each patriarchate. There is then here, as in the case of the name of the founder of the fourth schism — see 351n, 381 — a considerable discrepancy in the accounts. The seventh schism, the Abaddhiâ (vv. 88—91), under Goṭṭhâmâhila in Dasapura is referred to the year 584 and brought into connection with Ayya Rakkhia, Pûsamitta and with the ninth puvva (p. 356). The first of these statements harmonizes with the other information concerning Rakkhia which we possess. See p. 63, Klatt p. 247b. The name Pûsamitta is frequently met with. According to Mêrutuṅga's *Vichâraśrêṇi* (see Bühler, *ante*, 2, 362, and Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 7), there reigned a Pûsamitta, successor of the Maurya (the Pushyamitra of the *Mahâbhâshya*, etc.!), in the years 323—353 after Vîra. Neither can he be the one referred to here, nor the Pûsamitta who was

[66] The terminology in the Nandî — see above p. 11 — is quite different. There the kâliaṁ suaṁ, together with the ukkâliam, as a subdivision of the aṇaṅgapaviṭṭha texts, is opposed to the duvâlasaṁga gaṇip.; the isibhâsiâiṁ, together with the sûrap. are regarded as parts of the kâliyam. In reference to the use of the word in Anuy. see above, p. 36 n 2.

[67] upalakshaṇât kâlikaśrutaṁ charaṇakaraṇânuyôgaḥ, rishibhâshitâni dharmakathânuyôga iti gamyatê; sarvaś cha drishtivâdaś chaturthô bhavaty anuyôgah, dravyânuyôga iti; tatra rishibhâshitâni dharmakathânuyôga ity uktam, tataś cha mahâkalpaśrutâdîni rishibhâshitam tvâ (tatvât ?), drishṭivâdâd uddhritya teshâṁ pratipâditatvât, dharmakathânuyôgavvâ (? tvâch cha ?) prasaṁga ity atas tadapôhadvârachikîrshayâ "ha: jaṁ cha . . (v. 55). See p. 258.

[68] See above, pp. 275, 381 on aṅga 3 and upâṅga 1. Further information is found in the second chhêdasûtra (see p. 463) and in the scholiast on uttarajjh. 3, 9.

[69] Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions Pushyamitra instead of Âsamitta. See p. 381. Is this merely a *lapsus calami* ?

the founder of the Pûsamittijjaṁ kulaṁ of Chârаṇagaṇa in § 7 of the thêrâvalî of the Kalpas., which emanated from Sirigutta, the pupil of the tenth [67] patriarch Suhatthi. The name Pûsamitta occurs here too in chap. 17 (16), 190 (see p. 74n), as that of a contemporary of king Muḍimbaga and of Ayya Pussabhûi. Abhayadêva on up. 1 mentions him as the founder of the fourth schism. See p. 65n.

In addition to these seven schisms there was an eighth(vv. 92—95), that of the **Bôḍia**, Pauṭika, according to Haribh., under Sivabhûi in Rahavîrapura (Ratha°) in the year 609. According to the account in Dharmaghôsha's scholiast on his Kupakshakauś., the Digambaras are referred to; see Kup. p. 6 (796) where I have attempted to shew that the name Bôḍia has the same meaning (naked) as digambara. The animosity against the Bôtikas is as keen as can possibly be imagined. In the 22nd chapter of the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha, the remaining 7 nihnavas are said, according to Malayagiri's commentary on the Âvaśy., to be dêśavisaṁvâdinô dravyaliṁgênâ 'bhêdinô, but the Bôṭika: sarvavisaṁvâdinô dravyaliṁgatô 'pi bhinnâs. Similarly Haribh. on v. 92 (dêśavi° and prabhûtavi°); see also Jacobi, Kalpas. p. 15n. In the kâlasattarî, v. 40, they appear as khamaṇâ pâsaṁḍiyâ; also in Kup. 1, 37, 71, 2, 3; *ibid.* 1, 8, or as khavaṇaya, *i. e.* kshapaṇaka. See below, p. 75.

In contradistinction to these heterodox opinions (michhâditthi) we have the praises of the sâmâiaṁ sung in v. 102 fg. We find it called[70] (v. 108) an "ajjhayaṇaṁ" as opposed to the "remaining (five) ajjhayaṇas;" and the two verses closing with the refrain ii kêvalibhâsiaṁ [68] are cited in reference to it. These verses recur in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra (see above, pp. 37, 38) as I have shewn on Bhagav. 2, 186. After the conclusion of the upôdghâtaniryukti we find in the scholiast (see above p. 55) the following statement: atra sûtrasparśikaniryukty (see p. 38)-avasaraḥ, sâ cha prâptâvasarâ 'pi nô 'chyatê, yasmâd asati sûtrê kasyâ 'sâv iti; to which is joined an elaborate deduction in reference to sutta and niryukti.

9. **namukkâranijjutti,** 139 (P_{π}, 144 B) vv. Towards the end we find the verse êsô paṁcha° (132), glorifying the paṁchanamukkâra, a verse we have already met with in upaṅga 4; see p. 393. In the last pâda we have here the reading havaî maṁgalaṁ; see Kup. p. 21 (811) fg., where this form of the verse is referred directly back to śrî-Vajrasvâmin. See p. 38n.3 on v. 6b. A detached copy is found in Peterson, Palm-leaf No. 77b.

10. **sâmâianijjutti,** 100 (π, 111 P, 112 B) vv. Begins: naṁdi-aṇuôgadâraṁ vihivad uvagghâiaṁ cha kâûṇaṁ | kâûṇa paṁchamaṁgala-m âraṁbhô hôi suttassa || 1 || The knowledge of the naṁdi and of the aṇuôgad.[71] is here regarded as a preliminary condition for the understanding of the sûtra. This citation is both *per se* of interest (see p. 3), and also because from it we can prove that the âvaśyaka texts quoted in these two works are to be distinguished from our âv. nijj. — though this was tolerably self-evident after the remarks on p. 53 ff. The text continues:

ahavâ (!): kayapaṁchanamukkârô karêi sâmâiaṁ ti sô bhihiô | sâmâiaṁgam êva ya jaṁ sô sêsaṁ aô buchchhaṁ [69] || 2 || sûtraṁ (atrâ 'ṁtarê sûtraṁ vâchyaṁ B). On this Har. (see between 8 and 9): atrâ 'ṁtarê sûtrasparśaniryuktir uchyatê, svasthânatvâd, âha cha niryuktikâraḥ: akkhaliya (v. 3) tti,[72] gâhâ. We have here then a very incomplete quotation of the text, see above p. 55. — In vv. 30—38 there are special statements in reference to the 11 karaṇas, the fourth of which is here called thîvilôyaṇaṁ. See p. 414. In v. 40 we find a division of the suaṁ into baddhaṁ and abaddhaṁ. The former is explained by duvâlasaṁgaṁ and called nisîhaṁ and anisîhaṁ (see pp. 452, 553); the nisîhaṁ is explained as pachhannaṁ, and the following added in illustration: — nisîhaṁ nâma jaha 'jjhayaṇaṁ (v. 41). In verse 42 we

[70] ajjhayaṇaṁ pi a tivihaṁ | suttê atthô tad-ubhâê chêva | sêsêsu vi ajjhayaṇêsu (chaturviṁśatistavâdishu) hôi êsê 'va nijjuttî (uddêśanirdêśâdikâ niruktiparyavasânâ).

[71] naṁdiś cha anuyôgadvârâṇi cha Haribh.

[72] akkhaliasaṁhiâî vakkhâṇachaükkâê darisiammi | suttapphâsianijjuttivittharatthô imô hôi || schol. tatrâ 'skhalitapadôchchâraṇaṁ saṁhitâ, athavâ paraḥ saṁnikarshah saṁhitâ (a fine Brahminical reminiscence!). padaṁ, saṁhitâ, padârtha, padavigraha. châlanâ, pratyavasthânaṁ (see above p. 38) are here referred to.

find a citation from pûrva 2 — see above p. 354 — in immediate conjunction with the foregoing.

11. **chaüvîsatthaü**, 62 (61 BP) vv., second ajjhayaṇaṁ in Haribh. Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77c.

12. **vaṁdaṇanijjutti**, 191 (189 π B, 190 P) vv., equivalent to the third ajjh. of Har. Stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf No. 77d. From v. 36 on there is a dialogue between guru and chô°, chôdaka, see above p. 34. After v. 176 we read in the text: atra sûtraṁ, and Har. quotes a text which begins with the words ichhâmi khamâsamaṇê vaṁdiuṁ.

13. **paḍikkamaṇanijjutti**, 54 (52 PB, 51 π) vv. Chap. 13—18, which correspond to the fourth ajjh. of Haribh., presuppose a [70] pratikramaṇasûtraṁ[73] given by him in full in sections. These chapters form a species of running commentary to each of the sections of the pratik. Chap. 14, 15 take up one section each, chap. 17 two, chap. 13, 16 contain the explanation of several sections. The sections explained in chap. 13 read: — paḍikkamâmi êgavihê asaṁjamê . ., p. dôhiṁ baṁdhaṇêhiṁ, p. tihiṁ daṁḍêhiṁ, p. chaühiṁ jjhâṇêhiṁ. The entire following chapter is an explanation of the latter sentence. In π a dhammajjhâṇaṁ of 69 vv. precedes these sections commented upon in chapter 13.

14. **jhâṇasayaṁ, dhyânaśatakaṁ**, 106 vv. The last verse (106) which is omitted by Haribhadra, mentions only 105 vv., and states that Jiṇabhadda is the author of this cento[74]: paṁchuttarêṇa, gâhâ-sâêṇa jjhâṇasayagaṁ samuddiṭṭhaṁ | Jiṇabhaddakhamâsamaṇêhi kammasôhîkaraṁ jaïnô || 106 ||. It had originally, as at present (see Peterson's Palm-leaf 77a 161h), a quite independent position and was later on inserted here. This is clear from the fact that the beginning contains a special salutation, which is usual only in the case of independent texts:— Vîraṁ sukkajjhâṇag-gidaḍḍhakammiṁdhaṇaṁ paṇamiûṇaṁ | jôîsaraṁ sarannaṁ, jhâṇajjhayaṇaṁ pavakkhâmi || 1 || Haribh. cites this dhyânaśatakaṁ just as he usually cites his [71] kathânaka: ayaṁ dhyânasamâsârthaḥ, vyâsârthas tu dhyânaśatakâd avasêyaḥ, tach chê 'dâṁ dhyânaśatakaṁ asya mahârthatvâd vastunaḥ śâstrâṁtaratvât (! this is plain; we should have expected °tvâch cha) prâraṁbha êva vighnavinâyakôpaśâṁtayê maṁgalârtham ishṭadêvatânamaskâram âha: Vîraṁ . . The explanation concludes (omitting verse 106) with the words: — samâptaṁ dhyânaśatakâṁ, and the commentator proceeds with his explanation of the pratikramaṇasûtram: paḍikkamâmi paṁchahiṁ kiriyâhiṁ, again having recourse thereby to the pâriṭṭhâvaṇiyaniyyutti.

15. **pâriṭṭhâvaṇiâ**, 151 (152 P, 153 π B) vv. Begins: pâriṭṭhâvaṇiavihiṁ | buchhâmi dhîrapurisapannattaṁ | jaṁ nâûṇa suvihiâ pavayanasâram uvalahaṁti || 1 || This chapter, too, gives me the impression of having originally enjoyed a separate existence. Nevertheless it is closely connected with chapter 18, since they both share this form of introduction. It is also noticeable that the same verse recurs with tolerable similarity in 20, 9; from which we may conclude that chapters 16, 18, 20 were composed by one author. Haribh. in this chapter omits or leaves a large number of verses unexplained; and beginning with v. 79. His commentary is partially composed in Prâkṛit, probably taken from the old bhâshya (see p. 52). After the conclusion: — paristhâpanikâ samâptâ, he proceeds to cite and explain the sûtram: paḍikkamâmi chhahim jîvaṇikâêhiṁ. In π there is an additional chapter lêsâô, with 13 vv., inserted between the conclusion and explanation.

16. **paḍikkamaṇasaṁghayaṇî, pratikramaṇasaṁgrahaṇî**, 133 (80 P π B) vv. The verses, which are not found in [72] B,[75] are cited in full by Haribh. as a part of his commentary.[76]

[73] It begins ichhâmi paḍikkamiuṁ . .; it is in prose and different from the śrâddha- or śrâvaka-pratikramaṇasûtra, whose 50 gâthâs, divided into 5 adhikâras, were commented in Saṁvat 1496 (A. D. 1440) by Ratnaśêkhara from the Tapâgachha (No. 52 in Klatt). In Peterson's Palm-leaf MSS. there are two other similar texts, a pratikramaṇasûtram 86e, 83c (where it is called atichâraprat°) and a pratikramaṇam 154a (see p. 125b), which is different from the first.

[74] He appears in Ratnaśêkhara as the author of a viśêshâvaśyaka. See preceding note.

[75] Pπ also presumably do not contain the verses: A 18-30, 32-43, 50-64, 68-80.

[76] On one occasion he calls these verses (vv. 50—64) niryuktigâthâs of the sûtrakrit (!), by which the sûtrakṛit (!), is said to explain the two preceding verses (48, 49) of the saṁgrahaṇikâra! See above p. 54n 3.

The verses which A B have in common, are cited by him here, not as verses of the niryuktikṛit, but as a part of the saṁgrahaṇikâra. In these chapters we find explanations and enumerations of the contents of sections 6—31 of the pratikramaṇasûtram. Each group of verses is explained under its proper section. Chapters 14 and 15, however, belong to but one section. The following is treated of: 6 jîvanikâa, 7 bhayaṭṭhâṇa (v. 14), 8 mayaṭṭhâṇa (v. 14b), 9 baṁbhachêragutti (v. 15), the 10-fold samaṇadhamma (v 16), 11 uvâsagapaḍimâ (v. 17), 12 bhikkhupaḍimâ (v. 31), 13 kiriyaṭṭhâṇa (v. 44), 14 bhûyagâma (v. 45), 15 paramâhammia (vv. 48, 49), 16 gâhâsôlasa (vv. 65, 66), the 17-fold saṁjama (v. 67), the 18-fold abaṁbha (v. 81), 19 nâyajjhayaṇa (vv. 82, 83), 20 asamâhiṭṭâṇa (vv. 84—86), 21 sabala (śabala v. 87),[77] 22 parîsaha (v. 100), 23 suttagaḍajjhayaṇa (v. 102), 24 dêva (v. 103), 25 bhâvaṇa (v. 104), 26 dasâ-kappavavahârâṇa uddêsaṇakâla (v. 109), the 27-fold aṇagâracharitta (v. 110), the 28-fold âyârapakappa (v. 112), 29 pâvasutapasaṁga (v. 115), 30 môhaniyyaṭṭhâṇa (v. 117) and 31 siddhâiguṇa (v. 132). We find herein enumerations of the 23 chapters of aṅga 2 (in two groups, one of 16, the other of 7; [73] see above p. 260), of the 19 chapters of the first part of aṅga 6, of the 26 chapters of the three chhêdasûtras 3—5, and of the 28 chapters of aṅga 1.

17. **jôgasaṁgaha-âsâyaṇâ, °âśâtanâ**; 64 vv.; in A counted continuously in conjunction with chapter 16, *i.e.* as vv. 134—197. In PπB, however, it is divided into two chapters: jôgasaṁgaha of 60, and âsâyaṇâ of 5 (4 π) vv. It contains the vouchers for and examples (udâharaṇagâthâ) of the 32 jôgasaṁgahas (to v. 193) and 33 âsâyaṇâs,[78] â'sâtanâs (v. 194—197), which are mentioned in the last two sections of the pratikramaṇasûtram. The pratikramaṇâsaṁgrahaṇî (pr°ṇî samâptâ) ended here according to Haribh. But with the words sâmprataṁ sûtrôktâ êva trayastriṅśad vyâkhyâyaṁtê ... Haribh. comes back to the explanation of v. 197. These verses contain principally matters of legendary and historical purport, and consist chiefly of proper names and of some catch-words. Haribhadra cites very detailed kathânakas on them composed in Prâkṛit, from which the meaning of the verses is to be extracted (svabuddhyâ 'vasêyah); but he does not enter upon the explanation of the text of each of the verses, or even of the kathânakas cited by him. It is very interesting that Thûlabhadda is here brought into connection with the (ninth, Haribh.) Nanda, and with Sagaḍâla and Vararuchi (v. 144, cf. the statements in Hêmach.'s pariśishṭaparvan $8,_3$ fg.). The same may be said of the mention of Sâlavâvâhaṇa in Païṭṭhâṇa (v. 164; Vikramâditya is, however, not noticed), and of the identification, in all essentials, of all these and similar [74] names[79] with the names of king Dummuha of Paṁchâla, of Namî of Vidêha, Naggaî of Gaṁdhâra (v. 172), and with the Paṁḍavavaṁsa (v. 161)! As far as the legends admit of being comprehended (which is no easy matter, if we take into consideration the enigmatical character of the text and the corrupt condition of the MS. of the commentary), they are in only partial agreement with our information in respect to these persons obtained from Brahminical sources. The information they convey, is quite independent of any other source, and is probably the result of their arbitrary desire for change. It is of interest that the gâthâ (v. 188), cited pp. 158, 159, which is quite in keeping with the character of the verses of Hâla, is here inserted in the legend of two prostitutes (Magahasuṁdarî and Magahasirî).

18. **asajjhâiyanijjutti, asvâdhyâyika°**, 111 (Pπ, 110 B) vv. Begins[80]: asajjhâianijjuttiṁ buchchhâmi dhîrapurisapannattaṁ | jaṁ nâûṇa suvihiâ pavayaṇasâraṁ uvalabhaṁti || || asajjhâiaṁ tu duvihaṁ âyasamutthaṁ cha parasamutthaṁ cha | jaṁ tattha parasamutthaṁ taṁ paṁ-

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[77] On vv. 87—96 we read here: âsâṁ vyâkhyâ . ., ayaṁ cha samâsârthaḥ. vyâsârthas tu daśâkhyâd graṁthâṁtarâd avaśya èvam (êva), asammôhârthaṁ daśânusârêṇa sabalasvarûpaṁ abhihitaṁ, saṁgrahaṇikâras tu êvam âha: varisaṁ (v. 97). The fourth chhêdasûtram (or its second book, see p. 468) is meant by the daśâkhya grantha mentioned here.

[78] Explained by âyah (!) samyagdarśanâdyavâptilakshaṇas, tasyâ śâtanâh khaṁḍanâ âśâtanâs . .; as if the word was âyasâyaṇâ (or âyâ° ?).

[79] As for example Vijaa in Bharuachha v. 189, Muḍiṁbaga, Ajja Pussabhûi, Pûsamitta in Sambavaddhaṇa v. 190.

[80] Verse I is omitted by Haribh.

chaviham tu nâyavvam ‖ 2 ‖ Closes: asajjhâianijjuttî kahiâ bhê dhîrapurisapannattâ | samjamatavaḍḍhagâṇam | niggaṁthâṇam mahârisîṇam ‖ 10 ‖ This chapter, too, appears to have originally existed by itself (see above p. 71, on chapter 15). It refers to certain faults in the study and recitation of the śrutam, which are enumerated at the conclusion of the 33 âsâyaṇâs; but special reference is made to the cases in which akâlê kaô sajjhâô, etc. The pratikramaṇasûtram consequently is joined on in Haribh. as follows: nama chaüvîsâê titthayarâṇam Usabhâi-Mâhavîrapayyavasâṇâṇam, . . iṇam êva niggaṁthaṁ pâvayaṇam savvam aṇuttaram ity-âdi, . . ṇêâuam (naiyâyikam) [75] ti saṁsuddhaṁ ti, sallakattaṇam ti, siddhimaggam muttimaggam nejjâmaggam nevvâṇamaggam ti, ichhâmi paḍikkamium gôyaracharîyâê ity-âdi.

19. **kaussagganijj.**, 172 vv., fifth ajjh. in Har.

20. **pachchakkhâṇanijjuttî** corresponds to the sixth ajjah. in Haribh., and consist of three parts: — 1. A metrical section in 22 (26 B) vv., with an enumeration of the 5 mûlaguṇas,[81] 2. A prose portion treating of the 12 vratas (5 aṇuvr., 3 guṇavr., 4 śikshâpadvr.). **Haribhadra calls its sections sûtram; this is doubtless to be regarded as a bit of the sûtram, which is presupposed in the other chapters, but not directly admitted into the text of the Nijj.** 3. A metrical conclusion of 74 (70 B) vv., which closes with the same two verses as chapter 10. There are 194 vv. verses in all given in P, but in π only 90. It stands alone in Peterson's Palm-leaf 77e (without statement as to the number of verses) and 86g (94 vv.). — The prose part (nominative in ê!) is directed with great vigour against the annaütthiyas (anyatîrthika) and against the parapâsaṁḍapasaṁsâs, or the parapâsaṁḍasaṁthavas. According to Haribhadra, the Brahminical sects[82] Bhautika and Vôtika (Digambara, see above p. 67) are treated of under annaü°. The 363 doctrines attacked in aṅga 2 are referred to under parapâsaṁḍa. See p. 259.[83] According to H. there is no mention here of the seven schisms. [76] He mentions also a legend (in Prâkṛit) of Châṇakka and Chaṁdagutta in Pâḍaliputta. Cf. Hêmach. pariś. chap. 8 and 9).

Besides the Nijjutti I possess a fragment of a second metrical treatment of the âvśyaka, which is, however, confined to vaṁdaṇa and pachchakkâṇa. The former is divided into two sections, chaityavaṁdana and guru°. The text is only partially based upon the Nijjutti. There is an avachûri (°chûrṇi) to it from the commentary of a Sômasuṁdara (from the Chandragachha). This avachûri can be traced back to a Jñânasâgara.

[77] XLV. The **third mûlasûtram, dasavêâliasuakkhaṁdha, daśavaikâlika,** or merely: dasaâlia,[84] daśakâlika. It consists of ten ajjhayaṇas, which are composed in ślôkas, with the exception of a few prose sections. There are furthermore two chapters called chûlâ (and hence

[81] pâṇivaha musâvâê adatta mêhuṇa pariggahê chêva . ‖ 8 ‖ sâvayadhammassa vihiṁ buchhchâmi dhîrapurisapannattaṁ | jaṁ chariûṇa suvihiâ giṇiṇô vi suhâiṁ pâvaṁti ‖ 9 ‖ On this verse see p. 71 on chap. 15.

[82] anyatirthikaparigṛihîtâni vâ chaityâni arhatpratimâlakshaṇani, yathâ Bhautaparigṛihîtâni Vîrabhadra-Mahâkâlâdîni, Vôtika-parigṛihîtâni vâ.

[83] Dr. Leumann called my attention to the fact that a letter of Schiefner to me dated Dec. 1857 — see *Ind. Stud.* 4, 335 — contains the following statement extracted from the introduction of a Thibetan work edited by Wassiljew: "there are 363 different schisms in the religion of India." Since I found nothing of the kind in the introduction of Târanâtha, which was doubtless referred to here, I had recourse to Wassiljew himself. On the 8th of October 1883, I received from him the following kind reply: — "I cannot inform you definitely in which of my works 363 Indian schools are mentioned, if at all; but it is certain that this number is frequently mentioned in Thibetan works. In Djandja Vatuktu's Siddhânta, which I have at present before me, I find the following: 'In the sûtras are mentioned 96 darsana papantika[?], 14 dijakrita muluni[?], 62 injurious darsana, 28 which do not permit salvation, and 20 which are ruinous." In Bhania's work Tarkadjvala all the darsanas are enumerated in 110 species, 'viz. . .' According to my hasty count there are more than 120 names, probably because the same school is mentioned twice, *i. e.* in Sanskrit and Thibetan. And at the end, after mention of all 110(—120) species, we read: — *in all 363 darsanas.* As regards the names of these darsanas, it is too difficult for me to translate them into Russian and *à fortiori* into German, though, should you desire it, I will attempt it as best I may be able." I did not consider it necessary to have recourse again to Wassiljew's kindness, since, for the purpose in view, his communication was amply sufficient. It is clear from the above, compared with p. 259, that it will be difficult to expect complete agreement in detail; nevertheless the fact that *the number of 363 darśanas is common to the Jains with the Thibetan Buddhists,* is of great value.

[84] Thus in Âv. nijj. 2, 5, and in the Vidhiprapâ.

secondary[85]) of similar contents. These are in gâthâs After them follow four gâthâs, in which Sijjaṁbhava, according to the old thêrâvalî (Nandî, Kalpas.) the fourth patriarch after Mahâvîra, is stated to be the author ;[86] but his son Ajja-Maṇaga and his pupil Jasabhadda[87] are mentioned in connection with him. This is indeed a claim of great antiquity for the author!

The contents refers to the viṇaya, and is clothed in a very ancient dress. That this is the case is proved by the close of a chapter: ti bêmi (also in the case of the two chûlâs !) and by the introduction: suaṁ mê âusaṁ in the prose sections (with the exception of that in chûla 1.). The dasavêâliam, (see p. 11) is mentioned in the Nandî as being in the forefront of the ukkâliya group of the anaṁgapaviṭṭha texts; its position here, however, almost at the end, does not agree with the prominent place ascribed to it by N. It appears elsewhere as the last or smallest of the âgama (if I understand the words correctly; the preceding leaf is wanting in the Berlin MS. — see p. 214) in Hêmach. [78] in the pariśishṭap. 9, 99, and in the commentary on Nêmichandra's pravachanasâra, v. 1445, where Duḥprasaha, the last of the 2004 sûris which Nêmich. accepts, is designated as daśavaikâlika*mâtra*sûtradharô 'pi chaturdaśapûrvadhara iva śakrapûjyaḥ. The author of the Âvaśy. nijj. asserts (2,5) that he composed a nijjutti on it. A MS. of a nijjutti which recognizes the chûliyà is found in Peterson's Palm-leaf 167. Is it the work referred to? The word veâliam is said here to mean about the same as vaikâlikam, "belonging to the evening" (vikâlê 'parâhṇê).[88]

1. dumapupphiâ, drumapushpikâ, 5 vv. Comparison of the dhamma with a flowering tree. Cf. aṅga 2, 2, 1. uttarajjh. chap. 10.

2. sâmannapuvva, śrâmaṇyapûrvikâ, 11 vv. Of firmness, dhṛiti.

3. khuḍḍiâyârâ, kshullikâchâra, 15 vv.; sâ dhṛitir âchârê vidhêyâ.

4. chajjîvaṇiyajjh.,[89] shaḍjîvanikhâdhy., *i. e.* doubtless °nikâyajjh.; see above, pp. 71, 72. In two chapters, the first of which, in prose, begins suaṁ mê .. and treats of the 6 grades of the four elements (earth, water, light, air), plants (vaṇasaï) and insects (tasa); and of the 5 mahavvayas to be observed in reference to them. To these five a sixth, the râibhôaṇâu veramaṇaṁ (command against eating at night), is added. Chapter 2, in 29 vv., treats of the six forms of activity (walking, standing, sitting, lying, eating, speaking) necessary for these 6 mahavv.

5. piṁḍêsaṇâ, in 2 uddêśakas, with 100 and 50 vv., bhikshâśôdhiḥ, of the collection of the necessities of life and of rules for eating; see aṅga 1, 2, 1. To this is joined, [79] according to the Vidhiprapâ, the piṇḍanijjutti (mûlas. 4); ittha pi°ttî ôyaraï (ôiṇṇî v. 7 of the jôgavihâṇa).

6. dharmârthakâmajjhayaṇaṁ, also mahâchârakathâkhyaṁ; in 69 vv. — This trivarga (tivaggô also in the Abhidhânappadîpikâ) which plays so important a *rôle* in epic literature (MBhâr., Râmây. Manu) is not known to the Vêda. Among the Jains and Buddhists, by whom dharma and artha are often brought into connection, though in quite a different signification (artha *sense, explanation*), the trivarga does not claim any place whatsoever. It is probable that we must connect it with the three guṇas: sattva, rajas and tamas. But in that case artha would respond to rajas, kâma to tamas, though kâma suits rajas much better. Has the Platonic trinity καλὸν, ὠφέλιμον, ἡδὺ, which is Cicero's *honestum, utile, dulce*, wandered to India?

7. vakkasuddhi, vâkyaśuddhi, 57 vv.

8. âyârapaṇihi, âchârapraṇidhi, 64 vv.

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[85] This is evident from the title dasakâliaṁ itself. At the time that the four gâthâs were added at the end, these two chûlâs had not yet been affixed, since the text in v. 1 is called, as one might expect from its title, merely dasajjhayaṇaṁ.

[86] According to v. 37 of the kâlasattarî it was composed in the year 98 Vîra.

[87] These three names recur in the same connection in the thêrâv. of the Kalpas. Jasabhadda is also in the Nandî the fifth successor of Vîra.

[88] In aṅga 2 the word means vaidârikam; in païnna 5 the meaning is not clear.

[89] dhammapannatti vâ, in the Vidhiprapâ.

9. vinayasamâhi, °samâdhi, in 4 uddêśakas, of which the first three in metre, in 17, 23 and 15 vv., treat of the correct vinaya, especially in reference to the guru. The fourth is in prose with the introduction suaṁ mê . . , and establishes four fixed categories of the correct vinaya.

10. sa bhikkhu-ajjhayaṇaṁ, in 21 vv. All the verses end, as in Uttarajjh. chap. 15, with the refrain sa bhikkhû, and consequently enumerate the requirements made of a correct bh., who desires to live in accordance with the regulations contained in the preceding 9 chapters.

11. raivakka chûlâ paḍhamâ, rativâkya, in two sections. The first in prose, without the introduction suaṁ [80] mê . . , enumerates 18 ṭhâṇas which the bhikkhu must take and fulfil in order gradually to acquire mukkha. The second, in 18 vv., partly with the refrain: sa pachchhâ paritappaï, emphasizes especially the obstacles to this quest and serves sîḍatêh sthirîkaraṇâya.

12. chûla 2 without any special title (also in the Vidhiprapâ merely chûliyâ) in 16 vv., describes the correct course of action of the man of firmness.

The conclusion is formed by the 4 gâthâs in reference to Sijjaṁbhava, which have already been referred to. Those gâthâs are probably of later date. The work is called in v. 1 dasakâliam (as in Âv. nijj. 2, 5, and in the Vidhiprapâ) and also dasajjhayaṇam; so that verse 1 at least dates from a period in which the two chûlâs had not been added (see p. 77n2).

The text is frequently doubtful in the two Berlin MSS. The commentary calls itself an avachûri of the vṛihadvṛitti of Haribhadrasûri.[90] Another avachûri, in bhâshâ, is the work of a Râjahaṁsôpâdhyâya. A laghuvṛitti too is ascribed to Haribhadra. See p. 458.

FOLKTALES OF HINDUSTAN.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, C.S.

No. 3.—How Eve rescued the Prince.[1]

There was once a king, who dearly loved his queen, and she too loved him exceedingly. One day the king went to hunt, and met in the jungle a most beautiful woman. He fell in love with her and brought her home; soon she got his heart in her power, and one day she said "I will live with you only on this condition, that you get rid of your first queen." The king was grieved, but he was in her power, and he searched for a cause to discard the queen; but she was so good that he could find no fault in her.

One evening he challenged her to play chess and said, "This shall be the stake. If before the game is finished a jackal howls, I will take my new queen and leave my kingdom: but if a donkey brays, then you must go away." This was agreed on; before the game was over the jackal howled. The king said, "Lady, you have won. To-morrow I will make over my kingdom to you and depart." At this her heart was nearly broken, and, not wishing to distress her husband, she replied: "No, king, it was a donkey that brayed. I will leave early to-morrow." The king said, "No, it was a jackal that howled." On this they began to argue, and the king said, "Let us ask the sentry whether it was a jackal or a donkey."

So the queen went to the sentry and said:— "Was it the cry of a jackal or a donkey you heard just now?" "Mistress," he replied, "it was the howl of a jackal." The queen replied: "The king and I have sworn an oath about this. If you say it was a jackal, the king must leave his kingdom. How can I defend it against our enemies? Then all you people will be killed and your children will die of hunger. You must say it was a donkey that brayed." The sentry agreed, and the queen came back to the king and said: "The sentry says it was a donkey

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[90] Ratnaśêkhara (on Pratikramaṇasûtra) cites this vritti frequently; likewise the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha quotes *e. g.* the following verse from it (or from the nijj.?): titthayaratthâṇaṁ khalu atthô, suttaṁ tu gaṇaharatthâṇaṁ (see p. 60) | atthêṇa ya vaṁjijjaï suttaṁ tamhâ ya sô balavaṁ ||

[1] A folktale recorded by E. David, a Native Christian of Mirzâpur, from the lips of Mahtâbô, a cook-woman, and literally translated.

that brayed." "You lie," said the king, "I will go and ask him myself." When the king asked the sentry he made the same answer. So the king came back and said to the queen:— "You must leave this to-morrow morning."

Next morning the queen went off in her litter and at last reached a jungle. Through excess of grief she had not slept a wink the whole night, and was so tired that she fell asleep in the litter. Then the bearers, seeing night coming and in dread of the wild animals, quietly put the litter on the ground and ran away. When the queen awoke, finding herself alone and hearing the roaring of the wild beasts, she trembled and closed the doors of the litter. As night advanced tigers, bears and wolves roared all round her, and she lay inside trembling with fear.

When morning broke all the beasts of the forest went back to their dens, and she got up and prayed to God to appoint her some place where she could live in quiet, and get bread and water for her support. The Lord heard her prayers, and when she got out of the litter she saw a house inside a dense thicket. Going there she found that it had only a single door, which was locked. Looking about she saw the key hanging on a peg. When she opened the door, she went in and found a lot of property lying scattered about. So she locked the door thinking "the house may belong to some demon (*dêô*), and if he sees me he will kill me."

When evening came a *faqîr*, to whom the house belonged, arrived and found the door locked. He knocked and said: "Open the door. Who has dared to shut up my house?" The queen made no answer, and did not open the door. When he got tired of knocking, the *faqîr* said: "Whether you are a *jinn*, or a *parî*, or a *dêô*, or a human being, open the door, and I won't hurt you." Then the queen told him the whole story and said: "Promise that we shall live as father and daughter; then I will open the door." So the *faqîr* made the promise and said: "I will give you half of all I get by begging." The queen then opened the door, the *faqîr* went in, and they lived there for some time happily.

Now when the queen left home she was with child, and after some time gave birth to a son, who was very beautiful. When the boy was three or four years old, one day the queen took him to bathe on the sea shore. As she was bathing him a merchant's ship appeared, and when the merchant saw the queen, he desired to take her with him. But she refused. Then the merchant secretly showed the boy some sweetmeats and the boy ran up to him. The merchant seized him and put him into the ship, and loosed it from the shore. Seeing this the queen wept violently and implored him to give back her son. The merchant said: "I will restore him only on condition that you come with me." When the queen saw that he would not restore the child and was taking him off, through affection for the boy she agreed to go; but when the merchant desired to take her to wife she refused. The merchant thought that if he killed the child she would marry him, so after going some distance he stopped the ship, and with a pretence of great affection took the boy with him and pitched him into a well. When he returned to the ship the queen asked where her child was; he said: "I don't know. I took him a short way with me, but he turned back to you, and now I can wait here no longer." The queen was sure he had killed her son, and began to weep and bewail.

Now the fairies lived in the well into which the little prince had been thrown. They took him up in their arms and carried him quietly to their house. For two or three days the boy was quite happy, but then he began to cry and wanted to go back to his mother. But the fairies warned him, — "Don't go there, for the merchant will kill you." But he would not mind them. Then the fairies gave him two sticks, one white and the other black, and said: "When you smell the black stick you will become white as a leper, and when again you smell the white one you will get all right. So when you see your mother's ship, smell the black stick. If you don't, the merchant will take your life."

The moment the young prince got out of the well he ran in the direction where the ship had gone. The merchant from a distance saw him through his telescope (!) and recognised him. Then he got off the ship, took a sword and cut off his head, and then went on board again.

When night fell the prince was so lovely that light streamed from his face. By chance that night **Father Adam and Eve** (*Bâbâ Âdam, Hawwâ*) were flying towards that jungle. Eve looked down, and when she saw the light that came from his face, she said to Adam: "What light is this? Let us go and see." Adam replied: "This is the world, and it is sometimes light and sometimes dark; come along." Eve said: "No! I must see this light." So they both flew down, and when she saw the boy, **Eve took great pity on him, and cutting her finger let a couple of drops of blood fall on his head and trunk; then the boy came to life again.** Then Eve said to him: "Smell the black stick; if you don't perhaps the merchant will see you again and kill you." So the boy smelled the stick and became white as a leper and went off in search of his mother.

So at last he reached the land where his mother was, and **the king of that land had a great love of hearing stories.** Begging his way along the boy reached the king's palace, and the people said to him: "Lad, do you know any tales? If you can tell him a story the king will be much pleased and give you a reward." The boy said, "Yes! I *do* know a story; if the king hears it he will be delighted." The people gave him something to eat and entertained him kindly till the evening; and when it was night the king sat in his place and beside him sat the merchant; the king's wife, and the merchant's wife, and the boy's mother and several wives of the lords sat behind seven screens, and the boy was brought forward.

So he began to tell his mother's story and his own — how his mother was married, and how his father had turned her away, and how his mother bore sorrow in the jungle and how she came to the *faqîr*, and how he was born, and how the merchant deceived his mother and threw him into the well, and how he got out of it, and how the merchant had killed him, and how he came to life, and how he changed his form by smelling the stick.

And as he went on telling the story his mother's heart became the more affected, and at last she said: "Bravo! boy! you have well said! Raise one of the screens." And by the time the boy had finished the tale all the seven screens had been raised. At last the prince said:— "I am the boy," and his mother said: "Smell the other stick." He did so and came to his own shape, and his mother fell on his neck and wept, and said:— "I never hoped to see you again." Then the king rose from his place and embraced them both; for, of course, he was the prince's father; and he turned out his wicked queen, and had the merchant executed, and he and his queen and the prince lived happily ever after.

MISCELLANEA.

TWO FURTHER PANDYA DATES.

No. 1.

In continuation of a note which appeared in the April part of this *Journal* (*ante*, p. 121 f.) I subjoin another date which deserves to be calculated by an expert. For an impression of the record which contains the date, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, I. C. S. The original is stated to be inscribed on the second *gôpura* of the Śaiva temple at **Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam**, "the sacred hill of the kites," or Pakshitîrtha,[1] in the Chingleput district.

1 Svasti Samasta-jagad-âdhâra Sômakula-tilaka Madhurâpurî-Mâdhava Kêraḷa-vaṁśa-ni[rmmû]lana Laṁkâdvîpa-luṇṭana-dvitîya-Râma Chôḻakula-śaila-kuliśa Karṇṇâṭarâja-vidrâvaṇa Kâthaka(ka)-kari-kûtapâka[ḷa] vividha-ripu-durgga-marddana Vîra-Kaṇṭa-Kôpâla-vipina-dâ-

2 vadahana Kâñchî-puravar-âdhîśvara-Gaṇa-pati-harina-śârddûla Nellûrapura-(vi)virachita-vîr[â*]bhishêka pra[ṇa]ta-râja-pratishtâpaka[2] mahârâjâdhi(ra)râja-paramêśvara Tribhuvana-chakrava[r]ttiga[ḷ] śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiya-dêvaṟkku** yâ[ṇ]ḍu 9âvadu Ishava-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]vây-kkiḻa-

3 maiyum peṟṟa Puṇarpûśattu nâḷ.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, *etc.*,[3] — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Punarvasu, which corresponded to Tues-

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[1] On the legends connected with this village see *ante*, Vol. X. p. 198 f. Mr. Venkayya has published three inscriptions from Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October 1890 and April 1892.

[2] Read *pratishṭhâpaka*.

[3] The translation of the Sanskrit *birudas* is omitted, as they are the same as *ante*, p. 121.

day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The above inscription must belong to the same reign as the **Jambukêsvara** inscription of **Jaṭâvarman**, *alias* **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**,[4] because the same *birudas* are applied to the king in both. A third date of a king Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva who bore the surname Jaṭâvarman, appears to be contained in an inscription at **Vikkiramaṅgalam** in the Madura district.[5] But I am unable to vouch for the correctness of the published transcript, as I have no impressions at hand.

No. 2.

The following date occurs at the beginning of an inscription on the East wall of the second *prâkâra* of the **Raṅganâtha** temple at Śrîraṅgam near Trichinopoly.

1 . . . . Śrî-kô-**Mâṛapaṇmar**-âṇa Tiribuvaṇachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ **Sôṇâḍu** vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya śrî-**Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadê**-**var**[k*]ku yâṇḍu oṇbadâvadu

2 Mêsha-nâyaṛṛu apara-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṛṛa Viśâgattu nâḷ.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Mâṛavarman**, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, who was pleased to distribute the **Chôḷa** country (*among Brâhmaṇas*), — on the day of (*the nakshatra*) Viśâkhâ, which corresponded to Friday, the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mêsha."

The Sundara-Pâṇḍya of this inscription calls himself **Mâṛavarman**, while that of the Jambukêśvara inscription bore the surname Jaṭâvarman. Accordingly, the two kings must be considered as distinct from each other. To the reign of Mâṛavarman belongs the **Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam** cave-inscription, which is dated "on the three-hundred-and-twenty-fifth day of the seventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Mâṛavarman**, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, who was pleased to distribute the **Chôḷa** country;"[6] and the smaller **Tiruppûvaṇam** grant, which is dated in the eleventh year, and refers to the tenth year, of "**Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva**, who distributed the **Chôḷa** country."[7]

E. HULTZSCH.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

'NO' AS A WORD OF ILL-OMEN IN BENGAL.

Mr. K. Śrîkaṇṭaliyâr, *ante*, p. 93, mentions that 'No' is a word of ill-omen among the Kômaṭis in Southern India. In certain circumstances it is equally so in Bengal. No one will admit that there is no rice in the house, for fear of offending Annapûrṇâ, the goddess of the Corn and also of the Kitchen. The fact of the rice having run short is intimated by saying with significance 'the rice has increased' (*baḍantâ*). Annapûrṇâ is represented by the rice in the house, and in her hands the rice-ladle should never fail to supply all guests, however numerous. In this way she is peculiarly the symbol of Hindu hospitality.

Calcutta. GAURDAS BYSACK.

BOOK-NOTICE.

COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Century A. D., by MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., R.E., London, B. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly. 1891. Octavo, pp. ix. and 118, with 13 autotype plates, and a Map.

This work of Sir A. Cunningham is the first book which deals systematically with the coins of Ancient Northern India as a whole, and is thus assured of a warm welcome from all Indian coin collectors and numismatists. The richness of the author's cabinet and his unrivalled experience necessarily bestow on the book a distinctive value which could not be given to a work on the same subject by any other writer.

The preface and the first forty-one pages of the treatise deal with **metrology**, the **origin of coinage**, and the **Indian alphabets**. In this part of his book the author reiterates many of the opinions on matters in dispute which he has frequently expressed in his other publications. Some of the positions maintained by him are open to attack, but for the present I pass these by, and proceed to consider the seventy-seven pages which describe the coins of ancient India.

The well-known coins of the Satraps of Surâshṭra and of the Gupta dynasty are not discussed by the author, as they have recently been

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4 *ante*, p. 121.

5 Dr. Burgess' *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV pp. 18-20.

6 Mr. Naṭêśa Śâstrî (*ibid.* p. 45, text lines 48 ff.) reads: *Śrî Kômârapaṇmâran Tribhuvanachakravattigaḷ Śrâṇâḍu-vaḷaṅgi-yaruḷiya Śrî Sundaravarumadêvarku yâṇḍu êḻâvadu nâḷ muṉṉûṛṛ-irupatt-aṇḍinâḷ*, while the original has *Śrî-kô-Mâṛapaṇmar-âṇa Tribhuvaṇachchakravattigaḷ Sôṇâḍu vaḷaṅgiy-aruḷiya śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiḍêvarku yâṇḍu êḻâvadu nâḷ muṉṉûṛṛ-irubatt-añjiṉâḷ.*

7 Instead of *śeraṇâḍu aḷaṅkanar Sundarapâṇḍiyadêvaṛku yâṇḍu* 11*vadu* (*ibid.* p. 37, reverse of the Plate, l. 1), the facsimile (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 143) reads *Sôṇâḍu vaḷaṅg[i]ṉa Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṛku yâṇḍu [pa]tt[âva]du.*

fully described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* by the late Paṇḍit Bhagwanlal, Mr. E J. Rapson, and the writer of this notice. In a second volume Sir A. Cunningham hopes to deal with the coins of Mediæval India from A. D. 600 down to the Muhammadan conquest, including the coinages of (1) the Râjás of Kaśmîr, (2) the Shâhîs of Gandhâra, (3) the Kalachuris of Chêdi, (4) the Chandêllas of Mahôba, (5) the Tômaras of Delhi, (6) the Chauhâns of Ajmîr, (7) the later coins of the Sisôdiyas of Mêwâr, and (8) those of the Pundîrs of Kângṛâ.

This is an extensive programme, and all numismatists will anxiously expect the promised volume.

The early punch-marked and cast coins form the first group described in the volume under review, but the section expressly dealing with them is not exhaustive, many punch-marked and cast coins being dealt with in other parts of the book. It is a great pity that Sir A. Cunningham did not prepare an index; for, small though his treatise is, it is full of matter, and an attentive reader finds it very troublesome to be compelled to note for himself all the cross references which require to be made.

Notes of time, marking more or less closely the date of punch-marked coins, are rare. The author records two of interest. On the authority of the late Sir E. C. Bayley he observes that a few *much worn* specimens of the punch-marked class were found in company with hemidrachms of Antimachus II., Philoxenus, Lysias, Antialkidas, and Menander.

The second note of time is afforded by the fact that three worn silver punch-marked coins, weighing respectively 34, 35, and 42 grains were found "in the deposit at the foot of the Vajrâsan, or throne of Buddha, in the temple of Mahâbôdhi at Buddha Gayâ. As this deposit was made about A. D. 150, during the reign of the Indo-Scythian king Huvishka, we learn that punch-marked coins were still in circulation at that time." This inference nobody will dispute, and coins of the kind may have continued to circulate much later in some parts of the country. The issues of Gupta silver coins did not begin before A. D. 400, and it is probable that the silver punch-marked coins remained in circulation up to that date in Northern India, and possibly even later. But I cannot accept the argument by which Sir A. Cunningham tries to fix the Buddha Gayâ coins to a date of about B.C. 450. His words are:— "The three coins weigh 111 grains, giving an average of only 37 grains. But, as the general average of upwards of 800 of these coins from all parts of India is upwards of 47 grains, I am willing to accept a loss of 19 grains [*scilicet*, from 56, the assumed normal full weight] in about 600 years circulation, or, roughly, from B. C. 450 to A. D. 150, as very exceptional. These three coins show a loss of upwards of 3 grains per century, while the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century. It must be remembered that they were all hardened with copper alloy."

The assumption that the normal wear and tear of such pieces was a grain and a half in a century, seems to me rather arbitrary. It would be difficult to quote an example of any class of coins remaining in circulation for 600 years; and small silver coins would be completely worn away long before the expiration of six centuries.

British rupees forty or fifty years old are often withdrawn because they have lost more than two per cent in half a century, or, say, from five to six per cent of weight in a century, and I can see no reason why the rate of loss in the case of punch-marked coins should be assumed to be less. Three grains out of fifty-six is approximately six per cent, and that might be taken as the minimum possible rate of loss for the small thin punch-marked coins, which would wear much quicker than English made rupees. Every one knows that four-anna pieces wear out very quickly, and could not be kept in circulation for a single century. It seems to me that B. C. 200 is a much more likely date than B. C. 450 for the Buddha Gayâ coins, and even that may be too early. I can find no reason for the belief of Sir A. Cunningham (page 43) that some of the punch-marked coins may be as old as B. C. 1000. I agree, however, with him that there is nothing to indicate foreign influence on coins of this class, and that the evidence clearly points to their being an Indian invention.

The conjecture that some of the punched symbols may have been private marks of ancient money changers, is plausible.

The punch-marked copper coins (page 59), are much rarer than the silver ones, and at least one-half of those that Sir A. Cunningham has seen, "are simple forgeries of the silver coins, which betray themselves by their weight (that of the fifty grain [*sic*] *kârsha*), and sometimes by the silver still adhering to them." Similar forgeries or imitations exist in the Gupta series, and in many other ancient coinages.

On page 60, in the account of the cast coins, two slips of the pen have escaped correction.

The word "bulls" should be "balls," and the statement that "No. 28 . . . . is of six different sizes, weighing respectively 107, 76, 26, and 11 grains," requires amendment.

The account of the **coins of Taxila,** illustrated by two entire plates, is valuable. A series of rare inscribed coins found only at that place (now Shâh kî dhêrî in the Râwalpindi District) bears the legend *nêgama* (or, in one instance, *nigama*) in Indian characters of the Aśôka period. On some coins the word is written *nêkama* in Gandharian (*i .e.* Arian, or Kharôshṭrî) letters. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to interpret this word as the name of a coin, comparing it with the Greek *νόμισμα*, but this suggestion does not seem to be correct.

The word *nêgamâ* (*i. e. naigamâh*), occurs in the Bhaṭṭiprôlu *Stûpa* inscription lately discovered by Mr. Rea in the Kistna (Kṛishṇâ) District, Madras, and is interpreted by Dr. Bühler (*Academy for* 28th *May* 1892, *page* 522) to mean "members of a guild." That inscription appears to belong to the age of Aśôka, or a time very little later, and the word *nêgama*, (*nigama.* or *nêkama*) on the coins, which seem to date from the same period, should, in the absence of good reason to the contrary, be interpreted in the same way. The word *nêgama* (including the variant spellings) on the coins is associated with an unmistakable figure of a steelyard balance, and also with the words *dôjaka, râlimata,* and *antarôtaka,* of which the meaning seems to be at present unknown. Sir A. Cunningham's etymological speculations concerning these legends do not command assent.

The very rare coins bearing the legend **Odumbara or Odumbarisa,** which have been found only in the Kâṅgṛâ District, have already been noticed in the *Archæological Reports* (Vol. V. p. 154, and XIV. p. 116.). Only two silver pieces are known, and the number of copper specimens is variously stated by the author in the same paragraph as five and seven. The silver pieces give the name of Râjâ Dhara Ghôsha in Pâli and Kharôshṭrî characters. One of these coins is in the Lahore Museum, and was found in company with Kuninda coins and hemidrachms of Apollodotus, who reigned about B. C. 100.

The **coins of Amôghabhûti, king of Kuninda,** have been frequently published, but only five specimens of the Śiva type are known. The name Kuninda was first correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham many years ago. The late Mr. Thomas committed himself at one time to very rash speculations about the interpretation of the legend of these coins.

The **local coins of the ancient city Kôsâmbi,** near Allâhâbâd, appear to comprise the issues of at least four princes, namely, Bahasata Mitra, Aśva Ghôsha, Jêtha Mitra, and Dhana Dêva. The connection of the first named ruler with Kôsâmbi is proved by the occurrence of an inscription of his in the neighbourhood. The coin legends do not include the name of the town, and I presume that the proof of the connection between Kôsâmbi and the other three rulers named rests chiefly on unpublished evidence as to the find spots of their coins. Coins of Dhana Dêva are recorded to have been found at Ayôdhyâ (*Arch. Reports,* Vol. I. p. 319). His coins are stated to be very numerous.

Plate vi. is devoted to the illustration of coins **ascribed to the Yaudhêya tribe,** now represented by the Jôhiyas along the Satluj River and in the Salt Range. The coins numbered 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 13, of the Plate include the name Yaudhêya in their legends. I cannot perceive any reason for ascribing the single-die coin No. 1 with common Buddhist symbols to the Yaudhêyas, and the same remark applies to the broken coin No. 5, but the ascription of the remaining pieces (with the doubtful exception of No. 14), is satisfactorily established. The small copper coins, in two sizes, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, have on the obverse a humped bull to right, approaching a Bôdhi tree with railing, with the legend *Yaudhêyanâ* (or-*nî*), and on the reverse an elephant walking to right, with Buddhist symbols. This class of small copper coins is believed to date from about the first century B. C. I would name it the **Bull and Elephant Type.** Figures 6, 7, and 8 represent large copper coins, with a mean weight of 172 grains, which form a totally distinct class, copied from the Indo-Scythian money, and apparently later in date than A. D. 300. The obverse shows an armed figure standing to front, with spear in right hand, and left hand on hip; cock in field to right. Legend in old Nâgarî characters: *Yaudhêya gaṇasya jaya.* In one instance the word *dvi,* and, in another, the word *tri* follows *jaya.* The reverse is occupied by a standing male figure and sundry symbols.

This type may be called the **Javelin Type,** which name has been generally accepted for the corresponding class of Gupta coins. The legend shows that these coins are those of the Yaudhêya tribe or clan.

Figure 9 represents a silver coin, apparently the only one known in that metal, which belongs to a third completely distinct type. The author remarks that this piece and certain related copper coins (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13) "are, perhaps, of a

slightly later date." They seem to me to be considerably later in date, and not earlier than A. D. 500.

They are characterized by the rude six-headed male figure on the obverse, which is probably intended for Kârttikêya, son of Śiva, and god of war, and may be conveniently named the **Kârttikêya Type.** The legend on the silver piece is *Bhâgavatô Svâmina Brâhmana Yaudhêya*, and that on some of the copper coins is *Bhâgavata Svâmina Brâhmaṇa Dêvaśya.*

The obverse device of Figure 14 is simply a snake, with the legend *Bhânu Varma*, and the ascription of this piece to the Yaudhêyas does not appear to be certain.

The Yaudhêya coins deserve further investigation and illustration.

If space permitted, Sir A. Cunningham's description of the **Coins of Pañchâla (Northern Rôhilkhaṇḍ), Mathurâ, and Ayôdhyâ** should receive a long discussion; but it is impossible to treat the subject adequately in a review. **The coins of the Mitra dynasty, characterized by the incuse square obverse,** generally ascribed to the Śuṅga kings, are regarded by the author as the issues of a local dynasty, inasmuch "as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchâla, which would not be the case, did they belong to the paramount dynasty of Śuṅgas." The princes with the cognomen of Mitra who issued these coins, are Dhruva Mitra, Sûrya Mitra, Phalguni Mitra, Bhânu Mitra, Bhûmi Mitra, Agni Mitra, Jaya Mitra, Indra Mitra, and Vishṇu Mitra: — a very remarkable series of names. The names of Bhadra Ghôsha and Viśva Pâla also occur.

The well-known Horse and Bull coins of Satya Mitra, Sûrya Mitra, and Vijaya Mitra, as well as the closely related coins of Saṁgha (Mitra) are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Ayôdhyâ issues. But I am by no means certain that the same Sûrya Mitra did not issue both the Incuse Square and the Horse and Bull coins. It is certainly a mistake to say that the Incuse Square coins are "very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañchâla." I have myself three coins of Indra Mitra found in Oudh, and Mr. J. Hooper, B.C.S., has many other coins of the same class, obtained chiefly in the neighbourhood of Ayôdhyâ. Coins of this class are also found in Bastî and the other districts adjoining Oudh, where the Horse and Bull coins likewise occur. Certain princes, with the cognomen Mitra, namely **Gô Mitra and Brahma Mitra** issued coins which are classed by Sir A. Cunningham as Mathurâ issues. These various Mitra coins require, and would, I think, repay detailed study and investigation.

The Mathurâ coins of the Satraps Hagâmâsha and Hagâna (page 87) are now, I believe, published for the first time.

The chapters dealing with the **coins of Ujain and Êraṇ** are very interesting, but the greater part of their contents has already been published in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, and I must refrain from discussing them. The coin from Êraṇ figured as No. 18 in Plate xi. is, however, too remarkable to be passed over. It "is a thick rude piece of copper, weighing 171 grains. It bears the name of Dhama Pâlasini, **written reversedly [scilicet, from right to left] in large Asôka characters of early date."** This legend may be older than the inscriptions of Aśôka. Sir A. Cunningham includes in his work a brief account of the **Andhra coins** on the ground that the Andhra kings claim in their inscriptions to have extended their sway far to the north of the Narbadâ River, and may thus be reckoned among the dynasties of Northern India, with which the book is concerned. Sir A. Cunningham adopts Dr. Bühler's results (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 272), as regards the succession and chronology of the Andhra monarchs.

The coins, which are generally made of lead, fall into **two main classes, the Western,** from the neighbourhood of Kôlhâpur, **and the Southern,** from the neighbourhood of Amarâvatî on the Kṛishṇâ (Kistna) River. The Western coins are mostly characterized by the obverse device of **a bow, with arrow fixed.** The Southern coins have for leading obverse device a horse, elephant, *stûpa* (*chaitya*), lion, or two-masted ship; and for reverse device **the cross and balls,** characteristic of the coinage of Ujain. Sir A. Cunningham observes that "one specimen has an elephant;" but I possess nine small leaden coins from the Kṛishṇâ District, given me by Dr. Hultzsch, all of which seem to bear the elephant obverse device. They are very rude coins.

Three of the kings also coined in copper, using the Bow and Arrow device, and one silver coin struck by Yajña Śâtakarṇi, resembling the Satrap coinage of Surâshṭra, was found in the *stûpa* of Sôpâra.

The concluding section of the book is devoted to a brief discussion of **the coinage of Nêpâl.** Sir A. Cunningham accepts "with perfect confidence" the determination of **the chronology** by Dr. Bühler, whose results are very different from those at which Dr. Fleet arrived. Dr. Fleet thought that the Sûryavaṁśi Lichchhavi dynasty

ruled simultaneously with the Ṭhâkurî dynasty, whereas Dr. Buhler, interpreting differently the dates of certain inscriptions, holds that the Lichchhavi dynasty ended after A. D 634, and was succeeded about A. D. 640 by the Thâkurî dynasty, founded by Ṭhâkur Aṁśuvarman.

The coins, which are all copper. ranging in weight from 95 to 250 grains, bear the names of Mânânka, Gunânka, Vaiśravana, Aṁśuvarman, Jishṇugupta, and Paśupati. Three of these coins had long ago been published by Prinsep and Sir A. Cunningham, and several of the types were published by Dr. Hoernle and myself for the first time in 1887 (*Proc. A. S. Bengal*), amended readings being given in the same periodical for the following year. The coins then described were from a find presented to me by Dr. Gimlette, and are now divided between the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Hoernle, and myself. Colonel Warren's coins, some of which are figured and described by Sir A. Cunningham, have been recently acquired by the British Museum. The approximate date, A. D 640, of Aṁśuvarman's coins is certain, but the dates and order of the other coins are far from being settled. In fact the Nêpâl coinage requires to be worked out in a separate monograph before it can be satisfactorily treated in brief. In describing the coins of Mânânka and Gunâṅka, Sir A. Cunningham transposes the terms obverse and reverse. There can be no doubt that the side occupied by the seated goddess is, as in the Gupta coinage, properly denominated the reverse.

No one can be more grateful than I am to Sir A. Cunningham for giving to numismatic students the first intelligible guide-book to the numerous groups of miscellaneous early Indian coins, or can appreciate better the knowledge and learning displayed in the small book under review. But it is a reviewer's business to criticize, and I may be pardoned for pointing out some defects. M. Ed. Drouin, when criticizing my work on the Gupta coinage, complained with justice that the autotype figures in the plates are often unsatisfactory. The same criticism applies with much greater force to the plates in this work, the coins figured being frequently much worn copper pieces, of which the photographs are necessarily very indistinct. In many instances the more expensive and troublesome process of engraving from drawings would have given far better results.

This review has run to such a length that it is impossible to discuss the introductory sections of the book, but a few dubious statements may be noted. Modern scholars do not generally accept the date "from 600 to 543 B. C." for the lifetime of Buddha (page 3) On page 20 the statement is repeated in the form that "Buddha's death is placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C."

The observations on the derivation of the term *ṭaṅka* in pages 24-26 will hardly command general acceptance. The date 84 (page 37) for the Hashtnagar inscription appears to be incorrect. I think it may safely be asserted that the date is either 274 or 284, as read by Dr. Bühler, and originally by Sir A. Cunningham.

On page 49 the small gold coins of Southern India, known by the name of *hûn*, are said to average 52 grains, the weight being adjusted to that of the *kalañju* seed, which is "over 50 grains." On *page* 51 the *hûns* are said to have been "intended for half *dînârs* of the Roman standard"; and, on the same page, the *hûn* is declared to be "the original gold *karsha* of 57·6 grains, which has now dwindled down to 52 and 53 grains," and ten of the older *hûns* are said to give an average of 55 grains. These statements, which are not altogether consistent, appear to require revision. I do not see how the weight of the *hûn* can be derived from that of the *kaḷañju* seed of "over 50 grains," a purely indigenous measure, and also be copied from the Roman *dînâr* standard.

The citation of the legend of the purchase of the Jêtavana garden to prove the antiquity of "square Indian coins" (page 53) suggests the criticism, first, that Sir A. Cunningham much antedates Buddha, secondly, that the representations in the sculptures prove nothing as to the facts in the time of Buddha, but only indicate what seemed to the sculptor a suitable way for representing a payment, and, thirdly, that early square *gold* coins are not known to exist. The legend illustrated by the sculpture refers to *gold* coins.

I am glad to see that Sir A. Cunningham has ceased to use the values 1·75 grain and 140 grains for the *rati* and *suvarna* respectively, and now uses the much more correct values 1·8 and 144. The values 1 825 and 146 which I have employed in my publications, are perhaps more strictly correct, but 1·8 and 144 are sufficiently accurate, and form a very convenient basis for a table of weights.

On page 53 the words "eight *ratis*, or 140 grains," should be read "eighty *ratis*, or 144 grains." On the same page it is stated that the Jêtavana story "will be found in the appendix," but there is no appendix.

V. A. SMITH.

Cheltenham,
22 *June* 1892.

THE THIRD INSTALMENT OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

IN the present paper I publish that portion of the Bower Manuscript, which contains the short treatise, referred to *ante*, p. 129, on conjuration or the use of magic spells.

This portion consists of four leaves. In shape they are exactly like those previously published; but they are of a somewhat smaller size, measuring only 9 by 2 inches. There is also an appreciable difference in their material; it is not so brittle as in the other parts of the manuscript, but feels tough and supple. A different preparation of the bark would seem to have been used for these leaves. A specimen, being the obverse of the third leaf, is published in the lower part of Plate III., issued with the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for November 1891.

The treatise, to which the four leaves belong, is referred to in my paper "On the Date of the Bower Manuscript" (*ante*, p. 29)[1] as "the third portion C." I have there ascribed the writing of this portion, which is in a large and somewhat slovenly hand, to a scribe distinct from those that wrote the portions published in my first and second instalments. On closer examination, however, and further consideration, I do not feel now quite so sure on this point. It is just possible that the portions published in my second and in the present instalments may be the products of the same scribe, the second portion being written by him in a careful calligraphic hand, but the third in a hurried and rather slovenly manner.

The test letter here is the palatal *ś*, which, both in the second and third portions, has the form of a straight-lined square with a circular loop at the lower left-hand corner, while in the first portion it is a square with a rounded top and a minute forked tail in the place of the loop. In the third portion, in keeping with its more slovenly character, the loop is sometimes left more or less open, and the top-line of the square more or less indented. In fact this indentation is seen in most letters that have a top-line; it is well shown, *e.g.*, in the akshara *grâ* of *saṁgrâmam* in the 5th line (fl. IIIa[5]). On the figured page, unfortunately, the palatal *ś* occurs only once, in *yaśasvinaḥ*, in the 4th line (fl. IIIa[4]), where the *ś* shows the open loop, but a straight top. This distinction in the shape of the *ś* is quite sufficient to show that the writing of the second and third portions belongs to one and the same class, as distinguished from the writing of the first portion. That it belongs not only to the same class but to the same scribe is shown by another significant circumstance connected with the same palatal letter *ś*. Occasionally this letter assumes, in the third portion, a very cursive form, in which the loop is connected with the top-stroke, so that the whole letter can be drawn with no more than two strokes of the pen, thus [glyph] (*e.g.*, in *śântayê* IIIb[6], *yaśamitrasya* IIIb[6]). Now in one or two places in the second instalment a few letters are inserted between the lines of calligraphic writing, to supply blundered omissions. These inserted letters are written not calligraphically, like the rest of the writing, but in a hurried, slovenly hand, strikingly resembling the hand of the third portion. In one of these interpolations, *na saṁśayâ* in fl. IIIb[1] (*ante*, p. 139), the letter *ś* occurs and is there drawn in precisely the same very current form which is peculiar to the third portion. This fact seems clearly to prove, that, if not the writer, at all events the reviser, of the second portion was identical with the writer of the third portion. But there is no reason why the writer of the second portion should have been a different person from its reviser. It is at least equally probable that the same person, who at first wrote his manuscript in a calligraphic hand, afterwards made the corrections in a more hurried and cursive hand, — *viz.*, the same in which he wrote another manuscript (*i.e.*, the third portion).

When it is observed that both the second and third portions have this in common, that they never use the transitional or modern forms of *y*, but exclusively the old tripartite form, — it further tends to make probable the identity of the scribes of those two portions. Add to this,

[1] Also in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LX., Part I., pp. 80, 81.

that the writing of the third portion also agrees with that of the second in the matter of the hook attached to the bottom of the main perpendicular (see *ante*, p. 129).

The leaves are again of varying thickness. The first has three, the third has six, and the second and fourth have each four layers.

This portion of the Manuscript is complete. It commences at the top of the obverse of the first leaf and concludes with the second line on the reverse of the fourth leaf, the remainder of which is left blank. **The treatise which it contains relates a Buddhist tradition:** how on the occasion of a novice, named Svâti, being bitten by a cobra, Buddha, who was then living in Anâthapiṇḍada's garden in Jêtavana near Śrâvastî, gave a curative spell (*śânti-svastyayana*)[2] against snake-bite to his disciple Ânanda for the purpose of saving Svâti. The introduction, which is written in prose, extends as far as the middle of the last line on the obverse of the second leaf. It first relates the occasion on which the spell was given, and next enumerates all the dangers or diseases against which the spell may be put in practice. **Then follows the great spell,** which is composed partly in verse (*ślôka*), partly in prose. The intelligible portions are in verse, while the unintelligible jargon, consisting mostly of alliterating or rhyming words, is in prose. The spell ends in the fifth line on the obverse of the fourth leaf. **It is called the Mahâmâyûri, and described as a vidyârâjâ,** or **"queen of the magic art."** *Mahâmâyûrî*, I notice, is said in the abridged Petersburg Dictionary to be "the proper name of one of the five talismans and of one of the five tutelary goddesses of the Buddhists." The present treatise shows it to be the name of a spell. From the fact of the mention, before the commencement of the spell (fl. Ib[3]), of the ligature to be placed on the bitten part, I conclude that the saying of the spell was intended to accompany the operation of tying the ligature. See further remarks on this subject in Appendix III to this paper.

The spell is followed by the conclusion, which is again in prose. This consists of a series of salutations addressed to Buddha and Buddhism, under various synonyms, and of good wishes addressed to a certain "Yaśamitra" (for Yaśômitra). This would seem to be the name of either the composer of the treatise, or of the person on whose behalf it was composed. Sir Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, I find, gives it as "the name of a Buddhist author;" but in the abridged Petersburg Dictionary it is only noted as the name of various persons in Jain tradition.

A fragment of this portion of the Manuscript,—that on the obverse of the third leaf—was published by me in the April, 1891, *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 60, 61. It was also published, about the same time, and independently of me, by Professor Bühler in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., pp. 106, 108, and in the *Academy* of the 15th August 1891, pp. 138, 139. His reading and translation were reviewed by Mr. R. Morris in the *Academy* of the 29th August 1891, pp. 178, 179, and by Dr. A. Stein in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., pp. 343—345. Mr. Morris, in his review, has given valuable identifications of some of those **Nâgarâjas,** whose names occur on fl. IIIa. In Appendix I to this paper I have added such further information, as I have been able to gather from the literature of the Northern Buddhists available to me, on all those whose names occur in the second part of the spell. But perhaps Mr. Morris and other Buddhist scholars, whose acquaintance with that literature is more intimate than mine, may feel disposed to supplement this information, which, I need hardly say, will be gratefully acknowledged by me in the edition I am preparing for the Government of India.

Professor Bühler, who interprets the term **gôlâ** (fl. IIIa[2]; see also fl. IIb[4]) as the same as Gôdâvarî, the well-known river in the Dekhan, accordingly considers it probable that the snake-charm was composed in Southern India. I cannot agree with this opinion; I have given my reasons, in a note to the translation, showing that *gôlâ* cannot be a proper name, but must be a common noun, meaning 'district.' Nothing, therefore, can be extracted from this word to indicate the locality of the composition of the spell. Dr. Stein, on the other hand, suggests that

[2] See *post*, Appendix III. The term corresponds to the German *Heilspruch*.

the charm was probably composed in Kaśmîr, because most of the names, occurring on fl. IIIa, are those of well-known Nâgas or Sacred Springs of that country. It will be interesting to learn, now that I have published the whole of the *mantra*, whether any more, and how many, of the names in the list occur in the Nîlamata Purâṇa as those of springs in Kaśmîr. The fact that the manuscript was undoubtedly written in Kaśmîr, or in an adjoining country, naturally raises a presumption that the charm contained in it may have been composed in the same locality. On the other hand, there is the circumstance that the names of the Nâga kings, mentioned in the spell, are, as Mr. Morris has shown, the common property of the whole of Northern Buddhism, and probably also of the Southern.[3]

Professor Buhler suggests that the *mantra* is "a charm which is intended to force the Nâgas or snake-deities to send rain." The portion of it contained on fol. IIIa certainly supports this interpretation; and Mr. Morris quotes a similar list of names of Nâgas from a Chinese "rain-asking-*sûtra*." I was disposed to hold the same opinion at first, but gave it up when I came to read the whole of the manuscript.[4] The introduction shows unmistakably that **the mantra is intended to be a charm against snake-bite**, for Ânanda was to pronounce it over Svâti in order to cure him of the bite of a cobra; and this is also clearly implied in the final words "from all poisons," in the concluding sentences. Its real character of a snake-charm is also clearly shown by its identity with the snake-charm in the Jâtaka book, of which I give an account in Appendix II. **At the same time the charm would seem to be intended to be a protection against all sorts of ills and troubles.** I take this to be the meaning of the long list of evils given in the introduction as well as in the conclusion. Still there is clearly a prayer for rain expressed in the two first lines of fol. IIIa. For the presence of this prayer in a snake-charm I can give no satisfactory explanation; though the prayer was, no doubt, suggested by the fact that the Nâgas are also looked upon as water-deities, residing in springs or lakes.

As a curiosity I may note, that the word *jaṅgamâ*, occurring at the end of verse 15, on fl. IVa[3], appears to be a gloss of the scribe, added to explain the meaning of the word *trâsa*. *Trâsa* properly means 'fear' or 'fearful,' but it is sometimes used erroneously in the place of *trasa*, which means 'movable,' as opposed to *sthâvara* 'immovable' or 'stationary.' The object of adding the gloss would seem to have been to prevent a misunderstanding of the meaning of *trâsa*, which, however, was obvious enough in the context. That the word is not a genuine part of the text, but a mere gloss, is shown by its being extraneous to the metre of both verses 15 and 16.

Of two curious parallels which I have discovered, (one in the Jâtaka book, the other in old Indian medical books), I have given a full account in the Appendices II. and III. respectively. The credit of the discovery in the Jâtaka book, however, is really due to Professor Bühler, who first pointed out[5] the occurrence, in the *Khandhavatta Jâtaka*, of the name **Chabhyâputra**, and who would, of course, have noticed the more extended agreement, if he had had the full text of our spell before him at the time when he wrote his paper.

The state of the text and the character of the composition in this part of the manuscript are similar to those in the other parts which I have published. There is a considerable number of clerical blunders and omissions. To mention some of the most obvious of different kinds: we have *namô ktayê* for *namô stu muktayê*, fl. IVa[6]; *daharaḥ staruṇaḥ* for *daharaḥ taruṇaḥ* or *daharas=taruṇaḥ*, fl. Ia[2]; *êtad=avâcha* for *êtad=uvâcha*, fl. Ib[1]; *śulam* for *śûlam*, fl. IIa[5]; *vâsukinâ* for *vâsukinâ*, fl. IIIa[3]. Sometimes anusvâras are inserted where they should not be, *e. g.*, in *saṁgrâmaṁm=anubhaṁvaṁti* for *saṁgrâmam=anubhavaṁti*, fl. IIIa[5]; in other places they are omitted where they should stand, *e. g.*, in *rakshâ karôhi* for *rakshâṁ karôhi*, fl. Ib[2]. In several

[3] See also the note on No. 33, *Sâkêtaka*, in Appendix I.

[4] See my remarks, in the *Journal, As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LX, Part I., p. 80, in my paper "On the date of the Bower MS."

[5] See *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., p. 110.

places the vowels *ô* and *â* are written where one would expect *á* and *ê* respectively; *e. g.*, *mahôrâtraṁ* for *mahârâtraṁ*, fl. IIb[1]; *upasargôpâyâbhyaḥ* for *upasargôpâyêbhyaḥ*, fl. IVb[1]. Occasionally the scribe has made corrections; thus in fl. IIIa[4] he had originally written *nandôpandô*, but corrected it to *nandôpanandô* by inserting *na* between the lines; again in fl. Ia[6] he seems originally to have written *vâhayamâṇam*, which he partially rubbed out and over-wrote with *vâhayamantam*.

Grammatical anomalies are equally numerous. I may instance the following :—

I. — In **Orthography : confusion of letters :** *s* for *sh* in *dârusu* for *dârushu*, fl. Ia[4]; *ṛi* for *ri* in *niśṛitâ* for *niśritâ*, fl. IIIb[5]; *ri* for *ṛi* in *Dhritarâshṭrêshu* for *Dhṛitarâshṭrêshu*, fl. IIIa[2], *rishikêshu* for *ṛishikêshu*, fl. IIIb[3], *prithivî* for *pṛithivî*, fl. IIIb[5]; *ḍ* for *l* in *Mahâkâḍi* for *Mahâkâli*, fl. IIb[3]; *ṇ* for *n* in *varttayamâṇaṁ* for *varttayamânaṁ*, fl. Ia[6]; *n* for *ṇ* in *ârôhani* for *ârôhaṇi*, fl. IIb[2]. **Final t is omitted** in *chaturthakâ* for *chaturthakât*, fl. IIa[2], *jvarâ* for *jvarât*, fl. IIa[3], *âcharê* for *âcharêt* fl. IVa[4]. **Insertion of connecting consonants :** *m* in *Vâsukinâ-m-api* fl. IIIa[4], perhaps *pari-m-apanaya*, fl. IIa[4]. **Insertion of a separating vowel,** *i* in *śirisha* for *śirsha*, fl. IIa[4]. **Doubling of a consonant :** *dh* before *y*, in *maddhya*, fl. IIa[6]. **Sandhi neglected** in *taruṇaḥ achira*, fl. Ia[3], *parivartayamânaḥ âvrâkshîd*, fl. Ia[5], *bhôntu anâmayâ*, fl. IVa[3], etc. **False sandhi :** *dêvô samaṁtêna*, fl. IIIa[2] (for *dêvaḥ sa°*), *Kôlakô Apalâlaś=cha*, fl. IIIb[1] (for *Kôlakô 'pa°*), *Bhôgavân Śrâmaṇêrakaḥ*, fl. IIIb[1] (for *Bhôgavâñ Śrâm°*), *duchchhâyâ*, fl. IIa[1] (for *duśchhâyâ*). **Omission of visarga :** before *s* : fl. Ia[5] *Ânanda Svâtir*, fl. IIIb[2] *Kumbhîra Sûchîlômas*; before *k* : fl. IIb[1] *karmmaṇa kavkhôrdô*; before *p* : fl. Ia[2] *bhikshu prativasati;* in pausâ : fl. IIIa[5] *mahardhikâ*, etc. Some among the above given instances might have been also classed as examples of anomalous grammar.

II. — **In Grammar : (a) Declension :** nom. sing. ; fl. IIIa[2] *dêvô*, fl. Ia[2] *bhikshu ;* instr. plur., fl. IIIb[6] *śirshâhi, têhi* ; abl. sing., fl. Ib[3] *grahâtô*, fl. IIa[2] *chaturthakâ*, fl. IIa[3] *jvarâ* ; abl. plur., fl. IVb[1] *upâyâbhyaḥ* (possibly a clerical error) ; loc. sing., fl. Ia[1] *êkasmi*, fl. IIb[4] *gôlâya*, *śêlâya*, fl. IIIa[2] *parivêlâya*.

(b) **Conjugation :** 3. plur. pres., fl. IVa[3] *bhôntu* ; 3. sing. opt., fl. IVa[4] *âcharê* ; 2. sing. imp., fl. Ib[2] and Ib[3] *karôhi ;* 2. sing. aor., fl. IVa[1] *hiṁsi* ; part. pres., fl. Ia[6] *vâhayamantam*.[6] **Most of these anomalies are more or less pure Prâkriticisms** ; so is also the spelling of *śêlâya* with *ê* (for Skr. *śaila*), also of *dvêtîya* fl. IIa[2] and *dêvâsura* fl. IIIa[4]. With regard to the forms *parivêlâya, gôlâya, śêlâya,* they may be either taken as anomalous locative forms of feminine nouns in *â*, and this is supported by the fact that *gôlâ* certainly occurs as a feminine noun on fl. IIIa[2] in the genitive singular *gôlâyâḥ*. Or they may be taken as datives of masculine nouns in *a*, used anomalously in the place of locatives, and for this makes the fact that *śêla* (Skr. *śaila*) is usually a masculine noun.

(c) **In Syntax : exchange of cases :** instr. for loc., fl. Ia[1] *Śrâvastyâ* (for *Śrâvastyâṁ*), fl. Ia *samayêna* : instr. and loc. used promiscuously, fl. IIIa[3] *Virûpâkshêshu*, but *Maṇinâ*. **False concord :** nom. and acc., fl. Ia[5] *Svâtir-bhikshum* (for *Svâtiṁ bhikshum*, perhaps a clerical error); sing. and plur., fl. Ia[5] *sa sravaṁti* (for *sravati*), fl. IVa[3] *sukhô bhôntu* (for *sukhâ*, perhaps a clerical error).

(d) **Composition :** fl. IIa[1] *kṛitya-karma* (for *kṛityâ*), fl. IIa[4] *makshi-rôga* (for *makshî*), fl. IIa[5] *ûrû-śûla* (for *ûru*), fl. IVa[6] *Yaśa-mitra* (for *Yaśô*) ; fl. IIIa[3] *nâga-râjan* (for *nâga-râja*, but also in Sanskrit) ; perhaps fl. IIa[4] *pari-m-apanaya* (for *pary-apanaya*).

III.—**In Prosody : false quantity,** fl. IIb[1] *mama*, fl. IIIa[4] *cha*, see also fl. IIIb[2], IIIb[3], IIIb[5], IVa[1]. **One syllable in excess,** see fl. IIIa[2], IIIa[5], IIIa[6], IIIb[3], IIIb[5] ; **two syllables in excess,** see fl. IIIa[5] ; **one syllable short,** see fl. III. b[4] ; **two syllables short,** see fl. IIIb[6] (probably a clerical error).

[6] The scribe had originally written *vâhayamâṇam*.

IV.—**In Vocabulary : new words or new meanings ;**

avadhûta, 'injury,' 'destruction,' fl. IIa².
âglâna, 'exhausted,' fl. Ia⁶.
Ugâtima, a Nâga, fl. IIIb³.
Êlapatra, a Nâga, fl. IIIb⁴ (usually *Êlâpatra*).
Ôkiraṇa 'destruction,' fl. 2a¹ (for *avakiraṇa*).
Kavkhôrda, a kind of sorcery, fl. 2a¹.
Karṇaka, a Nâga, fl. IIIb³.
Kâṭṭî, probably Prâkritic for *Kârttikî*, fl. IIb³.
kṛitya, 'witchcraft,' fl. IIa¹ (usually *kṛityâ*).
Kôlaka, a Nâga, fl. IIIb⁴.
gupta, 'protection,' fl. Ib² (for *gupti*).
gôlâ, 'district,' fl. IIb⁴, IIIa².
Chhibbasuta, a Nâga, fl. IIIa⁶ (Pâli *Chhabbyâputra*).
Daṇḍapâda, a Nâga, fl. IIIa⁴.
dushaṇa, 'destroying,' 'antidote' (for *dûshaṇa*).
dustâraka, 'the evil eye,' fl. Ib⁶ (opp. *sutâra*).
niśrita, 'inhabiting,' fl. IIIb⁵ (only *niśraya* 'dwelling-place' noted in dictionaries).
Nairâvaṇa, a Nâga, fl. IIIa² (*Skr. Vaiśravaṇa*).
paritra, 'defence,' 'protection,' fl. Ib³ (Pâli *paritta*, from √ *pṛi* + *tra*).
parivêlâ (or *parivêla* ?), 'circumference,' fl. IIIa².
Pithila, a Nâga, fl. IIIb⁴.
Puṇḍarîka, a Nâga, fl. IIIb¹.
makshi-rôga, a kind of skin disease, fl. IIa⁴.
mahôrâtra, 'the time after midnight,' 'midnight,' fl. IIb¹ (perhaps an error for *mahârâtra*).
Rishika, a Nâga, fl. IIIb³.
Lambura, a Nâga, fl. IIIb4.
Vatsîputra, a Nâga, IIIb⁴ fl. (Petersburg Dict., *Vâtsîputra*).
Vâsumukha, a Nâga, fl. IIIa⁶.
vâhita, 'enunciated,' 'put forth,' fl. IVa⁶.
Vêguḍî, a kind of goddess, fl. IIb².
Śakaṭamukha, a Nâga, fl. IIIb³.
Śaṅkhapâda, a Nâga, fl. IIIb².
Śrâmaṇêra, a Nâga, fl. IIIb¹.
Saṁhâraka, a Nâga, fl. IIIa (comp. *Saṁhâra* in Petersburg Dict.)
Sâkêtaka, a Nâga, fl. IIIb².
Sunanda, a Nâga, fl. IIIb⁴.
Sûchîlôma, a Nâga, fl. IIIb² (on the Bharaut Stûpa).

One more point should be noted. **For the purpose of interpunctuation a small hook, very much resembling the modern comma is used.** In the portion of the manuscript, published in my second instalment, a small stroke or 'dash' is employed. In the Nâgarî transcript, I have represented the hook by a dash, for clearness sake; but in the Roman transliteration I have used commas. In the concluding salutations, **the visarga seems to be occasionally employed as a mark of interpunctuation**, alternating with the usual comma, and resembling the modern semi-colon; thus after *Buddhâya* fl. IVa⁵, after *Muktâya* fl. IVa⁶. After *rakshaṁtu* in fl. IVb² **the visarga is employed in addition to the usual mark of a double stroke, to indicate the "full stop."** I have seen the *visarga* occasionally used in this way in modern Hindî manuscripts, as noted in my *Gauḍian Grammar*.

In the following transcript, transliteration and translation I have followed the same system as in my previous instalments; see *ante*, pp. 134, 135.

TEXT.

1, Transcript.

First Leaf: Obverse.

1. एव मया श्रुतमेकास्मि समये भगवा च्छ्रावस्त्या विहरति जेतवने अनाथपिण्डदस्याराम . . . . . .
2. समयेन श्रावस्त्या जेतवने अनाथपिण्डदस्यारामे—स्वातिर्नाम भिक्षु प्रतिवसति स्मु—नवो दहरः स्तरु-
3. णः अचिरप्रव्रजितः अजिरागतः इमं धर्म्मविनयं संघस्यार्थे जेन्ताकदारूणि पाटयमानो न्य-
4. तरात्पूतिदारुसु प□निष्क्रम्य महता कृष्णसर्पेण दक्षिणे पादांगुष्टे दष्टः स क्लान्तकायः भूमौ प-
5. तितः फेणं स्रावंत्यक्षीणि च परिवर्त्तयमानः आद्राक्षीदायुष्मानानन्द स्वातिर्भिक्षुमनाधिकं बाढा-
6. गु□ानं फेनं वाहयमन्तमक्षीणि च परिवर्त्तयमाणं स्वपंत दृष्ट्वा च पु□न सु□रि . सरि□ □ . . .

First Leaf: Reverse.

1. तस्याहं भगवं कथं प्रतिपद्यामि—एवमुक्ते भगवानायुष्मन्तमानन्दमेतदवाच—गच्छ त्वमानन्द . . . . . .
2. वचनेन—अनया महामायूर्या विद्याराजाया स्वातिभिक्षो रक्षा करोहि गुप्तं परित्रं परिग्रहं
   परिपालनं शान्ति-
3. स्वस्त्ययनं दण्डपरि□रं विषदुषणं विषनाशनं सीमाबन्धं धरणीबन्धं च करोहि—देवमहातो
   —नागम-
4. हातो—असुरम . . —मरुतमहातो—गरुडमहातो—गन्धर्वमहातो—किन्नरमहातो—महोरगमहातो
5. यक्षमहातो—राक्षसमहातो—प्रेतमहातो—पिशाचमहातो—भूतमहातो—कुंभाण्डमहातो—पूतनमहातो
6. कटपूतनमहातो—स्कन्दमहातो—उन्मादमहातो—च्छायामहातो—अपस्मारमहातो—ओस्तारकमहातो

Second Leaf: Obverse.

1. कृत्यकर्म्मण कव्खोर्दोकिरण—वेताडच्चिप्रेषकदुर्भुक्तदुच्छर्दित—दुच्छाय ओम . . . .
2. वधूतातो ज्वरादेकाहिकद्वेतीयकत्रैतीयकाच्चातुर्थका सप्ताहिकादर्धमासिका मासिकादैव सकृन्म□त्त-
3. नित्यज्वराद्विषमज्वराद्भूतज्वरान्मानुषज्वरादमानुषज्वरा—वातिकपैत्तिकश्लेष्मिकसन्निपातिकात्सर्व्वज्वरा
4. शिरिषोर्त्ति परिमपनथ अर्धावभेदकं—अरोचकं—मक्षिरोगं नासारोगं मुखरोगं कण्ठरोगं हृदयरोगं
5. कर्ण्णशूलं—दंतशुलं हृदयशूलं—पार्श्वशुलं—पृष्ठशूलं उदरशूलं—गण्डशुलं वस्तिशूलं ऊरूशूलं
6. जंघाशूलं—हस्तशूलं—पादशूलं—अंगप्रत्यंगशूलं चापनय—रात्रौ स्वस्ति दिवा स्वस्ति स्वस्ति मद्धदिने

Second Leaf: Reverse.

1. स्थिते—स्वस्ति सर्व्वमहोरात्रं सर्व्वबुद्धा कुर्व्वंतु—मम ॥ इडि—विडि—हिविडि—निडे—अडे—याडे—
2. दृगडे—हरिवेगुडि—पांसुपिशाचिनि—आरोहनि—ओरोहणि—एले—मेले—तिले—किले—तिले—मेले मिले
3. तिमि—दुमिपे—इहि—मिहि—विष्टब्धे—विमले—हुहु—हुहु—अश्वमुखि काहि—महाकाडि—प्रकीर्ण्ण-
4. केशी—कुलु—कुलु—वस्फलु—कोलु—कोलु—धोसादुम्बा—दोदुम्बा—दुम—दुम्ब—गोलाय—शैलाय—हिशु—
5. हिलि—हि—मिलि—मिलि—तिलि—तिलि—चुलु—चुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु—मुलु-मुलु—हुहु—हुहु-
   . . —हु .
6. हुहु—बबा—बबा—बबा—बबा—बबा—जल—जल—जल—जल—जल—दम . . □ी . . . .

Third Leaf: Obverse.

1. दुन्दुभी—गर्जनी—वर्षणी—स्फोटनी—पतनी—पाचनी—हारिणी—कंपन—मदन—मड . — . . . . .
2. क्त मे—गोलायाः परिवेलाय वर्षतु देवो समंतेन—इले किसि स्वहा ॥ मैत्री मे भ्रितराष्ट्रेषु
   मैत्री नैरा-
3. वणेषु च—विरूपाक्षेषु मे मैत्री कृष्णगौतमेकेषु च—मणिना नागराज्ञा मे मैत्री वासुकीना
4. मपि—दण्डपादेषु . गेषु पुर्ण्णभद्रेषु च सदा—नन्दोपनन्दो ये नागा वर्ण्णवन्तो यशस्विनः देवा-
5. सुरं पि संग्राममनुभवंति महर्धिका—अनवतप्तेन वरुणेन मैत्री संहारकेन च—तक्षकेन अनंतेन
6. तथा वासुमुखेन च—अपराजितेन मे मैत्री मैत्री च्छिछवसुतेन च—महामनस्विना नित्यं तथैव च-

Third Leaf: Reverse.

1. मनस्विना—कालको अपलालश्च भोगवान्श्चामणेरकः दधिमुखो मणिश्चैव पुण्डरीको दिशां पतिः कर्कोटक
2. शंखपाद: कंबलाश्वतरावुभौ—एतेष्वपि च मे मैत्री नागराजेषु नित्यशः—साकेतकश्च कुंभीर सूचीलो-
3. मस्तथैव च—उगातिमेन कालेन मैत्री मे रिषिकेषु च—तथा पूरणकर्ण्णक मैत्री शकटमुखेन च
4. कोलकेन सुनन्देन वत्सीपुत्रेण च सदा—एलपत्रेण मे मैत्री मैत्री लंबुरेण च—पिथिलश्च महानागो
5. मुचिलिन्दश्च विश्रुतः प्रिथीवीचराश्च ये नागा तथैव जलनिश्रुता—अंतरीक्षचरा ये च मेरुसमा-
6. श्रिता: एकशीर्षद्वीशीर्षाहि मैत्री तेहि . नित्यशः अपादेषु मे मैत्री मैत्री ☐ द्वि. ☐.. ...

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

1. देषु मे मैत्री मैत्री बहुपदेषु च—मा मे अपादको हिंसि मा म .. ☐ ....
2. च मे बहुपादकः सर्व्वनागेषु मे मैत्री ये नागा जलनिश्रिताः सर्व्वभूतेषु मे मैत्र य स☐ ......
3. सर्व्वसत्वेषु मे मैत्री ये सत्वा चासस्थावराः जंगमा सर्व्वे सत्वा सुखो भोन्तु सर्व्वे भोन्तु अनामया—सव्व
4. भद्राणि पश्यंतु मा कश्च पापमाचरे—मैत्रचित्तं समादाय करोमि विषदुषणं—रक्षां परिग्रहं चै-
5. व तथैव परिपालनं ॥ नमो बुद्धायः नमो स्तु बोधये नमो विमुक्ताय—नमो विमुक्तये—नमो स्तु शान्ताय—न-
6. मो स्तु शान्तये—नमो स्तु मुक्तायः नमो क्तये—ये ब्रह्मणा वाहितपापा धर्मास्तेषां नमस्ते च यशमित्रस्य

Fourth Leaf: Reverse.

1 . र पालयंतु स्वाहा—सर्व्वभयेभ्यः सर्व्वोपद्रवेभ्यः सर्व्वोपसर्गोपायाभ्यः सर्व्वज्वरेभ्यः
2 सर्व्वव्याधिभ्यः सर्व्वग्रहेभ्यः सर्व्वविषेभ्यः रक्षंतुः ॥

II. Transliteration.

First Leaf: Obverse.

1 @ Êva[ṁ] mayâ śrutam=êkasmi samayê Bhagavâ ch=Chhrâvastyà[7] viharati Jêta-vanê Ânâthapiṇḍadasy=(â)r[â]m[ê] [têna] ....
2 samayêna Srâvastyâ Jêtavanê Anâthapiṇḍadasy=ârâmê, Svâtir=nâma bhikshu prati-vasati smu[8] navô daharaḥ s=taru-
3 ṇaḥ[9] achira-pravraji(taḥ) ajir-âgataḥ imaṁ dharmma-vinayaṁ saṁghasy=ârthê jêntâka-dârûṇi pâtayamânô nya-
4 tarât=pûti-dârusu pa[ri]nishkramya mahatâ kṛishṇa-sarpêṇa dakshiṇê pâdâṁgushṭê dashṭaḥ sa klânta-kâyaḥ bhûmau pa-
5 titaḥ phêṇaṁ srâvaṁty=akshîṇi cha parivarttayamânaḥ âvrâkshîd=âyushmân=Ânanda Svâtir=bhikshum=anadhikaṁ bâḍhâ-
6 g[l]âna(ṁ) phêṇaṁ vâhayamaṇtam[10]=akshîṇi cha parivarttayamâṇaṁ sva(pa)ṁ(ta)[11] d(ṛi)sh(ṭv)â (cha) p[u](na) s(û)ri. s☐ ☐i☐ ☐ṁ ☐ê ...

First Leaf: Reverse.

1 tasy=âhaṁ Bhagavaṁ kathaṁ pratipadyâmi, êvam=uktê Bhagavân=âyushmantam=Ânandam=êtad=avâcha,[12] gachchha tv(am=Ânanda) (T)[a](th)[â](g)[atas](y)=[aiva]
2 vachanêna, anayâ mahâ-mâyûryâ vidyâ-râjâyâ[13] Svâti-bhikshô rakshâ[14] karôhi guptaṁ paritraṁ parigrahaṁ paripâlanaṁ śânti-

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[7] Read *Bhagavâñ=Chhrâvastyâ* or *Bhagavañ=ch=Chhrâvastyâ*, or possibly *Bhagavâ* is the Pâli form of the nom. sing., though this would not account for the change of the following initial *ś* to *chchh*.

[8] Read *sma*. [9] Read either *daharas=taruṇaḥ* or *daharaḥ taruṇaḥ*.

[10] Here the original writing seems to have been *vâhayamâṇam* which was corrected afterwards to *vâhayamantam*.

[11] Read *svapaṁtaṁ*. [12] Read *uvâcha*. [13] Read *râjayâ*. [14] Read *rakshâṁ*.

3 svastyayanaṁ daṇḍa-pari[h]âraṁ visha-dushaṇaṁ visha-nâśanâṁ sîmâ-bandhaṁ dharaṇi-bandhaṁ cha karôhi, Dêva-grahâtô, Nâga-gra-

4 hâtô, Asura-gra[hâtô], Maruta-grahâtô, Garuḍa-grahâtô, Gandharva-grahâtô, Kinnara-grahâtô, Mahôraga-grahâtô

5 Yaksha-grahâtô, Râkshasa-grahâtô, Prêta-grahâtô, Piśâcha-grahâtô, Bhûta-grahâtô, Kumbhâṇḍa-grahâtô, Pûtana-grahâtô

6 Kaṭa-pûtana-grahâtô, Skanda-grahâtô, Unmâda-grahâtô, ch=Chhâyâ[15]-grahâtô, Apasmâra-grahâtô, ôs(t)âraka[16]-g[r]ah(ât)ô

Second Leaf: Obverse.

1 kṛitya-karmmaṇa kavkhôrd[17]-ôkiraṇa, Vêtâḍa-chichcha-prêshaka-durbhukta-duchchhar-dd[i]ta, duchchh(â)y[â], (ôpra) . . . .

2 vadhûtâtô jvarâd=êkâhika-dvêtîyaka-traitîyakâch=châturthakâ saptâhikâd=ardha-mâsikâ mâsikâd=[18]aiva sakṛi(n)-m[au](h)û[r]tt[ikâ]

3 nitya-jvarâd=vishama-jvarâd=(bh)[û]ta-jvarân=mânusha-jvarâd=a-mânusha-jvarâ, vâtika-paittika-ślêshmika-sannipâtikât=sarvva-jvarâ

4 śirishô-rtti[19]-pari-m-apanaya ardh-âvabhêdakaṁ, arôchakaṁ, makshi-rôgaṁ nâsâ-rôgaṁ ṁukha-rôgaṁ kaṇṭha-rôgaṁ hṛidaya-rôgaṁ

5 karṇṇa-śûlaṁ, daṁta-sulaṁ[20] hṛidaya-śûlaṁ, pârśva-śulaṁ,[20] pṛishṭha-śûlaṁ, udara-śûlaṁ, gaṇḍa-śulaṁ[20] vasti-śûlaṁ ûrû-śûlaṁ

6 jaṁghâ-śûlaṁ, hasta-śûlaṁ pâda-śûlaṁ, aṁga-pratyaṁga-śûlaṁ ch=âpanaya, râtrau svasti divâ svasti svasti maddhya-dinê

Second Leaf: Reverse.

1 sthitê, [|] svasti sarvva-mahôrâtraṁ[21] sarvva-buddhâ kurvvaṁtu, mama[22] || Iḍi, viḍi, hiviḍi, niḍê, aḍê, yâḍê,

2 dṛigaḍê, Hari-vêguḍi, Pâṁsu-piśâchini, ârôhani, ôrôhaṇi,[23] êlê, mêlê, tilê, kilê,[24] tilê, mêlê milê

3 timi, dumipê, iṭṭi, miṭṭi, vishṭabdhê, vimalê, huhu, huhu, Aśva-mukhi Kâṭṭi, Mahâkâḍi[25] Prakîrṇṇa-

4 kêśî, kulu, kulu, vasphalu, kôlu, kôlu, Dhôsâ-dumbâ, Dô-dumbâ, duma, dumba, gôlâya, śêlâya, hiśu,

5 hili, hi, mili, mili, tili, tili, chulu, chulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, huhu, huh[u], [huhu], h[uhu]

6 huhu, babâ, babâ, babâ, babâ, babâ, jala, jala, jala, jala, jala, (d)[u](ma) . . □î . . . .

Third Leaf: Obverse.

1 Dundubhî, Garjanî, Varshaṇî, Spôṭanî, Patanî, Pâchanî, Hâriṇî, Kaṁpan[î] Madan[î], M[aṇ]ḍ[anî], ...

2 kta[26] mê, Gôlâyâḥ parivêlâya varshatu dêvô samaṁtêna,[27] Ili Kisi svahâ[28] || Maitrî mê Dhritarâshṭrêshu maitrî Nairâ-

[15] Or perhaps *chhayâ*, with short *a*; the akshara is indistinct; the *Vyutpatti* seems to read *chhayâ*; see App. I.

[16] Perhaps read *dustâraka*.

[17] Perhaps intended for *kakkhôrda*; see App. III.

[18] Read *êva*.

[19] See footnote to translation.

[20] Read *śûlaṁ*.

[21] Read *mahârâtraṁ*.

[22] From *râtrau* to *mama* is a ślôka, but the 4th pâda has one syllable in excess. Between *mama* and the two strokes of interpunctuation, there appears to have been originally a longish scroll which is now nearly washed out.

[23] Cf. Skr. *avarôhanî*.

[24] Or perhaps *bhilê* or *tilê*. The first akshara is blurred.

[25] For *Mahâkâlî*.

[26] The akshara *kta* is written on the margin, outside the line; and the exact relation in which it stands to the text is doubtful. The full word may have been *prayuṅkta*.

[27] From *gôlâyâḥ* to *samaṁtêna* are two pâdas of a ślôka, but the second of them has one syllable in excess.

[28] Read *svâhâ*. The first â-stroke is not "abnormally short," but is entirely wanting. I have noticed the faulty form *svahâ* also in modern Tibetan Buddhist scripts.

3 vaṇêshu cha, [I] Virûpâkshêshu mê maitrî Kṛishṇa-Gautamakêshu cha, [II 1 II] Maṇinâ nâga-râjñâ mê maitrî Vâsukinâ[29]

4 m=api, [I] Daṇḍapâdêshu [nâ]gêshu Pûrṇṇabhadrêshu cha[30] sadâ, [II 2 II] Nandôpanandô[31] yê nâgâ varṇṇavantô yaśasvinaḥ [I] dêv-â-

5 suraṁ pi saṁgrâmaṁm=anubhaṁvaṁti[32] mah-ardhikâ,[33] [II 3 II] Anavataptêna Varuṇêna[34] maitrî Saṁhârakêna cha, [I] Takshakêna Anaṁtêna

6 tathâ Vâsumukhêna cha, [II 4 II] Aparâjitêna mê maitrî[33] maitrî ch=Chhibbasutêna cha, [I] Mahìmanasvinâ nityaṁ tath=aiva cha

Third Leaf: Reverse.

1 Manasvinâ, [II 5 II] Kâlakô Apalâlaś=cha Bhôgavân=Śrâmaṇêrakaḥ [I] Dadhimukhô Maṇiś=ch=aiva Puṇḍarîkô diśâṁ patiḥ [II 6 II] Karkôṭaka

2 Saṁkhapâdaḥ[35] Kaṁbal-Âśvatarâv=ubhau, [I] êtêshv=api cha mê maitrî nâga-râjêshu nityaśaḥ, [II 7 II] Sâkêtakaś[36]=cha Kumbhîra Sûchîlô-

3 mas=tath=aiva cha, [I] Ugâti(m)êna[37] Kâlêna maitrî mê Rishikêshu cha, [II 8 II] tathâ Pûraṇa-Karṇṇaka[38] maitrî Śakatamukhêna cha[33] [I]

4 Kôlakêna Sunandêna Vatsîputrêṇa cha sadâ, [II 9 II] Êlapatrêṇa[39] me maitrî maitrî Laṁburêṇa cha,[40] [I] Pithilaś=cha mahâ-nâgô

5 Muchilindaś=cha viśrutaḥ [II 10 II] Prithîvî-charâś=cha yê nâgâ[41] tath=aiva jala-niśṛitâ, [I] aṁtarîksha-charâ yê cha Mêru-samâ-

6 śritâḥ[42] [II 11 II] Êka-śîrsha-dvî-śîrshâhi[43] maitrî têhi mê[44] nityaśaḥ [I] A-pâdêshu mê maitrî mai(tr)î [m]ê (d)[v]i-[pad]ê[shu cha] [II 12 II] [Chatush-pa-]

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

1 dêshu mê maitrî maitrî bahu-padêshu cha, [I] mâ mê a-pâdak(ô) h(iṁ)si mâ (m)[ê hiṁsi] [d]v[ipâdakaḥ] [II 13 II] [Mâ ṁê chatushpadô hiṁsi na][45]

2 cha mê bahu-pâdakaḥ [I] sarvva-nâgêshu mê maitrî yê nâgâ jala-niśritâḥ [II 14 II] Sarvva-bhûtêshu mê m(ai)tr[î] (y)[ê] (s)[at](v)[â] . ⏑ — ⏑ — [I]

3 sarvva-satvêshu mê maitrî yê satvâ trâsa-sthâvarâḥ jaṁgamâ[46] [II 15 II] Sarvvê satvâ[47] sukhô bhôntu sarvvê bhôntu anâ(ma)y(â), [I] sa[r]vv[ê]

4 bhadrâṇi paśyaṁtu mâ kaś-cha pâpam=âcharê, [II 16 II] Maitra-chittaṁ samâdâya karômi visha-dûshaṇaṁ, [I] rakshâṁ parigrahaṁ ch=ai-

5 va tath=aiva paripâlanaṁ II [17 II] Namô Buddhâya :[48] namô stu bôdhayê, namô Vimuktâya, namô vimuktayê, namô stu Śântâya, na-

6 mô stu śântayê, namô stu Muktâya: namô ktayê,[49] yê Brahmâṇâ[50] vâhita-pâpâ dharmâs=têshâṁ namas=tê cha Yaśamitrasya

Fourth Leaf: Reverse.

1 (p)[â](r)[aṁ] pâlayaṁtu svâhâ, sarvva-bhayêbhyaḥ sarvv-ôpadravêbhyaḥ sarvv-ôpasargôpâyâbhyaḥ[51] sarvva-jvarêbhyaḥ

2 sarvva-vyâdhibhyaḥ sarvva-grahêbhyaḥ sarvva-vishêbhyaḥ rakshaṁtu : II

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29 Read *Vâsukinâ*, m. c.

30 The quantity of this foot is false.

31 Read *Nandôpanandâ*.

32 Read *saṁgrâmam=anubhavaṁti*.

33 This pâda has one syllable in excess.

34 This pâda has two syllables in excess.

35 This pâda scans irregularly.

36 Or possibly *Sâṁkêtakaś=cha*.

37 The penultimate consonant is mutilated, but is only suggestive of *m*.

38 Perhaps read *Pûraṇa-Karṇṇêna*.

39 Usually spelled *Êlâpatra*.

40 This pâda is short by one syllable; insert *mê* after *maitrî*.

41 This pâda has one syllable in excess. Read *prithvî*, m. c.

42 This pâda is short by two syllables. Read *mêru-pṛishṭha* or *mêru-kûṭa-samâśritâḥ*.

43 Read *dvisîrshêhi*, m. c.

44 *Mê* is nearly washed out and obliterated; moreover read *mê têhi*, m. c.

45 Compare the Pâli version in Appendix II.

46 *Jaṁgamâ* is superfluous.

47 Read here and throughout *sattvâ*.

48 Probably read *namô stu Buddhâya*.

49 Read *stu muktayê*.

50 Read *Brahmaṇâ*.

51 Read *ôpâyêbhyaḥ*.

TRANSLATION.

Thus it has been related to me: Once upon a time the Blessed One was staying in Jêtavana, the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada in Śrâvastî. At that time there lived in Jêtavana, the garden of Anâthapiṇḍada in Śrâvastî, a mendicant, called Svâti, (who was) new, fresh (and) young, (and) had but lately joined the Order, and but recently submitted to this (*i.e.*, the Buddhist) Doctrine and Discipline

While he was chopping fire-wood for the dry hot bath of the congregation, he was bitten in the great toe of his right foot by a large black snake (i.e., cobra), which had crept out from another side among the logs of deodâr-wood.[52] He fell exhausted to the ground, foamed at his mouth, rolled his eyes, and tore his flesh. The venerable Ânanda seeing the mendicant Svâti as he lay in an unconscious state, utterly and thoroughly exhausted, foaming at his mouth and rolling his eyes, inquired of the master:

First Leaf: Reverse.

"O Blessed One, how can I effect this man's recovery?" When he said this, the Blessed one spoke thus to the venerable Ânanda: "Go thou, O Ânanda, (and) in the name of the Tathâgata[53] save the mendicant Svâti with the following spell, the most excellent of the magic art! Grant him guard,[54] defence, assistance, protection, a charm for recovery, preservation from danger, counteraction of the poison, destruction of the poison, and apply a ligature to the wound,[55] a ligature to the vein! Deliver him from seizure by a Dêva, from seizure by a Nâga, from seizure by an Asura, from seizure by a Maruta, from seizure by a Garuḍa, from seizure by a Gandharva, from seizure by a Kinnara, from seizure by a Mahôraga, from seizure by a Yaksha, from seizure by a Râkshasa, from seizure by a Prêta, from seizure by a Piśâcha, from seizure by a Bhûta, from seizure by a Kumbhâṇḍa, from seizure by a Pûtana, from seizure by a Kaṭapûtana, from seizure by Skanda, from seizure by mania, from seizure by night-mare, from eizure by epilepsy, from seizure by the evil eye,[56]

Second Leaf: Obverse.

from the exercise of witchcraft, from destruction by *kakkhôrda*, from injury by Vêtâlas that attend at burning-places,[57] bad food, bad vomiting, bad night-mare,[58] from fever, such as comes on every day or every second day or every third day or every fourth day or every seventh day, or every half-month, or every month, or even only once for a moment, from continued fever, from remittent fever, from fever such as spirits or such as men or such as non-human beings are subject to, from fever such as arises from derangement of the air or of the bile or of the phlegm or of all three combined, in short, from every kind of fever down to

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[52] *Pûti-dâru* I take to be the same as *pûti-kâshtha* which is said to be a species of pine, the Deodar; but perhaps it may here mean 'rotten logs of wood.' The Pâli version (see App. II) has *pûti-rukkha*, Skr. *pûti-vṛiksha*; this is said in the Petersburg *Dictionary* to be *Colosanthes Indica*, but that would hardly yield fire-wood.

[53] There are here slight traces visible of the letters *t, th, g* and subscribed *y*. With these ard the known number of missing aksharas, I propose to fill up the lacuna, as given in the transliterated text.

[54] *Gupta* for *gupti*, just as *jâta* for *jâti* in the Aśôka inscriptions, see Journ. Germ. Or. Soc., Vol. XLII., p. 69.

[55] *Sîmâ* is properly the line of junction of the lips of a wound or puncture.

[56] I do not know *ôstâraka*; it should be the name of some mysterious evil; it may be a prâkritized form of *avastôraka* or *apastâraka*, but these words themselves are unknown. I am disposed to consider it a misspelling for *dustâraka*; the letters *ô* and *du* have considerable likeness; there is probably a similar misspelling in fl. IIa[1] *ô-pra* or *du-pro* . . . ., whatever the full word may have been (*duḥ-pramêha*?). *Dustôraka* might be the 'evil eye,' opp. *sutâra*, or 'good eye.'

[57] I take *chichcha* to be a Prâkritized form of Skr. *chitya*.

[58] The MS. puts a comma after *kirana* as well as after *duchchharddita*; but as all these nouns are in the crude base, while the context requires the ablative case, it would seem that they are all in composition with the ablative *vadhûtâto* (*avadhûtôtô*), abl. sing. of *avadhûta*. *Ôkirana* stands for *avakirana*, lit. 'sweeping off'; the Charaka has *avakiraṇa* for 'sweepings'; it is a synonym of *avadhûta*; or it may be derived from root *kṛi* (*kriṇôti*) 'to kill' On *kakkhôrda* see Appendix III. *Kṛitya* I take to stand for *kṛityâ*; but it might be "demons who dig out corpses," see Hiuen Tsiang (Vol. I., p. 156, note 119).

headache.[59] Remove (from him) also hemicrania, indigestion, fly-like diseases of the skin,[60] diseases of the nose, diseases of the mouth, diseases of the throat, diseases of the heart, pains in the ear, pains in the teeth, pains in the heart, pains in the side, pains in the back, pains in the belly, pains in the cheek, pains in the bladder, pains in the thigh, pains in the legs, pains in the hands, pains in the feet, pains in any limb, whether large or small.

Health[61] at night; health in the day; health while midday lasts;

Second Leaf: Reverse.

health all the time after midnight[62]; may all the Buddhas grant (it) to me! Iḍi, viḍi, hiviḍi! Niḍê, aḍê, yâḍê, ḍrigaḍê! Oh ye Vêguḍîs of the sun-rays, ye dust-Piśâchinîs that ascend and descend![63] Elê, mêlê, tilê, kilê, tilê, mêlê, milê! Timi, dumipê! Iṭṭi, miṭṭi! In a well fixed, spotless place! Huhu, huhu! O thou horse-faced-one Kâṭṭî,[64] Mahâkâlî, with dishevelled hair! Kulu, kulu, vasphalu, kôlu, kôlu! Dhôsâ-dumbâ, Dô-dumbâ,[65] duma, dumba! In the district,[66] on the mountain! Hiśu, hili, hi. Mili, mili, tili, tili! Chulu, chulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu, mulu! Huhu, huhu, huhu, huhu, huhu! Babâ, babâ, babâ, babâ, babâ! Jala, jala, jala, jala! Duma . . . .

Third Leaf: Obverse.

(May) the goddesses of rumbling, thundering, raining, crashing, falling, ripening, captivating, waving, delighting, adorning (grant me prosperity[67]). May the dêva send rain all round over the borders of my district! Ili Kisi! Svâhâ!

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[59] I do not quite understand the construction of this passage. There is no verb to govern *jvarât* and the other ablatives, except *apanaya*, which also belongs to *śirishôrtti*. The construction of *pari* also is puzzling; it seems here to mean "from-to;" *i.e.*, 'remove all diseases from the fevers down to the headache.' Moreover *pari* seems to be compounded with *śirishôrtti* (like *upari*), and the whole compound declined in the accusative case *śirishôrttiparim*, instead of *śirishôrttim pari*. But *m* might also be a mere connecting consonant.—*Śirishôrtti* is a curiously blundered compound, for Skr. *śirôrtti*; for *śirisha* is a prâkritized form of Skr. *śirsha*, and the compound should be *śirishârtti*. Perhaps *śirishôrtti* is a mere clerical error for *śirishârtti*.

[60] *Makshi-rôga* is not noticed in any dictionary accessible to me. But as *makshikâ* is a synonym of *maśaka*, I take *makshirôga* to be the same disease as *maśaka*.

[61] Here the *Mahâmâyûrî* or 'great spell' commences.

[62] The text has *mahô-râtram* "the night of the festival;" but the context rather suggests *mahârâtram* "midnight" or "the time after midnight." The vowels *ô* and *â* are occasionally confused in this part of the MS., compare *śirishôrtti* for *śirishârtti* in I b⁴ (note 59), *sukhô* for *sukhâ* IVa³.

[63] On the *Pâṁsu-piśâchinî* or "the female Piśâchas of the dust" see Childers' *Pâli Dictionary*, *s. v. Pisâcho*. They are one of the four kinds of Prêtas. The phrase reminds one of the particles of dust that dance up and down in the rays of the sun. *Vêguḍî* I take to be a vernacular (Pâli or Prâkrit) form of the Skr. *bêkurî*, which is given in the smaller Petersburg *Dictionary* as an epithet of the Apsaras. *Hari* I take to be here the "sun" or "the rays of the sun."

[64] Kâṭṭî I take to be a vernacular form of Skr. Kârttikî, the spouse or Śakti of Kârttikêya (Skanda or Śiva), the same as Mahâkâlî.

[65] *Dhôsâ-dumbâ* and *Dô-dumbâ* are probably also vernacular appellatives; but I cannot identify them in Sanskrit.

[66] *Gôlâ* occurs again on fl. IIIa² *gôlâyâḥ parivêlâya* 'on the circumference of the district.' In Hêmachandra's Grammar, II, 174, it is noted as a vernacular form of the river name *Gôdâvarî*: and in this sense it is taken by Prof. Bühler in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, V, p. 106 and 107, footnote, who refers it to the well-known Gôdâvarî of the Dekhan. Dr. Stein, however, points out, *ibidem*, p. 345, that there is also a small river, Gôdâvarî in Kaśmîr, "which enjoys considerable sanctity and is still at the present time visited by pilgrims." If *gôlâ* should have to be interpreted here as a river name, the Kaśmîr Gôdâvarî has undoubtedly a better claim to consideration, as the character of the letters in which the MS. is written shows that it cannot have been produced in South India. But Dr. Stein adds that he has "not yet in Kaśmîr texts come across the shortened form of *Gôlâ* for *Gôdâvarî*;" and it seems to me most improbable that the word can be here a river name. It is placed by the side of the word *śêla* (or *śêlâ*), which is clearly the Sanskrit *śaila*, 'mountain,' and is not the proper name of any particular mountain. Similarly *gôlâ* (or *gôla*) should be a mere common noun, and, accordingly, I take it in the sense 'circle,' 'district.' This meaning also fits in better in the other phrase *gôlâyâḥ parivêlâya*, for *parivêlâ* properly means 'circumference,' which can hardly be applied to a river. I prefer, therefore, adhering to my original translation in *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1891, p. 61. I may add that in the Abridged Petersburg *Dictionary* *gôlâ* is noted with the meaning of 'disc,' 'circle,' and that the word is still used in the Indian Vernaculars in the sense of 'circle,' 'district.'

[67] I agree with Mr. Morris that we have here no "*mantra* for an oblation" (Prof. Bühler), and that the list of words does not contain the names of "various plants," but "epithets of Śiva's female counterpart Durgâ."

(Verse 1) I hold friendship with Dhritarâshṭra and his race, and friendship with Nairâvaṇa and his race[68]. With Virûpâksha and his race I hold friendship, and with Krishṇa and Gautama and their races. (Verse 2) With Maṇi, the king of Nâgas, I hold friendship, also with Vâsuki, and with the Nâgas Daṇḍapâda and Pûrṇabhadra and their races at all times. (Verse 3) With the Nâgas Nanda and Upananda, the beautiful (and) glorious, who with their supernatural power assist even in the war of the dêvas with the Asuras, (Verse 4) with Anavatapta, Varuṇa and Saṁhâraka I hold friendship; likewise with Takshaka, Ananta, and Vâsumukha. (Verse 5) With Aparâjita I hold friendship, and friendship with Chhibbasuta,[69] likewise with Mahâmanasvin always and

Third Leaf: Reverse.

with Manasvin. (Verse 6) Also Kâlaka, Apalâla, Bhôgavanta, Srâmaṇêraka, Dadhimukha, Maṇi, and Puṇḍarîka, the lord of the quarters, (Verse 7) Karkôṭaka, Sankhapâda, and both Kambala and Aśvatara: with these kings of Nâgas also I hold friendship perpetually: (Verse 8) and (with) Kumbhîra (and) Sâkêtaka, and likewise (with) Sûchîlôma. With Ugâtima[70] (and) Kâla I hold friendship and with Rishika and his race. (Verse 9) Likewise with Pûraṇa and Karṇa I hold friendship and with 'Sakaṭamukha, and with Kôlaka, Sunanda (and) Vatsîputra at all times. (Verse 10) With Êlâpatra I hold friendship, and friendship with Lambura, and (with) Pithila, the great Nâga; and Muchilinda,[71] the famous. (Verse 11) The Nâgas that live on land, likewise those that inhabit the water, and those that live on high, dwelling on Mêru's summit; (verse 12) those with one head and those with two heads, — with them I hold friendship perpetually. With the footless I hold friendship; I hold friendship with the two-footed; (Verse 13) with the four-footed

Fourth Leaf: Obverse.

I hold friendship, and friendship with the many-footed. The footless shall not do harm to me, nor shall the two-footed; (Verse 14) (the four-footed shall do no harm to me), nor shall the many-footed. With all Nâgas that inhabit the water I hold friendship; (Verse 15) with all living beings that live and shall live[72] I hold friendship; with all beings, whether movable or immovable, I hold friendship.[73] (Verse 16) May all beings enjoy happiness, may all enjoy health; may all experience pleasures, and may no one practise sin. (Verse 17) In the exercise of a friendly spirit I give a remedy counteracting the poison, (I grant) safety and assistance and protection.[74]

Reverence be to the Buddha! Reverence be to the Truth! Reverence be to the Emancipated one, reverence be to the Emancipation! Reverence be to the Peaceful one, reverence be

I think, they are *dêvis*, or perhaps *Nâgnis*. It looks like a description of a thunderstorm in summer. First the distant rumbling of thunder, then the near thunder and pouring rain, interspersed with crashes of thunder; then the gentle fall of rain; followed by the ripening of the crop, which waves in the breezy sunshine and delights men and adorns the landscape. The missing syllables may be thus supplied: *samriddhim prayuṁkta me*, "may they grant me prosperity."

[68] With regard to the plurals of the names, see a note in Appendix II., so also with regard to Nairâvaṇa.

[69] Chhibbasuta occurs under the Pâli form Chhabbyâputta in Jat. II, p. 145. See Appendix II.

[70] The word *ugâtima* is puzzling. In the Tibetan *dharaṇîs* there is a snake-king, called Ugatê. Ugâtima may, therefore, be a name; but I am rather disposed to suggest that *gâ* is a clerical error for *gra*, and that the whole stands for Skr. *ugratama*, being an epithet of Kâla, "the most terrible Kâla." See however Appendix I.

[71] Muchilinda, the seven-headed snake, was the guardian of the Mandâkinî waters, and is famous on account of the protection afforded by him to Buddha at the time of his trial. On him and the other Nâgarâjas mentioned in the spell, see the notes in Appendix I.

[72] The missing portion of the text I would propose to supply by *yê sattvâ bhûta-bhâvinaḥ*. The Pâli version (see Appendix II.) has *sattâ, pâṇâ, bhûtâ*. Of these *sattâ* corresponds to our *sattvâ*, and *pâṇâ* and *bhûtâ* would seem to correspond to our *bhûtâ*. The Pâli commentary explains *pâṇâ ti bhûtâ bhâvinô nibbattana-vasêna bhûtâ ti vachana-mattô-visêsô vêditabbô*, i.e., 'between *pâṇa* (*prâṇa*) and *bhûta* there is only a verbal difference, they mean: what lives and what will live through the principle of re-birth.'

[73] The text here adds *jaṁgamâ*. This is not only in excess of the metre, but is also a synonym of *trâsa*. I conjecture that it is a gloss, added by the copyist, to explain *trâsa* which should properly be spelt *trasa*. The latter means "movable," while *trâsa* means "terrifying."

[74] Here ends the spell.

to the Peace! Reverence be to the Delivered one, reverence be to the Deliverance! The principles of evil and good which have been declared by the Brahma (*i. e.*, the Buddha), to them be reverence, and may they safeguard Yaśômitra's welfare! Svâhâ.[75] May they save (him) from all fears, all troubles, all temptations and allurements, all fevers, all diseases, all seizures, all poisons!

APPENDIX I.

The Nâgarâjas.

I append a list of the Nâgarâjas, Nâgas, Dêvîs, and the other supernatural beings invoked in the foregoing spell. To this I add such references and information as I have been able to gather. Of the *Tibetan Dictionary*, called the *Mahâvyutpatti* the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses a Manuscript translation, prepared by Csoma de Körös. This is referred to in my notes as *Vy.* Dr. Waddell, to whom we owe some valuable papers published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has given me several lists of Naga names, extracted from Tibetan Nâga Dhâraṇîs or rain-charms. These are referred to as *Wd.* In either case, I preserve the spelling of the respective informants. The Abridged Petersburg *Sanskrit Dictionary* is quoted as *P. Dy.*, Childers' *Pâli Dictionary* as *Pâli Dy.*, the *Mahâbhârata* as *M. Bh.*, and Hiuen Tsiang from Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World.* The Chinese *Sûtra*, = *Ch. S.*, is the *Vardha Varsha Sûtra* quoted by Mr. Morris in the *Academy.*

(I) **Nâgas and Nâgarâjas:** 1, Dhṛitarâshṭra, 2, Nairâvaṇa, 3, Virûpâksha, 4, Kṛishṇa, 5, Gautamaka, 6, Maṇi, 7, Vâsuki, 8, Daṇḍapâda, 9, Pûrṇabhadra, 10, Nanda, 11, Upananda, 12, Anavatapta, 13, Varuṇa, 14, Saṁhâraka, 15, Takshaka, 16, Ananta, 17, Vâsumukha, 18, Aparâjita, 19, Chhibbasuta, 20, Mahâmanasvin, 21, Manasvin, 22, Kâlaka, 23, Apalâla, 24, Bhôgavân, 25, 'Srâmaṇêra, 26, Dadhimukha, 27, Maṇi, 28, Puṇḍarîka, 29, Karkôṭaka, 30, Śaṅkhapâda, 31, Kambala, 32, Aśvatara, 33, Sâkêtaka, 34, Kumbhîra, 35, Sûchîlôma, 36, Ugâtima, 37, Kâla, 38, Rishika, 39, Pûraṇa, 40, Karṇaka, 41, 'Sakaṭamukha, 42, Kôlaka, 43, Sunanda, 44, Vatsîputra, 45, Êlapatra, 46, Lambura, 47, Pithila, 48, Muchilinda.

There are altogether 48; among them Nos. 8, 10 and 11 are expressly called Nâgas, and Nos. 6 and 22-32, Nâgarâjas; No. 47 is called a Mahânâga. The nature of the others is not specified, but they are, no doubt, all intended to be some species of Nâga. The *Vyutpatti* gives a list of 79 Nâgarâjas, and 55 common Nâgas. Among the former occur Nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 45, altogether 13, and four others (Nos. 21, 27, 40, 44) that are uncertain. Among the latter occur No. 22, and probably Nos. 2 and 19. The *Mahâbhâratha, Âdiparvan,* Chap. XXXV, (P. Ch. Roy's transl., p. 113) has a list of 78 Nâgas. Among these occur our Nos. 1, 6 (or 27), 9, 15, 18, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39, 45 and perhaps Nos. 2, 30, 36, altogether 14.

No. 1, Dhṛitarâshṭra is not mentioned by the *Vy.* among any of the Nâgas, but as the first in the list of Gandharvas; nor is he accounted a Nâga by the Tibetan Lamas; but in the *M. Bh.*, *Ch. S.*, the *P. Dy.*, and by Morris he is stated to be a Nâgarâja.

No. 2, Nairâvaṇa. At first I doubtfully suggested that this might be the same as Airâvaṇa. This view was supported by Professors Bühler, Leumann, and Stein, who took the initial *n* to be a connecting consonant (see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. V., p. 345). Nevertheless I now feel certain that Mr. Morris is correct in identifying Nairâvaṇa with Vaiśravaṇa (see *Academy*, Aug. 29, 1891, p. 179). In the first place, the use of *n* as a connecting consonant is very unusual; in fact, I do not recollect ever having met with a well-authenticated instance. Next, as Mr. Morris points out, Dhṛitarâshṭra and Virûpâksha are respectively the regents of the East and West, and accordingly one expects Vaiśravaṇa, the regent of the North, in the place of Nairâvaṇa. Virûḍhaka, the regent of the South, is omitted, because he was not regarded as a snake-king, while all the three others were accounted Nâgarâjas. The four Lôkapâlas have their position at the entrance, *e. g.*, of a temple; and the Nâgarâjas among them may be expected to be invoked in the commencement of a spell. There is also sufficient suggestiveness in the similarity of the two names. Lastly, what seems to me decisive is that

[75] *Svâhâ* in such connections practically corresponds to our 'Amen.'

Airâvaṇa is actually invoked in the concluding part of the list, under the form of *Êlâpatra*; see the note below on the latter name. It cannot be supposed that the same Nâgarâja would be invoked twice. I cannot account for the curious transformation of *Vaiśravaṇa* into *Nairâvaṇa.* It may be owing to a mere want of attention in the scribe, who confused Vaiśravaṇa with Airâvaṇa. The *M. Bh., l. c.,* however, enumerates both Airâvata and Êlâpatra.

No. 3, Virûpâksha. In the *Vy.* he is not named among the Nâgas or Nâgarâjas, nor indeed among any of the special classes of spiritual beings. The only place where he is named is in the general class of "the gods inhabiting this world." Among these "gods," No. 31 is Lôkapâla, No. 32 Vaiśravaṇa, No. 33 Dhṛitarâshṭra, No. 34 Virûḍhaka, No. 35 Virûpâksha; and from among these No. 32 is again enumerated at the head of the Yakshas, No. 33 at the head of the Gandharvas, No. 34 at the head of the Kumbhâṇḍas; but No. 35 is not referred to any special class. These four, Nos. 32-35, as is well known, are considered to be the four "Guardians of the World" (*lôkapâla*). As such, "their frescoes are found in the verandah of every Lamaic temple or *gompa*; but none of them, not even Virûpâksha, is considered a Nâga, by any Lama" (*Wd.*). But among other Buddhists, Virûpâksha would seem to have been placed at the head of the Nâgas; see *P. Dy.* and Mr. Morris' note; and in the *Khandhavatta Jâtaka* (Vol. I., p. 143) he is mentioned as one of the Nâgarâjas. In any case, these facts would disprove any connection of our MS. with the Lamaism of Tibet. The list of names of the Lôkapâlas, compared with the three first names in our list, is rather suggestive of Nairâvaṇa being a misspelling for or confusion with Vaiśravaṇa.

No. 4, Kṛishṇa and No. 5 Gautamaka "are mentioned in the Divyâvadâna as two snake kings" (Morris), also in the *Khandhavatta Jâtaka* (Vol. I., p. 145). *P. Dy* has Gautamaka.

Nos. 6 and 27 Maṇi. This name occurs twice. Whether by mistake, or as two different Nâgas? The *M. Bh., l. c.,* and *P. Dy.* give Maṇi.

No. 7, Vâsuki. *Vy.* spells Vâsukâ; *Wd.* gives Basuga in one Dharaṇî and Bâsuki in another. Also in *Ch. S.*

No. 8, Daṇḍapâda is not mentioned anywhere.

No. 9, Pûrṇabhadra occurs in the *M. Bh.* He is also known to the Jains. The *P. Dy.* has him.

Nos. 10 and 11, Nanda and Upananda. "These Nâgarâjas assisted the Dêvas in a struggle with the Asuras" (Morris). That struggle is narrated in the *Kulâvaka Jâtaka* (Jat. I., p. 203, 204), where it is stated generally that the Uragas or Nâgas helped to guard Sakra's residence, but neither Nanda nor Upananda are named. The reference in our spell would seem to refer to an occasion where these two Nâgas distinguished themselves above the others. In the *Vy.*, Nanda is enumerated by himself as the 15th of the Nâgarâjâs, and again Nandôpananda is mentioned as the 50th among them. It is not clear in the latter place whether one or two Nâgas are meant. In our spell clearly two individuals are intended. The *Ch. S.* and *P. Dy.* give both. In *Wd.* lists there is an Upanta and an Unanta. See also (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. II., p. 166, note 77).

No. 12. Anavatapta is the Nâgarâja of the Sarik-kul lake in the Himâlayas, the source of the Ganges, Indus, Oxus and Zarafshan (*Hiuen Tsiang,* Vol. I., p. 11, 12). He is No. 13 in *Vy.* Also in the *Lalita Vistara,* p. 249, 14. (*P. Dy.*), and in *Ch. S.*.

No. 13, Varuṇa. In *Vy.* he is No. 9. Also in *P. Dy.* and *Ch. S.*

No. 14, Saṁhârakâ. The *P. Dy.* gives Saṁhâra as the name of an Asura. Mr. Morris suggests a misreading for Sâṁgara = Sâgara, which is very improbable.

No. 15, Takshaka. *Vy.* No. 8, *M. Bh., l. c.,* No. 4, also in *P. Dy.* and *Ch. S.*

No. 16, Ananta. *Vy.* No. 7, also in *Wd., P. Dy., Pâli Dy.*

No. 17, Vâsumukha, not found anywhere else.

No. 18, Aparâjita in the *M. Bh., l. c.,* also in *P. Dy.*

No. 19, Chhibbasuta, as Prof. Bühler first pointed out, is mentioned in the *Khandhavatta Jâtaka* (Vol. I. p. 145) under the form Chhabbyâ-putta. See Appendix II.

Nos. 20, and 21, Mahâmanasvin and Manasvin. The latter in *Ch. S.* and in *P. Dy.* The *Vy.* has Manasti (sic) as No. 57.

No. 22, Kâlaka. The *Vy.* gives Kâlaka as the 17th of the common Nâgas, and a Kâlikô as the 31st of the Nâgarâjas. The *P. Dy.* has it as the name of a Râkshasa and an Asura.

No. 23, Apalâla is mentioned by (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. 122, 123, 126, note) as the Nâga of the spring which forms the source of the Swât river in Udyâna. He was prevailed upon by Buddha to desist from annually inundating the country. He is No. 45 in *Vy.* In *P. Dy.* it is the name of a Râkshasa.

No. 24, Bhôgavan, according to *P. Dy*, occurs in the Suparṇâdhyâya, p. 9, 1.

No. 25, Śrâmaṇêra is probably the Nâgarâja whose story is told by (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. 63, 64). He was originally a Śrâmaṇêra, or Buddhist novice, but became the Nâga king of a lake on the summit of a snowy mountain in the Hindu Kush. The *Vy.* has a Śramaṇa as the 19th in the list of common Nâgas.

No. 26, Dadhimukha, in the *M. Bh., l. c.*, also according to the *P. Dy.*, in the *Harivaṁśa* (Calcutta ed.), v. 9503.

No. 28, Puṇḍarîka, not mentioned elsewhere. The *Vy.*, however, has a Padma, as the 4th of the Nâgarâjas.

No. 29, Karkôṭaka is No. 2 of the Nâgarâjas in *Vy.* and No. 5 in the *M. Bh., l. c. Wd.* gives Karâkotaye in one Dharaṇî and Karkoṭa in another. The *P. Dy.* has it.

No. 30, Śaṅkhapâda. The *Vy.* has 'Sankhapâlo as the first of the Nâgarâjas; there is also a 'Sankho as No. 22. *Wd.* gives "Shangkapâla" in all Dharaṇîs. It can hardly be doubted that all these are intended for the same name. The *M. Bh., l. c.*, has Śaṅkhapiṇḍa.

Nos. 31 and 32, Kambala and Aśvatara are enumerated in the *Vy.* under one No. 65, though stated to be two separate Nâgarâjas. They are Nos. 34, 35 in the *M. Bh., l. c.* The *Pâli Dy.* has Kambala.

No. 33, Sâkêtaka is not found elsewhere. It might be not a name, but an epithet of No. 34 Kumbhîra, meaning 'a native of the town of Sâkêta' (=Ayôdhyâ in Oudh), and if all these names are those of sacred springs, we should here have the name of a spring in the centre of North India. It is just possible that the name may be Sâṁkêtaka: but the apparent anusvâra is attached to the foot of the letter in the line above sâkêtaka, and is, in all probability, part of that letter.

No. 34, Kumbhîra is, in *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. II., p. 49, the name of several Nâgas of pools near Benares. In the *P. Dy.* it is the name of a Yaksha.

No. 35, Sûchîlôma occurs in No. 74 of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stûpa as the name of a Yaksha (see *ante*, Vol. XXI., p. 233).

No. 36, Ugâtima. *Wd.* gives Ugate. The *M. Bh., l. c.*, has Ugraka. See note 70.

No. 37, Kâla is the 24th Nâgarâja in *Vy.* He stood before Buddha and sang his praises just before his contest with Mâra (*Nidâna Kathâ*, p. 97, in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*). Also in *P. Dy.* and *Pâli Dy.* (*s. v.* Nâgo).

No. 38, Rishika; not found elsewhere.

No. 39, Pûraṇa is No. 9 in the *M. Bh., l. c.* The *P. Dy.* quotes a Nâga Pûraṇaka from the *Harivaṁśa* (Calcutta ed.), v. 9502.

Nos. 40-43. Karṇaka, Śakaṭamukha, Kôlaka, Sunanda are not found elsewhere. The *Vy.*, however, gives Kulika, as the name of the 3rd Nâgarâja.

No. 44, Vatsîputra, also spelled Vâtsîputra, and quoted by the *P. Dy.*, as the name of a Nâga, from the *Kâraṇda Vyûha* 2, 13.

No. 45, Êlapatra, also spelled Êlâpatra. With the latter spelling it occurs as the name of the 43rd Nâgarâja in *Vy.*, and as No. 11 in the *M. Bh., l. c.*; also in *Ch. S.* and *P. Dy.* Another spelling is Êrâpata (in Skr. Airâvata) or Êrâpatha, with the conjunct *tr* simplified into *t* or *th*

(as in *étha* for *atra*). The former (with *t*) occurs in Nos. 59 and 60 of the inscriptions on the Bharaut Stûpa (see *ante*, Vol. X., p. 258 and Vol XXI, p. 232). The other (with *th*) is the commoner one, and occurs in the *Khandhavatta Jâtaka* (Vol. I., p. 145); see also *Pâli Dy.*, *s. v.* Nâgo. A third spelling is Êlâpana or Êrâvaṇa, of which the former is given by Mr. Morris from *Ch. S.*, while the other corresponds to the Sanskrit form Airâvaṇa. There was a Nâgarâja of this name both near Takshaśilâ and Banâras, see *Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I., p. LXVIII. and p. 137.

No. 46. Lambura may be the Nâgarâja of the lake on the crest of the mountain of "Lan-po-lu," in Udyâna, whose story is given by (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I. p. 128 ff). *Vy.* gives *Lambuka* as the name of the 12th Nâgarâja (also in the *P. Dy.*)

No. 47. Pithila, not found elsewhere.

No. 48. Muchilinda, (or Muchalinda), was the blind Nâga king of the Mandâkinî lake near Gayâ, who, after Buddha's enlightenment, shielded him in seven folds during a storm (*Hiuen Tsiang*, Vol. I, p. LXIII., Vol. II., 128, *Nidâna Kathâ*, p. 109). Also in *Ch. S.*, *P. Dy.* and *Pâli Dy.*

II.—**Black Nâgas.** Dr. Waddell informs me that the Nâgas invoked in Tibetan rain-charms are of three kinds: white, black, and angry. The names of the black and the angry Nâgas are mostly such unintelligible words, as Hili, Mili, Jala, &c. Many of these occur in our spell. I believe they are really mere unintelligible jargon, interspersed here and there with a real name, such as Pâṁsu-piśâchinî, or a real word, such as *gôlâya*. It was only pedantic subtlety that made them into names of Nâgas. In the *Krahamanta-nâma Dharaṇî* occur the following names of black Nâgas: Limi Limi, Hili Hili, Tsili Tsili, Jala Jala, Puta Puta, Brara Brara Kuti Kuti (*Wd.*). In another *Dharaṇî* are found the following angry Nâgas: Mili, Hili, Jala Puta, Brara, Kuti, Takra, Hala, Hulu, Siti, Kuru, Egate, Arare, Madhaye, Patini, Apare Shibate, Ture. Of these Hili, Jala, Mili also occur in our spell; and Tsili, Brara, Hulu, Kuru, Arare may be respectively compared with our Chulu, Baba, Huhu, Kulu or Kôlu, Aḍê. A few unintelligible names are also given in the Vyutpatti among those of the Nâgarâjas: thus its No. 36 Êḍô, No. 51 Huluḍo, No. 52 Ulukô, No. 71 Dramadro. With these may be compared our Êlê, Huhu, Duma or Dumba or Dôdumbâ.

Dr. Waddell gives me from the *Klu-î-sde* or 'classes of Nâgas' in the *Mdo-mang* or 'collection of sûtras' the following list of Nâga kings and Nâgas:—

"Oṁ Nâgarâja Ananta svâhâ! Nâgarâja Upanata, Takshaka, Karkota, Ulika, Anantâ, Basuki, Muliki, Shangkapâla, Panaye, Kanale, Babute. Oṁ murzang Nâga Gayuna, Nâgarâja Ugate, Nâga Mujiki, Majalasho, Prashanaye, Nâga Garuneye swâhâ; Dukuri svâhâ; Shona Mujalasho, Prashona, Kuruṇi, Dukari (No. 2), Maruṇi, Debaya, Gayu, Bhanajayu, Bayuma, Ragashayu, Ratsayu, Debayu, Nâgarâja Yu, Nâga Naṭe, Nâgarâja Debayu, Ja hung bam ho! Nâgarâja Ye svâhâ! Nâgarâja Naye, Nâga Ragashaye, Yunaye, Upaye, Ghanagudeye. Oṁ Nâgarâja Ananta Svâhâ! Nâgarâja Unanta, Upanatana, Tagnan svâhâ! Nâgarâja Karkôṭa, Ulika, Bâsuki, Mulika, Shangkala, Nâga Kili kili svâhâ! Mili mili svâhâ! Jala, jala; Pata pata, Dhama dhama, Bhara bhara, Kuti kuti, Hara hara, Tara tara, Hula hula, Hulu hulu, Siti siti, Svati svati, svâhâ! Nâga Guru guru svâha! Agete, Arate, Murate, Badane, Apara, Shabde svâhâ! Turi turi, Buri buri, Hutse hutse svâhâ! Salutation to all the Nâga kings, including Ananda!"

III.—**Dêvîs** or **Nâgîs.** Of the 10 names mentioned on fl.IIIa[1] I have only noticed one which is similar in Dr. Waddell's list. It is Patini, which appears, however, as the name of an angry Nâga, in a *Dharaṇî* of the latter Nâgas. The *Vyutpatti* gives no list of names of Dêvîs or Nâgîs.

IV.—**Grahas** or Seizures. Twenty-one are enumerated in our MS.: 1, Dêva, 2, Nâga, 3, Asura, 4, Maruta, 5, Garuḍa, 6, Gandharva, 7, Kinnara, 8, Mahôraga, 9, Yaksha, 10, Râkshasa, 11, Prêta, 12, Piśâcha, 13, Bhûta, 14, Kumbhâṇḍa, 15, Pûtana, 16, Kaṭapûtana, 17, Skanda, 18, Unmâda, 19, Chhâyâ, 20, Apasmâra, 21, Dustâraka. Nearly the same list is given in the Vyutpatti: the nine first mentioned, together with No. 14 Kumbhâṇḍa constitute its entire 156th chapter of names of supernatural beings, *viz.*, 1, Dêva, 2, Nâga, 3, Yaksha, 4,

Gandharva, 5, Asura, 6, Daitya (instead of our Maruta), 7, Garuḍa, 8, Kinnara, 9, Mahôraga, 10, Kumbhâṇḍa. The remainder, with the exception of Dustâraka, are mentioned in the 200th chapter on the Yidags or 'evil spirits,' in nearly the same order: Prêta, Kumbhâṇḍa (here again enumerated), Piśâcha, Bhûta, Pûtana, Kaṭapûtana, Unmâda, Skanda, Apasmâra, Chhayâ, Rakshasa. Skanda is here explained to mean an evil spirit that "makes dry or causes consumption," and Chhayâ (spelled thus), one that "causes defilement." In the *Suśruta* (*Uttaratantra*, chapter 27), however, Skanda is said to be the Grahâdhipati, or 'Chief of the Grahas' which affect children. In the *Suśruta* and the *Vangasêna* (p. 910), *skanda-graha* is explained as 'convulsions' (*gâtrasya spandana-kampanam*, and *saṁrabdhaḥ kara-charaṇais=cha nṛityati*), &c. *Chhâyâ* is generally said to mean 'nightmare.' *Unmâda* 'mania' and *apasmâra* 'epilepsy' are treated in the *Charaka* and other medical books as ordinary diseases. After the *grahas* the spell proceeds to mention ordinary ills or diseases.

APPENDIX II.

The Khandavatta Jâtaka.

There is such a remarkable agreement of portions of this *Jâtaka* with the story of our MS. that a translation of the substance of it may be welcome for comparison.[76]

The commentary of the *Jâtaka* narrates the occasion of giving it thus:

The Master related this *Jâtaka* concerning a certain monk, while he was staying in Jêtavana. That monk was chopping wood at the door of the firing-room (*jantâghara-dvârê*), when he was bitten in a toe (*pâdânguliya*) by a snake which came from out a Pûti tree (*pûtirukkh-antarâ*); and he died then and there. The fact of his death became known in the whole monastery. In the religious assembly the monks began to discuss the occurrence among themselves. The Master on entering asked them what they were talking about; and when he was told what it was, he said to the monks: "if that monk had cultivated the friendship of the four snake-kings and their races, the snake would not have bitten him: for Buddha in a former ascetic existence cultivated the friendship of the four snake-kings and their races, and thus, so far as those snake-kings were concerned, he was not exposed to the risk of a re-birth (through being bitten to death by a snake)." He then proceeded to relate the following legend:

In the past, when Brahmadatta was king of Banâras, the Bôdhisattva was born in the family of a Kâśî Brâhman; but when he came of age, he retired from the world and made for himself a hermitage in a bend of the Ganges in the interior of the Himâlayas, where, in the company of other Ṛishis, he devoted himself to a life of meditation. That place was infested by snakes of various sorts, and in consequence the death of a Ṛishi was a thing of frequent occurrence. The ascetics represented this state of things to the Bôdhisattva. He advised them that they should cultivate the friendship of the four Snake-kings and their races, then no snake would bite them; and for this purpose he taught them the following gâthâ (*ślôka*) verses:

1, *Virûpakkhêhi*[77] *mê mettaṁ mettaṁ Êrâpathêhi mê* ।
Chhabbyâpattêhi mê mettaṁ Kanhâ-Gôtamakêhi cha ॥

2, *Apâdakêhi mê mettaṁ mettaṁ dipâdakêhi mê* ।
chatuppadêhi mê mettaṁ mettaṁ bahuppadêhi mê ॥

3, *Mâ maṁ apâdakô hiṁsi mâ maṁ hiṁsi dipâdakô* ।
mâ maṁ chatuppadô hiṁsi mâ maṁ hiṁsî bahuppadô ॥

4, *Sabbê sattâ sabbê pâṇâ sabbê bhûtâ cha kêvalâ* ।
sabbê bhadrâṇi passantu mâ kañ=chi pâpaṁ âgamâ ॥

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[76] There appears to be a similar passage in the *Chulavagga* V, 6 (see *Jât.*, Introd., p. LII. and *Academy*, 29th August 1891, p. 178), but that book has not been accessible to me here (Darjeeling).

[77] This and the other plurals are explained in the Pâli commentary to include the races (*kula*) of the respective Snake-kings. The Tibetan *Vyutpatti* gives Dhṛitarâshṭra as the first, or at the head, of the race of (eleven) Gandharvas, and places Śaṅkhapâla as the first, or at the head, of the Nâgarâjas. See Appendix I.

i. e. "With the race of Virûpâksha I keep friendship, and friendship with the race of Êrâpatha; with the race of Chhabbyâputta I keep friendship, and with the race of Krishṇa and Gôtamaka. (2) With the footless I keep friendship, and friendship with the two-footed; with the four-footed I keep friendship, and friendship with the many-footed. (3) Let not the footless harm me, nor harm me the two-footed; let not the four-footed harm me, nor harm me the many-footed. (4) All that exist, all that live, all that will live hereafter, one and all, may they experience the good things, may none of them fall into sin."

Buddha explained to them that by the first verse they would establish friendship with the four Nâgarâjas and their races, and by the second, with snakes and fishes, men and birds, elephants, horses and all other quadrupeds, scorpions, centipedes and other multipedes, and thus they would become proof against being bitten or injured by any of them. The third would serve them as a request, by reason of that friendship, to be saved from all danger from those different classes of beings. The fourth would show their feeling of goodwill to all creatures.

He then proceeded to explain how all safety (*parittâ*) was ultimately to be ascribed to the transcendent power of the three gems, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, and concluded by teaching them the following hymn:

"My safety is secured, my protection is secured!
Let all creatures leave me in peace!
So I will praise the Blessed One;
I will praise all that through him are saved!"

In this manner the company of Rishis found protection; and thenceforward, by the virtue of the charm taught by the Bôdhisattva, the snakes left them in peace. The Bôdhisattva himself in due time went to heaven.

The incident related in the *Jâtaka* book is clearly the same as that narrated in our Manuscript. But what is there given in the form of a *Jâtaka*, an incident from a former existence of Buddha, is here related as an Avadâna, an incident from his last existence. There the monk (Svâti) is represented as dead, and the spell as having been given on a long-past occasion. Here Svâti is represented as only being near death, and as going to be saved by the spell given on that very occasion. The spell, moreover, is here given in a very expanded form. To the first verse of the spell in the *Jâtaka* correspond ten verses (1—10) in our MS.; to the second and third verses there, correspond five verses (11—15) here, while the fourth verse there, corresponds to the sixteenth verse here.

Some portions of the spell in our Manuscript look very much like direct translations from the Pâli. Our verses 12*b*, 13, 14*a* and 16 are Sanskrit versions of verses 2, 3, 4 in the *Jâtaka*. Verse 13*a* has actually preserved, in *hiṁsi*, a fragment of the original Pâli. But the different wording of verse 16*a* would seem to show that the Sanskrit version in our Manuscript is based on a Pâli recension different from that contained in the Southern Buddhist *Jâtaka* book.

Other Pâli fragments are scattered, here and there, through the whole of our Sanskrit version; thus we have *karôhi* on fl. Ib2 and *têhi* on fl. IIIb6. This would seem to indicate that the Northern Buddhism possessed an original Pâli recension co-extensive with the Sanskrit recension in our Manuscript.

To my mind, the transformation of the story from a *Jâtaka* to an Avadâna form, as well as its expansion in the latter form, is an evidence of the story in this form being of a later age than that in the *Jâtaka* book. This in itself is an evidence of the genuineness and the antiquity of the story in the *Jâtaka* form as preserved by the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon.

APPENDIX III.

The Mahâmâyûrî Spell.

I was at first disposed to suggest that this spell may have received its name *Mahâ-mâyûrî* from the fact, that some part of the peafowl (*mayûra*) was used along with it. As a matter of

fact the quills of its tail-feathers, or its feet, burned and powdered, and its bile, form the ingredients of several medicines and antidotes prescribed in the older Indian medical works. Thus a powder containing burned quills (*śikhi-nâḍaṁ dagdham*) occurs in the larger medical treatise of the Bower MS. on fl. I *b*². A very similar powder or tincture is given in the *Charaka*, p. 726 (*mayûra-nâlaṁ dagdhvâ*), in the *Suśruta*, p. 850 (*barhi-patra-prasutaṁ bhasma*, i. e., 'ashes of peacock-feathers'), in the *Vangasêna*, p. 288 (*barhi-pâdau dagdhau* i.e. 'burned peacock's feet'), and in the *Chakradatta*, p. 277 (*śikhi-puchchha-bhûti*, i. e., 'ashes of peacock's tail-feathers').[78] This, however, is not prescribed as an antidote; but an antidote against snake-poison, containing the powdered quills of the tail-feathers of the peacock (*śikhi-barha*) is given in the *Charaka*, p. 764. This powder is to be mixed with clarified butter and set fire to: and with it one's house, bed, and clothes are to be fumigated. Again in *Charaka*, p. 774, the broth (*rasa*) and tail-feathers (*pârshata*)[79] of the peafowl, in *Charaka*, p. 760 its bile (*śikhi-pitta*), and in *Charaka*, p. 773, its eggs (*barhiṇ-âṇḍa*) are prescribed to be taken, with other things, as an antidote against snake-poison, and in *Charaka*, p. 776, the peafowl is, therefore, directed to be kept on one's premises. Similar prescriptions occur in the *Suśruta*; see, *e. g*, p. 632, 650, and in the *Vangasêna*, p. 935 (*mayûra-pitta*, *i. e.*, bile of a peacock). I cannot find any such prescriptions in the *Ashṭânga Hṛidaya*.

But while searching for these references, I came across a much more curious circumstance. The *Charaka* describes an antidote against the poison of snakes as well as poisons generally, which exhibits some striking features resembling those of the spell in our manuscript. It is given on pages 762—764.[80] It is called the *Mahâ-gandhahastî* (lit. 'the great scent-elephant'), and is described as very powerful. This antidote consists of 60 drugs which are to be made up with the bile of cows (*pittena gavâm*) into pills (*guḍikâ*) for internal, or into a liniment (*pralêpa*) for external use. Used internally, the patient will quickly recover from poisoning; if applied externally, a person will be proof against poison, he may handle snakes or eat poison without any risk. It may also be smeared on various musical instruments and these sounded, or on umbrellas or flags, and these exhibited; in that case, they will act as a protection against infantine seizure (*bâla-graha*), *khârkhôṭa*,[81] witchcraft, *Vêtâlas*, magic spells (*atharvaṇâ mantrâḥ*), every kind of seizure (*sarva-graha*), fire-arms (*agni-śastra*), kings (*nṛipa*) and robbers (*chaura*). In short there will be prosperity, whenever this antidote is present. During the process of grinding its ingredients, the following spell (*mântra*) should be pronounced:—

"To my mother success and glory! success and glory to my father! To me success, to my son success, may I be successful! Reverence to the Perfect (*Puṛusha-siṁha*) Vishṇu, the Creator (*viśvakarman*), the Eternal Kṛishṇa who upholds and renews the world! may his wonderful control be at once seen over Vṛishâkapi,[82] Brahma and Indra, so that I may not witness the discomfiture of Vâsudêva, nor the marriage of my mother, nor the drying up of the ocean. May this antidote be made efficacious by means of this true spell! Hili, Mili! With this all-healing powder protect me! Svâhâ!"

What appears to be intended for the same antidote is given in the *Suśruta*, p. 641, 642, under the name *Mahâ-sugandhî* ('the great sweet-scented one'), but it is made to consist of 85 ingredients. It is given as one of those antidotes, which are "to be sounded with drums" (*dundubhî-svanîya*). On p. 629 the *Suśruta* says, that drums (*dundubhî*) which are smeared with an antidote, are to be sounded in the presence of the patient (see also p. 633). There is this difference, however, that the *Suśruta* prescribes no particular spell to be said during the preparation of the *Mahâ-sugandhi* antidote.

[78] I quote Jîvânanda's editions of the *Charaka* and *Suśruta*. The editions of the Vangasêna and Chakradatta are specified in my first instalment, in *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XL., p. 149, 150.

[79] *Pârshata* means the "parti-coloured part," and is in that place of the *Charaka* applied to the skin of the antelope (*êna*), the feathers of the peafowl, quail and partridge (*śikhin*, *lâva*, *taittiri*), and the bristles of the porcupine (*śvâvidh*).

[80] In the Bengâli edition, it is in Vol. III., pp. 495, 496.

[81] For this the Bengâlî recension reads *rakshâṁsi* 'Râkshasas,' and for Vêtâlas it reads *mantrâ* 'spells.'

[82] The Beng. recension reads *visha-kshayê* 'wonderful in its destruction of poison.'

Further, the *Ashṭânga Hṛidaya* gives an antidote under the name of *Chandrôdaya* ('moon-rise'), which it praises as a most excellent protection against poisons of every kind, as well as against Vetâlas, seizures, witch-craft, *pâpma* ('disaster'), plague, disease, famine, and war. It is made up of 28 drugs mixed in honey, and is to be applied to the patient by a pure virgin, while the physician is to pronounce the following spell during the process of preparing and applying it :—

"Reverence to the Purusha-siṁha! reverence to Nârâyaṇa! So may I not witness the discomfiture of Kṛishṇa in the strife! May through this true spell my antidote be made efficacious! Hulu, Hulu! Protect me from all poisons, O Gaurî, Gândhârî, Chaṇḍâlî, Mâtangî! Svâhâ!"

It appears that according to the *Charaka* and *Suśruta*, spells (*mantra*) are to be used along with important operations in cases of poisoning. But the *Suśruta*, on p. 626, prescribes this expressly at the time of the application of the ligature to the bitten part. That operation is called the *arishṭâ-bandhana* or *dhamanî-bandha* (*Chakradatta*, p. 689). It is the first thing to be done, and is afterwards followed by the administration of antidotes. In the preparation or administration of the latter, the use of a spell was not prescribed. Out of a very large number of antidotes, the *Mahâ-gandhahastî* and the *Chandrôdaya* are the only two to which spells are annexed, which circumstance would show that they were exceptions, being considered antidotes of magical efficacy.

Now there are three points to be noted. In the first place, the spell in our Manuscript is clearly intended to be a spell to be used at the time of tying the ligature. This is shown by the direction: *sîmâ-bandhaṁ dharaṇî-bandhaṁ karôhi*, 'apply a ligature to the wound and to the vein,' followed by the spell. I do not now, therefore, think it probable, that the spell had its name of *Mahâ mâyûrî* from any ingredient in an antidote used along with the spell. An additional reason is that there is no indication in the spell and its story of the use of any antidote.

In the second place: there is a considerable resemblance in the enumeration of evils which the spell is supposed to counteract, as given in our Manuscript and in the *Charaka* and the *Ashṭânga Hṛidaya*. This is shown in the following table : —

Bower MS.	Charaka.	Ashṭânga.
1. Graha (21 kinds).	{ bâla-graha. sarva-graha.	graha.
2. Krityâ-karman.	kârmaṇa.	kârmaṇa.
3. Kavkhôrd-ôkiraṇa.	khârkhôda.	pâpman.
4. Vêtâḍa, &c.	Vêtâla.	Vêtâla.
5. Durbhukta, &c.		dur-bhiksha.
6. Jvara, &c.		maraka.
7. rôga (various).		vyâdhi.

The *Charaka* and *Ashṭânga* add a few other ills, such as war, oppression and robbery, but these are covered by the second list of evils at the end of our spell. It seems to me impossible to avoid the impression that there is some connection between the three versions.

In the third place: there is a curious verbal coincidence between the word *khârkhôṭa* in the *Charaka* and *kavkhôrda* in our MS. The abridged Petersburg *Dictionary* gives a various reading *kharkhôda*. The word appears to have been unintelligible in later times; for the *Ashṭânga Hṛidaya* substitutes *pâpman*, and the Bengâlî edition of the *Charaka*, *rakshâṁsi*. It is, so far as I know, only known to occur in one other place; *viz.*, in the *Râjataranginî*, V. 239 (in Dr. Stein's new edition). There it is related that the treasurer of king Gopâla Varman, in order to conceal his delinquencies, caused a person Râmadêva, who was a proficient in *khâr-khôda*, to compass the death of the king by his sorcery (*abhichâra*). This story shows, that by

khárkhôda a deadly kind of charm was understood. While preparing the present instalment, however, I have received another ancient manuscript; and in this I have been lucky enough to discover the same word in two places. The manuscript was dug out of a ruined house, near the town of Kugiar, not far from the Yarkand frontier. It is written on Daphne paper, and contains apparently six or seven separate treatises. These are written in two entirely different types of characters. One portion is written in the well-known North-Indian Gupta characters, very closely resembling those in the Bower MS.; but the other portion is written in the Central-Asian type of characters, a specimen of which has lately been published by Mr. S. d'Oldenburg in the *Records of the Oriental Transactions* of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, Vol. VII. 81-82. These latter have a close resemblance to the so-called "Wartu" characters, which are said to have been brought into Tibet early in the seventh century A.D. from Liyul or Khoten.[83] One of the treatises of this second portion, in the Central-Asian characters, contains the story of a charm, apparently given by Buddha to a Senâpati. In it the word, which is here spelled *kakkhôrdda* or *kâkkhôrdda*, occurs twice. Unfortunately the manuscript is much mutilated; but the better preserved of the two passages runs thus; . . . . *daṇḍêna parimuchchishyati* . . *êvam=êva parimu(chch)[ishyati]* . . . . *śastra[ṁ] kramati na vishâ n=âgni n=âśî-visha*[84] *na kakkhôrdda na Vaitâla na* . . . . . . *(ma)[hâba]laṁ karôti*, i.e., "he will be delivered from danger by . . . . , even so he will be delivered . . . , no weapon hurts (him), no poison, no fire, no snake-poison, no *kakkhôrdda*, no Vaitâla, no . . . . . . has any overpowering effect." The other passage has . . . . *kritya-kâkkhôrdda-putanaiḥ* . . . . . . *[parimuchchish]yati*, i.e., "he will be delivered from witchcraft (or demons who dig out corpses), *kâkkhôrdda* and Pûtanas (=Vaitâlas)." The spelling slightly differs; the first passage spells the word with a short *a*, the second with a long *â*. The dental *d* (not cerebral *ḍ*), and the position of *r* in the second syllable (not in the first) would now seem to be the correct spelling. The variation in the spelling of the initial letter (*k* or *kh*) is possible; a similar instance is *kakhaṭa* and *khakhaṭa* 'hard,' both given in the Petersburg *Dictionary*. The spelling *kavkhôrda* in the Bower Manuscript I take to be a clerical error for *kakkhôrda;* the *v* is not well made.

There is another curious verbal coincidence in the word *śânti-svastyayanam* 'mystic spell for recovery,' which is used both in our Manuscript and the *Ashṭâṅga Hṛidaya.* The latter applies this term to the *Chandrôdaya* spell, which I have above quoted as parallel to our *Mahâmâyûrî* spell.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Concluded from page 156.)

XLVI. **Fourth mûlasûtram, piṇḍaniryukti.** There is no text of this name in Berlin. We find MSS. of it mentioned in Kielhorn (Report 1881) pp. 9, 26—29, 95, and Peterson's Palm-leaf 166.[91] According to what I have cited on page 79 from the Vidhiprapâ, [81] the piṇḍan. is connected with the fifth chapter of the third mûlasûtra. It is surprising that a niryukti text should appear as a part of the Siddh., (see above p. 41). It deserves to be noticed that the piṇḍan. is not mentioned in the anaṅgapavittha list of the Nandi (see p. 11 ff). In the list of Raj. L. Mitra and Kâśînâth Kuntê piṇḍaniryukti appears as the name of their fourth chhêdasûtra; Kâśînâth says that its contents is "on the cause of hunger and the nature and kind of food to be taken." A piṇḍaniryuktivṛitti is ascribed to the old Haribhadra (see p. 458n). Kielhorn, l. c., cites a vṛitti of Vîragaṇa, (see above pp. 44, 51). According to his account its extent is 61 leaves, four or five lines on a page, each line 50 aksh. and in all about 900 ślôkas.

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[83] This appears to be the correct Tibetan tradition, as Babu S. C. Dâs now informs me. They were not brought from Magadha. See *Journal*, As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LVII., Part I., p. 41.

[84] *Âśî* is a serpent's fang; in the abridged Petersburg *Dictionary*, *s.v.*

[91] It begins according to Peterson as follows:— piṁḍa uggamaṁ uppâyaṇêsaṇâ saṁjôgaṇappamâṇeyaṁ, and concludes: nijjaraphalâ ajjhatthâ visôhijuttassa.

It remains for us to give a brief account of those texts quoted as parts of the Siddhânta in the Ratnasâgara, and by Râjêndra Lâla Mitra, and Kâśînâth Kuntê — see pp. 226, 227 — which do not appear in Bühler's list.

In the first place in reference to the jîtakalpa[92] cited in the Ratnasâgara as the sixth chhêdasûtra and in reference to the gachhâyâra called *ibid.* the eighth païnnam. Cf. pages 478 and 445.[93]

[82] The third variation in the Ratnasâgara from Bühler's list which we find there has reference to the fourth mûlasûtram whose place is taken by the oghaniryukti[94] and in fact as No. 3.

We have already seen (p. 61) from Âv. Nijj. 6, 88, that a text of this name ought strictly to be cited there as a constituent part of the text of the Âv. Nijj. in P. π it is actually cited as such and from the scholia on it and on Uttarajjh. 26, above p. 48, that tradition regards it as an excerpt made by Bhadrabrâhusvâmin from pûrva 9, 3, 20. This is confirmed by the introduction of the avachûri to the oghan. We have also seen (p. 357) that this composition cannot be referred to the old Bhadrabâhu († 170 Vîra), since in the introductory verse cited in the Âv. 6, 89 the dasapuvvi, daśapûrvin are honored besides the arihaṁta and the chaüddasapuvvis. It is quite surprising that this verse also refers especially to the ikkârasaṁgasuttadhârâê; a fact diametrically opposed to the tradition just mentioned that regards a part of aṅga 12 as the source of the ogh. Further on in our present ogh. we find a direct reference in v. 14 to aṅga 12 : sâmâyârî ôhê | nâyajjhayaṇâiṁ (aṅga 6 ?) diṭṭhivâô a | lôiyakappâsâî aṇukkamâ kâragâ chaürô || It is, however, *sub judice* whether or no this verse belonged to the original text. That this was quite a different text from that which the present ogh. as an independent work presents, is proved by the fact that the two Âvaśyaka-MSS. P π, which [83] cite it as integral part of the Âvaśy. nijj. and allot to it but 58 (P.) or 79 (π) verses (cf. above p. 62). The oghanijj. which exists in detached form embraces, according to its last verse, 1,160 gâthâs:[95] ikkârasêhi sâêhi saṭṭhîahiêhi saṁgahiyâ.[96] The contents is stated in vv. 4, 5 to be as follows:—

vaya (vrata) 5 samaṇadhamma 10 saṁjama 17 vêyâvachchaṁ 10 cha baṁbhaguttîô 9 | nâṇâïtiyaṁ 3 tava 12 kôhaniggahâi 4 charaṇam êyaṁ || 4 ||

piṁḍavisôhî[97] 4 samiî 5 bhâvaṇa 12 paḍimâ 12 ya iṁdiyanirôhô 5 | paḍilêhaṇa 25 guttîô 3 abhiggahâ 4 chêva karaṇaṁ tu || 5 ||

The contents consequently refers to a right name of living; charaṇakaraṇâtmikâ is the designation of the oghaniryukti in the introduction of the avachûri on it, and it calls itself at the end (vv. 1156-57) sâmâyârî (see above p. 48).

The beginning of the avachûri[98] contains several accounts in reference to the connection of the text with the Âvaśyaka, and sâmâyikâdhyayana.[99] These accounts are very obscure because

[92] Fifth "kalpasûtra" in Râj. L. M. and Kash.

[93] I add that a Jîtakalpasûtram is mentioned by Kielhorn, l. c. p. 51 and a jîtakalpachûrṇi on p. 17; also in Peterson's Palm-leaf 101, where the beginning and the conclusion are given, the total contents being 202 (102 ?) gâthâs. It begins siddhisahayâramâyâvaṇibhavadavamayaṇapaḍibhaḍâṇa kamô | kîraṁ sîraṁ nîraṁ vîraṁ namiuṁ mahâvîraṁ || 1 || vochchhaṁ paṁchagaparihâṇipagaraṇaṁ, — closes : gaṇêsu || jîtakalpasûtram samâptaṁ.

[94] Fifth chhêdasûtra in the list of Râj. L. M. and Kash., who says that the contents is "on the duties of Sadhus."

[95] The MS. shews but 1,158 and the text belonging to the avachûri has but 1,132 vv.

[96] In the palm-leaf MS. 165 of Peterson these words run : ekkârasahiṁ sâêhim athahiṁ (!) ahiêhiṁ saṁgahiyâ; the number of verses is stated to the 1,156 (!).

[97] A text of this name by Jinavallabhagaṇi appears in the account of Kielhorn, p 30 (with commentary) 95 and in the list of Peterson's Palm-leaf 86m. 104c. 177d.

[98] Composed by Jnânasâgara saṁvat 1439, and belonging to the vṛitti of Drôṇâchârya.

[99] prakrâṁtô 'yam âvaśyakânuyôgas, tatra sâmâyikâdhyayanam anuvartatê, tasya chatvâry anuyôgâdvârâṇi (cf. p. 24): upakramô nikshêpô 'nugamô nayaḥ; âdyau dvâv uktau, anugamô dvidhâ : niryuktyanugamô sûtrânugamaś cha; âdyas tridhâ : nikshêpô-'podghâta-sûtrasparśiniryuktyanugamabhedât (see pp. 36, 38), sûtrasparśiniryuktyanugamô 'nugatô vakshyamâṇaś cha, upodghâtaniryuktyanugamas tv âbhyâṁ dvâragâthâbhyâm anugaṁtavyaḥ : uddêsê niddêsê (see p. 67n1) ity-âdi . . .

we do not possess any of the immediate sources whence they are takên. [84] *Á propos* of v. 1 several interesting statements are made concerning the relations of the daśapûrvin to the chaturdaśapûrvin (trayôdaśapûrviṇaḥ are said to have never existed). The daśap. are said to be upakârakâḥ, upâṅgâdi(dînâṁ C)-saṁgrahaṇyuparachanêna (°nêna hêtunâ C).

I have found no other trace of the dêvavijjiyâ, see p. 431 cited in the Ratnasâgara as the sixth païnnam. The jyôtishkaraṇḍam which is the ninth païnnam in the Ratnasâgara is at least mentioned in the païnna list in Âvi., see p. 427.

As regards the texts enumerated by Râjêndra Lâla Mitra and Kâśînâth Kuntê, I refer to pages 392 and 11 for the mahâpannavaṇâ mentioned by K. K. as the sixth upâṅgam.

In both the above authorities we find the second mûlasûtram called viśeshâvaśyakasûtra: and a text of this name exists according to Kielhorn's Report, pp. 36 to 38. In the beginning of Ratnasekhara's commentary on the śrâddhapratikramaṇasûtra it is cited as a work of a Jinabhadra (see above p. 70): yad âhuḥ śrî Jinabhadragaṇikshamâśramaṇapâdâḥ śrî viśeshâvaśyakê (then two gâthâs in Prâkṛit). According to Klatt 247[b] and Kielhorn, p. 37 Jinabhadra is merely author of a commentary on this work. A ṭîkâ by Koṭyâchârya is cited by Kielhorn, the MS. dating saṁvat 1138 (A. D. 1082). According to Klatt Koṭyâchârya is another appellation of Śîlâṅka, whose commentary on aṅga 1, see p. 239 dates A. D. 876. Kielhorn mentions [85] an anonymous commentary on the text itself, which bears the much sought for name śishyahitâ (see pp. 44, 51, 81). This MS., too, is very old saṁvat 119—(?) *i. e.* dates at least from A. D. 1134. The viśeshâvaśyakam is often cited in the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha. According to Kâśînâth Kuntê it contains "a detailed explanation of what is written in the Âvaśyaka Sûtra."

The fourth mûlasûtram in the list of Râjêndra Lâla Mitra, by name pâkshikasûtram, contains (with some independent additions) the same enumeration of the aṅgabâhira texts, etc., which is found in the Nandi. See p. 10 ff. According to an introduction[100] consisting of 4 gâthâs it deals in prose especially with the 5 mahavvayas to which as the sixth the râîbhôyaṇâ vêramaṇam is joined. See p. 78. Then follows a metrical discussion of the same subject in 41 (13, 7 and 23) âryâ. Thereupon (êsâ khalu mahavvaya-uchchâraṇâ kayâ, ichhâmo suttakittaṇaṁ[1] kâuṁ) reverential salutations (nama) for the khamâsamaṇâ by which partly imaṁ vâiyaṁ chhavvihaṁ âvassayaṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ, partly: imaṁ vâiyaṁ aṁgabâhiraṁ kâliyaṁ, or ukkâliyaṁ, bhagavaṁtaṁ, and partly: imaṁ vaiyaṁ duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagaṁ. According to Kâśînâth Kuntê the work gives "an account of all what is to done by the Sadhus in every fortnight." Perhaps the name is derived from the fact that it is to be recited every fortnight.

[86] The work stated to be the third member in the group of Kalpasûtras and which has the specific title Kalpasûtram is, according to the statements in Kaś. the text which claims this title *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. It appears as the dasâô section of the fourth chhêdasûtra.

The first three members of the group of "Chhêdasûtras" in Râj. L. M. cf. p. 227: — the bṛihat-, laghu- and madhyama-vâchanâ of the mahâniśîtha, are stated by Kâśînâth to "treat of the penances to be performed by the Sâdhus in a detailed, abridged and middling manner respectively." I have not found any other mention of this work.

The sixth member of the same group paryushaṇâkalpa, contains, according to Kâśînâth: "directions as to the manner of observing fasts and hearing the Kalpa Sûtra from the twelfth day of Bhâdon [Bhâdrapada] Badi (dark fortnight)[2] to the 4th or 5th day of Bhâdon Sudi (lunar, *i. e.* light, fortnight)." Is this the paryushaṇâkalpanijjutti in 66 âryâ belonging to the

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[100] The first verse: titthaṁkarê atitthê atitthasiddhê ya titthasiddê ya | . . vaṁdâmi || 1 || glorifies strangely enough the atîrtha, or atîrthasiddha too. According to an avachûri on it this refers to the dharmavyavachhêda "Suvidhiprabhṛitînâṁ tîrthakṛitâṁ saptasv aṁtareshu," see p. 211 fg. 242, 348.

[1] śrutotkîrtanaṁ in the avachûri, perhaps sutaki°.

[2] badi, bahuladina, as sudi, instead of śudi, śuddhadina (or śukladina). See my treatise on the Krishṇajanmâshṭamî p. 350n.

third part of "Kalpasûtra" (Jacobi, pp. 86—95)? This paryush. was commented on (see p. 476) by Jinaprabha at the end of his saṁdêhavishaushadhi.

See p. 82 on *au*ghaniryukti and pp. 427, 429 on maraṇasamâdhi.

I give in conclusion a list of the texts which are either found in the Siddhânta itself (1—29), or are mentioned elsewhere (30 fg.) as belonging to the Siddh. but which at present are no longer extant, at least as independent texts.

[87] 1. dîvasâgarapannatti, aṅga 3, 3, 1, 4, 1, see pp. 268, 389, also in the païnna list in Âvi. see pp. 427, 429 (where there is but one saṁgahaṇî on it).

2. kammavivâgadasâu,[3] ten ajjhayaṇas, aṅga 3, 10,[4] see p. 270; cf. Nos. 7, 10.

3. baṁdhadasâu, ten ajjh., aṅga 3, 10, see p. 273.

4. dôgiddhidasâu, ten ajjh., *ibid.*

5. dîhadasâu, ten ajjh., *ibid.* (cf. up. 8—12).

6. saṁkhêviyadasâu, *ibid.*, ten ajjh. viz.: — 1. khuddiyâ vimâṇapavibhatti, 2. mahalliyâ vim., 3. aṁgachûliyâ, 4. vaggachûliyâ, 5. vivâhachûliyâ, 6. Aruṇôvavâê, 7. Varaṇôvavâê (Dha°), 8. Garulôvavâê, 9. Vêlaṁdharôvavâê, 10. Vêsamanôvavâê. All these titles recur in essentially the same order in the Nandî among the aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha text, group kâliya; see pp. 13, 14. In the kârikâs quoted on pp. 223, 224 we find the statement that 1—5 belong to the fifth, and 6—10 to the twelfth year of study.

7. kammavivâgajjhayaṇa, aṅga 4, 43, see p. 280; cf. Nos. 2, 10.

8. isibhâsiyâ dêvalôgachuyabhâsiyâ, 44 ajjh., aṅga 4, 44; the isibhâsiyâiṁ also in the Nandî in the list of aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha texts; see pp. 280, 259, 272, 402, 419, 432, 442, above pp. 13, 57, 58; on ṛishibhâshita see also p. 446 n. 3.

9. dêvalôgachuyabhâsiyâ, see just above and also p. 280.

[88] 10. pâvaphalavivâgâiṁ, 55 ajjh., Kalpas. Jinach. § 147,[5] see p. 474; cf. Nos. 2, 7.

11. mahâkappaṁ, Âvaśy. 8, 55, as first chhêasuttam, see pp. 446, 449; in the Nandî among the aṇaṁgapaviṭṭha texts, see p. 11 (mahâkappasuam).

12. kappiyâkappiam, N among the aṇaṁgap., p. 11.

13. chullakappasuam, *ib.*, p. 11.

14. mahâpannavaṇâ, *ib.*, pp. 11, 84; see p. 392.

15. pamâyappamâyam, *ib.*, p. 11.

16. pôrisimaṁḍalam, *ib.*, p. 12.

17. maṁḍalappavesô, *ib.*

18. vijjacharaṇaviṇichchhaô, *ib.*

19. jhâṇavibhatti, *ib.*, and in the Vidhiprapâ among the païnna, see p. 428.

20. maraṇavibhatti, in N among the aṇaṁgap., p. 12.

21. âyavisohî, *ib.*

22. vîyarâyasuam, *ib.*

23. saṁlêhaṇasuam, *ib.*

24. vihârakappô, *ib.*

25. charaṇavihî, *ib.*

[3] We possess several texts on kammavivâga; thus 167 Prâkṛit-gâthâs by Jiṇavallabha in Peterson's Palm-leaf 42 f.; also 168 ditto by Garga *ibid.* Nos. 52, 81b, — and, without the name of the authors, Nos. 88b, 106, 161d. There is a bâlâvabodha on it by Matichandra, see Kielhorn p. 93.

The âyâradasâu mentioned there are identical with chhêdasûtra 4.

[5] The aputthavâgaraṇâiṁ in 36 ajjh. mentioned *ibid.* are doubtless identical with mûlasûtra 1, see p. 48.

26. dêvimdôvavâê, in N among the aṇaṁgap., p. 14.

27. uṭṭhâṇasuam, *ib.*; uṭṭhâṇasuyâiyâ chaürô in the kârikâs quoted p. 224 as the subject of the study of the thirteenth year.

28. samuṭṭhâṇasuê, p. 14.

29. nâgapariyâvaliyâô, *ib.*

30. âsîvisabhâvaṇâô in the Pâkshikasûtra and the three sâmâchârî texts, *ib.*; in the kârikâs cited p. 214 as designed for the fourteenth year.

[89] 31. diṭṭhîvisabhâvaṇâô, *ib.*, for the 15th year.

32. châraṇabhâvaṇâô (châraṇasamaṇabh°), *ib.*, 16th year.

33. mahâsuviṇa(sumiṇa)bhâvaṇâô, *ib.*, 17th year.

34. têaganisaggâ, *ib.*, 18th year. According to Vidhiprapâ title of the 15th book in aṅga 5, see p. 301.

35. maraṇavisôhî, in Vidhiprapâ among the aṇaṁgap., see p. 12.

36. râhaṇapaḍâga, in the païnna list in Âvi., see p. 427.

37. aṁgavijjâ, *ib.*

38. jôisakaraṁḍaṁ, *ib.*, and in the païnna list of the Ratnasâgara, see p. 431: cf. p. 84.

39. maraṇasamâhî, in the païnna list in Âvi. and in Râj. L. M., see p 427; p. 86.

40. titthôgâlî, in the païnna list in Âvi., see p. 427.[6]

41. narayavibhattî, *ib.*

42. dêvavijjiyâ, in the païnna list of the Ratnasâgara, see p. 431; cf. p. 84.

Corresponding to the number of the 46 âgamas which exist or are recognized as parts of the Siddhânta, we have 42 texts which are at present not extant. If we add pañchakalpa[7] and the two special vâchanâs of the mahânisîha, and if we count singly the ten titles comprised in No. 6 (as is always the case in aṅga 3 and elsewhere) — then the number of the texts no longer extant [90] is eight greater than the number of those in existence. It must, however, be confessed that the ten pieces collected in No. 6 are very brief in compass, since they are each counted as one ajjhayaṇam; and the same may be the case as regards others of the texts now no longer extant. Nevertheless in the Siddhânta there are short texts and among the aṅgas there is one and that is not small (aṅga 4) which has but a single ajjh.

If we take into consideration the conclusions which we were obliged to adopt in regard to the loss of the mahâparinnâ chapter in aṅga 1, in regard to the changes which aṅgas 5, 7—11, up. 8—12 are proved to have undergone, and in regard to the total loss of aṅga 12 etc., etc. — it is at once evident that great uncertainty reigns in this department of Indian literature, despite its seemingly firm articulation. The beginning of our knowledge is here contemporary with the beginning of our doubts. One fact is of cardinal importance: — Nos. 6, 27, 30—34 of the above list existed at the date of the kârikâs cited on p. 224, and formed an integral part of the sacred study. The portion of the extant Siddhânta that is mentioned in p. 224 besides these is but trifling in comparison. The ultimate significance of this last assertion cannot, however, be seen at the present day. Cf. p. 225.

In conclusion, I desire to extend my most hearty thanks to Dr. E. Leumann for the generous assistance he has rendered in reading the proof of this treatise. This assistance comprises very numerous corrections made on the basis of MSS. and printed matter which were not accessible to me. I have also used to great advantage Kielhorn's Report and especially Peterson's Detailed Report.

[6] The siddhapâhuḍapaïnnam ib. belongs to aṅga 12, see pp. 355, 361.

[7] In Kielhorn's report p. 94 there is mention made of a pañchakalpasûtrachûrṇi by Âmradêvâchârya. See p. 477.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 13.—The Ill-treated Daughter-in-law.

There once lived an old woman with her son and his wife, and after a few years of married life the wife became pregnant. The old woman's son, about this time, fitted out a ship to go to another country, but before going he asked his mother to take care of his wife as she was pregnant, and said: — "*Mâlâ sôkrâ hôil tê mâṅjê târvâvar sôniachâ pâṅîṅ parêl, ani sôkrî hôil tê rûpiachâ pâṅîṅ parêl*; If a son be born to me a shower of gold will fall on my ship, but if a daughter then there will be a shower of silver."

Then bidding farewell to his wife and mother he went away. After a few months had passed the wife felt her time of delivery approaching, and so she asked her mother-in-law if she might take her cot into the sleeping-room (*kâmbrâ*), but the old woman objected, saying: — "*Kâmbrâ hâi tô dêvâṅ dharmâchâ*; The sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites."

Then the daughter-in-law asked if she might place it in the hall (*sâl*), and the mother-in-law again objected, saying: — "*Sâl hâi tê uṭṭâ baisâvchaṅ*;[1] The hall is meant for people to sit in."

Upon this the daughter-in-law asked if she might place her cot in the verandah (*ôṅṭâ*), and for the third time the old woman objected, saying: — "*Ôṅṭâ hâi tô êtiaṅ zâtiaṅchâ*;[2] The verandah is meant for passers-by to rest themselves."

The poor daughter-in-law saw that there was no place in the house to be spared for her confinement, and at length resorted to a jungle, and there, under a mango-tree, was delivered of a boy. She left the child under the tree and went home, occasionally going back to give suck to the child. On the day the boy was born a shower of gold fell on his father's ship, upon which he distributed sugar to the crew and returned home. His mother, however, told him tales against his wife, and shewed him an ôrôṇṭâ (spice-grinding-stone), saying she had given birth to that stone! The husband's anger was roused against his wife, but he saw that he could do nothing and kept quiet.

A few more years passed and the wife was again pregnant. This time also her husband proceeded on a voyage. He again asked his mother to take care of his wife, which, of course she promised to do; and saying: — "*Mâlâ sôkrâ hôil tê mâṅjê târvâvar sôniachâ pâṅîṅ parêl. ani sôkrî hôil tê rûpiachâ pâṅîṅ parêl*; If a son be born to me there will fall on my ship a shower of gold, but if a daughter is born there will be a shower of silver," he went away.

Some months after, when the time of her labour commenced, the wife again asked her mother-in-law if she might use the sleeping-room, but she met with the same objection as before: — "*Kâmbrâ hâi tô dêvâṅ dharmâchâ*; The sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites."

She then asked for the use of the hall, but again came the objection: — "*Sâl hâi tê uṭṭâ baisâvchaṅ*; The hall is meant for people to sit in."

Then the use of the verandah was asked for, and again the old woman said: — "*Ôṅṭâ hâi tô êtiaṅ zâtiaṅchâ*; The verandah is meant for such as come and go."

The poor woman, for the second time, was refused a place for her confinement, and again went into the jungle and was delivered under a *kâzû* tree (catchu-nut tree), where she left the child and went home, occasionally going back to the tree to suckle it. For the second time there fell a shower of gold on her husband's ship, and, again distributing sugar to the crew, he returned home with great joy; but only to be disappointed, for the old woman again told him a lot of

[1] Literally, 'the hall is for rising and sitting.'

[2] Literally, 'the verandah is for such as come and go.'

tales, and produced a bôvâtrâ (Goa broom), saying that his wife had given birth to it! The husband was very much incensed against his wife, but cooled his ire, and had patience with her.

When a few more years had passed his wife again became pregnant, and for the third time her husband went on a voyage, leaving his wife to the care of his mother, who promised all care and to take every precaution that would ensure a successful delivery. Before he went away, he said : — "*Mâlâ sôkrâ hôil tê mâṅjê târvâvar sôniachâ pâṇîṅ parêl, ani sôkrî hôil tê rûpiachâ pâṇîṅ parêl*; Should a son be born to me there will fall on my ship a shower of gold, but if a daughter then a shower of silver."

Now in due time the wife felt her time approaching, and, therefore, asked her mother in-law if she might use the sleeping apartment, but she only got the same old answer : — "*Kâmbrâ hâi tê dêvâṅ dharmâchâ*; The sleeping-room is assigned to the gods and religious rites."

So also when she asked for a place in the hall, she was told : — "*Sâl hâi tê ûṭṭâ baisâvchaṁ*; The hall is meant for people to sit in."

She now pleaded for the verandah, but was put off by the same answer : — "*Ôṅṭâ hâi tô êtiaṅ zâtiaṅchâ*; The verandah is meant for passers-by."

The poor woman saw no alternative, but had again to resort to the jungle, and was delivered this time of a daughter, under a tamarind tree (*chiṅch*). After her delivery she left the child there and went home, occasionally going back to suckle it. Her husband witnessed a heavy shower of silver, and, after again distributing sugar to the crew, returned home; but only to be disappointed for the third time, for he was now shewn a môvâlî (date-palm broom).

Now, this time the old woman told him so many tales that he was mad with rage. She told him to get rid of his wife, and said she would get him married to another. Her son believed every word that was told him, and having chastised his wife most brutally, went and hanged her on an ôr tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and left her there a long time. Fortunately for her, however, there passed that way some *gôuṅlâs* (cow-herds) who felt deeply for her, and thought within themselves : — "*Bichârîzîn kâ gûnia kêlêi kôn zânê : pûn âpûṅ sôrvûṅ tilâ*; What offence the poor woman may have committed, who can say? But we will, nevertheless, set her free."

So they set her free, and went their way to graze their cattle. She now went and fetched together her children. The two boys were pretty well advanced in years, and the girl had made wonderful progress in her growth. So they built a hut, and lived in it.

The old woman, in the meanwhile, made arrangements for getting her son married to another girl, and on the appointed day our hero was dressed up ready to go to the Church. But his former wife, who came to know that her husband was about to go to Church to be married to some one else, called to her children and taught them to say : —

Âmbiâ bûrchiâ âmbayâ dâdâ, kâzû bûrchia kâzûyâ dâdâ, chiṅchê bûrchê sâlôp bâyê, lâl ṭôpîvâlâ âmchâ bâp, ôrâvar ṭâṅglêi âmchî âi, dharam kar gô kausâlnê âjê; Brother Mango from under the mango tree; Brother Catchu-nut from under the catchu-nut tree; Sister Sâlôp from under the tamarind tree; the man with the red hat is our father; our mother is hanging on the banian tree; give alms, oh tale-telling grandmother!"

When they were able to repeat this by heart, she told them to go and say it near their father's house. The children went and standing before the house repeated what their mother had taught them. Their father, who had never seen them before, was taken by their faces, and, as he did not understand what they had said, he told them to repeat it again, upon which they said : —

Âmbiâ bûrchiâ âmbayâ dâdâ, kâzû bûrchiâ kâzûyâ dâdâ, chiṅchê bûrchê sâlôp bâyê, lâl ṭôpîvâlâ âmchâ bâp, ôrâvar ṭâṅglêi âmchî âi, dharam kar gô kausâlnê âjê; Brother Mango from under

the mango tree; Brother Catchu-nut from under the catchu-nut tree; Sister Sâlôp from under the tamarind tree; the man with the red hat is our father; our mother is hanging on the banian tree; give alms, oh tale-telling grandmother!"

Their father called to his mother and told her to give them some *ôrê*.[3] She came out, but, suspecting who the children were, refused to give them anything. Their father, however, himself went to the cook-house, and fetched some *ôrê* and gave them to the children. He then made them repeat what they said over and over again several times. At last he thought there must be some meaning attached to what they said, and asked them where they had learnt it. The children told him that their mother had taught them. Upon this he told them to call their mother (his own wife), and when she came in his presence, he asked her whose children they were that were standing before them, and she said: — "These children are yours and mine."

When she said this, he told her to explain what it all meant. She then told him all: — How she had been prevented from being delivered in the house on the plea that "*kâmbrâ hâi tô dêvâṅ dharmâchâ*, the sleeping-room belongs to the gods and religious rites: *sâl hâi tê ûṭṭâ baisâvchaṁ*, the hall is meant for sitting in: *ôṇṭâ hâi tô êtiaṅ zâtiaṅ-hâ*, the verandah belongs to passers-by;" and how she had resorted to the jungle, where she was delivered first of a boy under a mango tree, a second time of another boy under a catchu-nut tree, and the third time of a girl under a tamarind tree; and how each time she was wont to go home leaving the children there, occasionally going to them to give them milk; and how his mother, whenever he came home, shewed him first an *ôrôṇṭâ* (spice-grinding-stone), secondly a *bôvâtrâ* (Goa broom), and thirdly a *môvâlî* (date-palm broom); and how, not content with these tricks, she had told him a great many tales. Upon this he embraced his wife and children, and asked her why she did not tell him all this long ago, even at the risk of her life. Then in a rage he took hold of his mother, cut her into three pieces, and hung the pieces up on three roads.

After this he lived happily with his wife and children.[4]

MISCELLANEA.

TIBETAN FOLKLORE.

1.—*Cats.*

The Cat is treated by Tibetans with the most marked attention and forbearance. Even when it spills milk, breaks or destroys any valuable object or kills some pet bird, it is never whipped or beaten in any way; but merely chid, and gently driven away by the voice: — while were a dog or child to commit these offences they would be soundly thrashed.

Such very mild and considerate treatment might lead one to suppose that the cat is esteemed holy. But such is not the case It is indeed regarded as a useful animal to the extent that it contributes to the preservation of sacred pictures, robes, books, and sacrificial food and the like, by killing the rats and mice which consume and destroy these. But otherwise the cat is considered to be the most sinful being on earth, on account of its constant desire for taking life, even when gorged with food, and its torture of its victims. Its mild treatment is due to the belief that whoever causes the death of a cat, whether accidentally or otherwise, will have the sins of the cat transferred to his shoulders. And so great is the burden of its sins that even were one *sir* (2 lbs.) of butter for each hair on the cat's body offered in feeding the temple lamps before Buddha's image, the crime would not be expiated. Hence everyone is most careful to avoid incurring this calamity And when a cat dies its body is carried outside the village and deposited, if possible, at a place where two paths cross.

L. A. WADDELL.

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[3] The process of making these *ôrê* (singular *ôrâ*) is similar to making *pôlê* (see *ante*, p. 143). But while *pôlê* are made in the shape of ordinary hand-bread, *ôrê* are made by putting lumps of wheaten dough, thicker than that used for *pôlê*, into boiling oil. *Ôrê* are generally made on occasions of weddings and feasts.

[4] [This story is valuable as shewing where the second part of the extraordinary story of Bâpkhâdî (*ante*, p. 142 ff.) comes from. — ED.]

NOTES ON AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR THROUGH RAMANNADESA (THE TALAING COUNTRY OF BURMA).

BY TAW SEIN-KO.

UNDER instructions from the Government of Burma, I left Rangoon for Moulmein on the 5th December, 1891. As it was my intention to explore the whole of the country, which constituted **the ancient Talaing kingdom of Râmaññadêsa,** with special reference to the elucidation of the history of the places mentioned in **the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions,** I went down to Amherst by boat and returned to Moulmein by land, and the notes now published are those that I was enabled to make by the way.

The Mun or Talaing language is still spoken in the villages between Amherst and Moulmein, and is still taught in the monastic schools there; but, owing to there being no Government grants-in-aid given for the encouragement of its study, it is not taught in the lay schools. The Talaing language has a unique literature of its own; **numbers of inscriptions are recorded in it; and certain questions relating to the ethnography, history, antiquities, and languages of the peoples inhabiting Burma are awaiting solution, because the Talaing literature is still a** *terra incognita.* Considering that the study of the insignificant dialects of the Karen language, which has no indigenous literature, and whose alphabet was invented by Doctor Wade, an American Missionary, in 1832, receives considerable encouragement, it would be well if the Education Department could see its way to recognize Talaing in the curriculum of studies for indigenous schools in those parts of the Tavoy, Amherst, Shwêgyin, and Pegu districts, where it is still spoken and studied. This measure would, no doubt, be pleasing to the Talaings, and would be a token of gracious, although late, recognition of the services rendered by their fellow-countrymen to the British in the first and second Burmese Wars.[1]

About 20 miles from Amherst is **Wâgarû,** originally founded by King Wâgarû near the close of the 13th Century, A. D. The site of the old city is now completely covered with jungle; but traces of its walls and moat still exist. It is said that its walls were of laterite, and that images of the same material existed in its vicinity. But I saw neither the walls nor the images; apparently the laterite walls have served as road-metal for the contractors of the Public Works Department, and the images are hidden by jungle. I am not sure whether any excavations carried out at Wâgarû would bring to light any inscriptions or objects of archæological interest.

On the 11th December, **Pâgàt** was visited. **There are caves of great historical interest in its neighbourhood.** Pâgàt is the birth-place of Wâgarû, who restored the Talaing monarchy after Râmaññadêsa had been subject to Burmese rule for over two centuries, and is full of historical associations. It was here that Dàlàbàn,[2] the 'Hereward the Wake' of the Talaings, utilized the strategic position of the place, and for long defied the Burmese forces of (Alaungp'ayâ) Alompra's son and immediate successor, Naungdògyî.[3] The caves are natural openings in hills of submarine limestone rock. Some of them are over 1,000 feet in height and have precipitous sides. It is reported that large boxes of **Talaing palm-leaf manuscripts,** which were originally hidden by patriotic Talaings to escape destruction from the ruthless hands of the Burmese conquerors, are decaying[4] in the sequestered parts of these caves.

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[1] [I fully endorse this plea for the preservation of the Talaing language. It is rapidly disappearing before Burmese, and it is pitiable to note the absolute ignorance of many Talaings of their distinctive language. But historically it is quite as valuable as Burmese, if not more so. It is not desirable, speaking practically, to revive Talaing, but academically its preservation would be invaluable and a chair in the Rangoon College might well be devoted to Talaing and its epigraphy and literature.—ED.]

[2] *à=o* in Italian *cosa.* [3] *ò=aw* in 'law.'

[4] Subsequently, I learnt from a priest of the Mahâyin *kyaung* (monastery) at Kadô, that complete sets of Talaing manuscripts are being preserved in the Royal Libraries at Bangkôk. It would be a good thing to obtain a set for the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon. Perhaps the British Consul could be moved to prefer a request to

There are now few persons, who can read and understand these manuscripts; but, whenever they shall have been interpreted by a trained scholar, they will throw a flood of light on Talaing history, and on the history of learned, religious, and commercial relations between Ramaññadêśa, Ceylon, and Southern India. They will also solve certain questions connected with Pâḷi and Sanskṛit philology and literature.

Owing to want of time only two caves, namely, the **Kògun** and Pâgàt, could be visited. The former presents a splendid sight. Its precipitous side facing the Kògun village is completely covered by painted terra cotta tablets arranged symmetrically in the form of terraces and spires. Inside the cave are lying **images** of various sizes in different stages of decay and ruin. They are found to be made of the following substances : lead, brass, wood, stone, brick, and lacquerware. The majority of them bespeak their antiquity, as they differ from modern ones in the following particulars :— the head is surmounted by a spiral truncated cone representing the Buddhist nimbus ; the bristles of the hair are represented ; the ears do not touch the shoulders ; the forehead is prominent, but remarkably narrow ; the eyebrows, eyes, and lips are the most prominent features of the face ; the body is short and stout and the head is disproportionately big ; the limbs are full and large ; the sole of the right foot is not displayed.

No history is known to exist about the caves of this neighbourhood ; nor is there any person, layman or priest, who can relate anything historically true about them. But, judging from the fact that Râmaññadêśa was subject to Cambodian rule from the 6th to the 10th century A. D., and again to Siamese rule in the 14th century, it may be safely inferred that most of the images are of **Cambodian or Siamese origin.** The general architectural effect of the cave, and the resemblance of these images to those of Siam, favour this view. A closer examination in detail, however, might reveal the fact that some of the images were dedicated to Brahmanical worship, which was favoured by the ancient Kings of Cambodia, that others are of Sinhalese or Dravidian origin, and that there is some relationship, historical, religious, and architectural, between the caves in the Amherst district and the cave temples of Cambodia and India. I brought away three small wooden images with legends, now illegible, but conjectured to be in the Siamese characters inscribed on their pedestals. (See plate.)

The **Pâgàt Cave** was next visited. It contains nothing of interest. It is now the home of bats, whose dung yields an annual revenue of Rs. 600. It would appear that the contents of this cave have been made away with in order to make room for the more valuable dung!

Near this cave is a monastery, now occupied by a priest from Upper Burma. Since the annexation of that province to the British Crown, numbers of Buddhist priests from it have settled down in this district. Owing to their reputed learning and their conversational powers, they are highly esteemed and are abundantly supplied with the necessaries of life. The Talaing priests are, as a rule, somewhat lax in their observance of strict precepts: *e. g.*, they are possessed of boats and landed estates, drive about in bullock-carts, drink tea in the evenings, and smoke cigars in public! Such conduct is now being followed by the priests from Upper Burma, who appear to be imbued with the truth of the proverb: "At Rome, do as Rome does." The burden of supporting the priests, who do very little in return for their maintenance, and who idle away most of their time, because the educational work is better and more efficiently done by the lay schools, is in the Talaing Country indeed a heavy one. On an average about 100 houses support a *kyaung*, and every village that has any pretence to piety must have a *kyaung* of its own. The standard of material comfort of the villagers,

this effect to His Siamese Majesty. The late Dr. Forchhammer succeeded in procuring a number of ancient Talaing manuscripts from the caves in the neighbourhood of Pâgàt. I understand some of them, if not all, are now lying in the Bernard Free Library. [The Chief Commissioner, Burmah, has addressed the British Consul at Bangkôk on the subject.—ED.]

INSCRIBED WOODEN IMAGES FROM THE KÒGUN CAVE.



Taw Sein Ko

Scale·625

Photo zinco S I O Calcutta

Reg No 366 Major R C Temple—Jan 93—305

who maintain the *kyaung*, may be a low one, but the *pôngyî* in charge of the *kyaung* is fed on the fat of the land.

On the 14th December, I visited **Kôkarêk**, which is inhabited by Burmans, Talaings, Shâns, Karens, and Taungʻðûs. The **Taungʻðûs** are an interesting people. They have **a literature**[5] of their own, and I obtained a copy of a poetical work called **Suttanippan** (*Suttanibbâna* or *Nibbânasutta*).[6] The language of the Taungʻðus contains words bodily borrowed from the languages of the peoples by whom they are surrounded. The Taungʻðûs resemble their congeners, the Karens, in physical appearance; their build is thick-set, and they have full, round, and heavy features. At Kòkarêk' the Taungʻðû language is purer than at Thatôn, although there have been many inter-marriages between the Taungʻðûs and the Shâns.

The meaning of the word **'Taungʻðû' is Highlander,** in contradistinction to the people of the lowlands. A similar distinction obtains in Cambodia, the ancient Kingdom of the Khmers.[7] The latter M. Mouhot describes thus: — "Having a great taste for music, and being gifted with ears excessively fine, with them[8] originated the *tam-tam,* so prized among the neighbouring nations; and by uniting its sounds to those of a large drum, they obtain music tolerably harmonious. The art of writing is unknown to them; and as they necessarily lead a wandering life, they seem to have lost nearly all traditions of the past. The only information I could extract from their oldest chief was, that far beyond the chain of mountains which crosses the country from north to south, are other *people of the high country* (such is the name they give themselves; that of *savage* wounds them greatly), that they have many relations there, and they even cite names of villages or hamlets as far as the provinces occupied by the Annamite invaders. Their practice is to bury their dead." The above description would, with slight modifications and with the exception of the part relating to their ignorance of the art of writing, answer very well for that of the Taungʻðûs.

The Taungʻðûs call themselves Phâô, *i. e.*, ancient fathers, and have a tradition that large numbers of them emigrated years ago from their original seat of Thatôn to a State of the same name in the Shân country. Since then they have borrowed largely from Shân literature: in fact, their books, most of which have been translated from Shân, contain a large admixture of Shân words.[9]

The Taungʻðû alphabet appears to have a closer affinity to that of the Talaings or the Burmans than to that of the Shâns, as it recognises the medial letters, which are absent in Shân. **The one peculiarity deserving of notice in the pronunciation of the letters is the Indian sound accorded to the letters of the palatal class,** *e.g.*, **च is pronounced** *ch* **and not** *s*, **as the Tibetans, Burmans, and Talaings pronounce.** This is a remarkable fact showing the probability of the Taungʻðûs having received their alphabet direct from Indian colonists.[10]

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5 "My authority for this is the following extract of a note from a gentleman of the American Mission to Lieutenant Newmarch:—

"The Toungthoos *have* a written language and books, and kyoungs and priests. I have *seen* their books, and on the fall of Sebastopol I *printed* the Governor-General's proclamation for Lieutenant Burn in Toungthoo, but I confess it was the *first* and only thing that was ever printed in Toungthoo."—Yule's *Mission to Ava*, Appendix M., page 383.

6 [This is now in the British Museum. Dr. Cushing informs me that Taungʻðû MSS. are frequently to be met with in Shân monasteries, and that the commonest text of all is the *Suttanippan*.—ED.]

7 *Vide* Mouhot's *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, Cambodia, and Laos,* page 24.

8 Savages to the East of Cambodia, called by the Cambodians their elder brothers.

9 [Dr. Cushing informs me that the Taungʻðû Language is closely related to that of the Pghò Karens and that a Taungʻðû can easily learn to make himself intelligible to a Pghò Karen in a short time.—ED.]

10 [It may some day help much in determining the original sound of many Burmese words, which, no doubt have, in historical times, changed their sounds.—ED.]

The Taungðû language, as evidenced by the comparative vocabulary shown below, has closer affinity to Burmese than to Shân or Talaing:

Taungðû.	Burmese.	Meaning.
Ta-pâ[11]	Ta, tit	One.
Nî-pâ	Hna, hnit	Two.
Sôn-pâ	Þôn 8[14]	Three.
Lît-pâ	Lê 8	Four.
Ngat-pâ	Ngâ 8	Five.
Sû-pâ	Chauk	Six.
Nit-pâ	Khuhnit...	Seven.
Sôt-pâ	Shit	Eight.
Kut-pâ	Kô 8	Nine.
Tachî 8[12]	Tasè[15]	Ten.
Mî 8[13]	Nê	Sun.
Lâ	Là	Moon.
Châ	Kyè[16]	Star.
Phâ	Phà	Father.
Mê 8	Mi	Mother.
Lô	Lû	Man.

On the 28th, I started for **Thatôn** and reached it on the same day. **Þatôn**, as the name spelt Thatôn, Thahtun, and Thatone, is pronounced, has been identified by Burmese and Talaing writers as the **Suvaṇṇabhûmi** of the Buddhist books, and the **Aurea Regio** of Ptolemy and others. It is bounded on the east by the Þinganêk Range, which is about 12 miles long, and trends from north to south. On the west is an immense rice plain, which is about 15 miles in breadth, and beyond that is the sea. In the rainy season the plain is covered by water and navigation over it by boat is possible.

According to a Talaing tradition, Thatôn was founded by **Sîharâjâ,** a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. In choosing the site of the new city he consulted his foster-father, the Ṛishi of Zingyaik, and was advised to select a spot where gold was found, and to which a large population would be attracted in a short time. The spot where the Jubilee Memorial Fountain, erected in 1888, is now playing, is still pointed out as the site of the palace of Sîharâjâ and Manuhâ, the first and last kings of Thatôn. Close by is the gold-bearing stream of the Shwêgyaung Sàn, which is perennial and issues from the Þinganêk (Singanika) Hill. Gold is still worked by isolated individuals at the beginning and close of the rainy season, but the quantities obtained are not commensurate with the amount of labour involved.

There are **five Talaing inscriptions** at Thatôn: four in the enclosure of the Shwêzâyàn Pagoda, and the remaining one under a banyan tree at Nyaungwaing. Their palæography indicates that **their age is about 400 years.**

Three brick buildings near the Shwêzâyàn Pagoda are known as the libraries, whence Anôrat'âzô, King of Pagàn, is said to have removed the "five elephant-loads of Buddhist scriptures" in 1057 A. D.

[11] *Pâ* denotes an individual unit. Its cognate form, pronounced with the heavy tone, is employed as a numeral co-efficient in Burmese.

[12] *Ch* in Taungðû is interchangeable with *s* in Burmese.

[13] This word means *fire* in Burmese; but the primitive conception of the sun as the *source of heat* may have possibly existed.

[14] The sign 8 denotes that the syllable to which it is affixed should be pronounced with the heavy tone.

[15] È as ai in 'pair.'

[16] *Ky* = *ch* in Burmese as often as not.

Terra cotta tablets, inserted in niches in the Ḍagyâp'ayâ (pagoda) within the same enclosure are of considerable interest. Most of them have been destroyed, and the meaning of the representations is not accurately understood. But they appear to indicate that the people, whoever they were, who constructed these tablets, **undoubtedly professed Brahmanism or Hinduism,** and that they had attained to some degree of civilization. **Śiva with his trident is the predominant figure**; conveyances are drawn by single ponies, and women wear their hair in big knots at the back of the head. The features of the persons represented are of Mongolian cast, and resemble those of the Karens and Taungṭ̄ûs of the present day.[17]

The Ḍagyâp'ayâ, in common with other sacred edifices built by the Talaings, is constructed of hewn laterite; and the existence of several tanks in its vicinity indicates the source whence this building material was obtained.

There are three sculptures in bas-relief on stone, representing **Vaishṇava symbols,** lying in the enclosure of the Assistant Commissioner's Court-house. These have been removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon.[18]

Nàt (*i.e.* spirit) worship is still, as in other parts of Burma, one of the prevailing forms of belief at Thatôn. I visited the temple of the **Nàt called Phô-phô**=Grandfather. Tradition, which is, in this case, *primâ facie* palpably false, says that, when this Nàt was a human being, he was charged by Sôṇa and Uttara, the Buddhist missionaries who visited Râmaññadêśa in the third century B.C., to safeguard Thatôn against the attacks of the *bilûs* or ogres. The image of Phô-phô represents an old man of about 60 years of age, sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet round the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a *chêk pasô*, or loin-cloth, of the zigzag pattern so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of Phô-phô is an image representing a benign-looking *wun*, or governor, in full official dress. Facing the second image in a separate apartment is the representation of a wild, fierce-looking *bô*, or military officer, in uniform. The fourth apartment on the left of the *bô* is dedicated to a female *nàt*, who is presumably the wife of Phô-phô. But there is no image representing her. It is a noteworthy fact that, as it would be if in India and Ceylon, this temple is held in veneration by various nationalities professing different creeds. The images of the *nàts* are in a good state of preservation, as they are in the custody of a medium, who gains a comfortable livelihood thereby. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour. These *nàts* are to my mind clearly an embodiment of hero-worship, representing some benevolent and sympathetic Burmese governor and his relatives, who left behind them a kindly memory.[19]

On the 31st December, I visited the **Kôkḍênnâyôn Hill,** which is about eight miles to the west of **Bilin.** On the top of the hill are two images representing the Buddhist missionaries, **Sôṇa and Uttara,** in a recumbent posture and with their hands clasped towards a stone vessel placed between them. The vessel is reputed to contain a hair of Gautama Buddha. Around Sôṇa and Uttara are the figures of *yahàndàs*, or Buddhist saints, with full, round, and heavy features. The foreheads of these figures are broad and prominent, but retreating; the nose is big and long; and the mouth large. At the four corners of the platform on the top of the hill, are figures of a strange monster, half man, half beast, called, by a false Palicism, **Manussîha.**

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[17] A description of these tablets is given at pages 716 and 717 of the *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II. [I do not personally quite agree with the statements in the text and will endeavour to show, in a paper now preparing for publication in this *Journal*, that all the Thatôn sculptures are quite compatible with the Buddhist cult.—ED.]

[18] [Though of a most interesting Indian character, it is probably yet premature to state their precise nature.—ED.]

[19] [I may note that, when I was in Thatôn, I was told that they represent a Portuguese governor and his staff, and that they are consulted before entering on any kind of project. If they smile the project will succeed.—ED.]

There is no such Pâḷi word, but the term has been coined to designate a monster with one human head and two lions' bodies. The 'origin' of the *manussîha* is thus recorded in the **Kalyâṇî Inscriptions** :—

"The town (Gôḷamattikanagara= the modern Ayetbèmà in the Shwêgyin district) was situated on the sea-shore; and there was a *rakkhasî*, who lived in the sea, and was in the habit of always seizing and devouring every child that was born in the king's palace. On the very night of the arrival of the two *thêras*, the chief queen of the king gave birth to a child. The *rakkhasî*, knowing that a child had been born in the king's palace, came towards the town, surrounded by 500 other *rakkhasas*, with the object of devouring it. When the people saw the *rakkhasî*, they were stricken with terror, and raised a loud cry. The two *thêras*, perceiving that the *rakkhasî* and her attendants had assumed the exceedingly frightful appearance of lions, each with one head and two bodies, created (by means of their supernatural power) monsters of similar appearance, but twice the number of those accompanying the *rakkhasî*, and these monsters chased the *rakkhasas* and obstructed their further progress. When the *pisâchas* saw twice their own number of monsters created by the supernatural power of the two *thêras*, they cried out: 'Now we shall become their prey, and being stricken with terror, fled towards the sea."

Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (page 622), makes the following pertinent remarks on the origin of this monster: "This illustration (of the Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon) is also valuable as showing the last lineal descendant of these great human-headed winged lions that once adorned the portals of the palaces at Nineveh; but after nearly 3,000 years of wandering and ill-treatment have degenerated into these wretched caricatures of their former selves."[20]

In an image-house at the foot of the hill is a brass bell on which **the old Talaing inscription has been effaced, and a modern Burmese one engraved.** It is, perhaps, hopeless to recover a copy of the ancient inscription.

On the 1st January 1892, I visited the **Tizaung Pagoda at Zôkthôk village,** which is about 6 miles to the **north of Bilin.** The basement of the pagoda is constructed of blocks of laterite, each about 2 feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot in dimension. Some of the images, as well as the receptacles for offerings, &c., placed around it are of the same material, and bear traces of ornamentation. In the neighbourhood are sculptures in relief engraved on large laterite blocks, which are so arranged as to form panels on the face of a wall or rampart of earth 450 feet long and 12 feet high. They are known as the *sindàt-myindàt* (elephants and horses of war); but the representations are those of elephants and tigers, or lions, alternately with those of *nàts* interspersed between them.[21]

The Kêlàbà (Kêlâsa) Pagoda — the Kêlâsabhapabbatachêtiya[22] of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions — was visited on the 2nd January. It is situated on a steep hill about 2,000 feet high, and appears to have been renovated. It derives its sanctity from the tradition that, like the Kyaiktiyô and Kôkbênnâyôn Pagodas, it contains one of the three hairs given by Gautama Buddha to the Ṛishi Kêlâsa. Near the pagoda are **two stone inscriptions cut by King Dhammachêtî.** They are in the Talaing character. The engraved portion of one has been entirely destroyed and only the socket remains standing, while half of the other has been broken. Only one *manussîha*, facing seawards, is found on the pagoda platform. Numbers of square bricks with the representation of a lotus flower impressed upon them are lying about the place.

[20] [The very remarkable resemblance of the *chinthê* of Burma (out of which, no doubt, grew the *manussîha*) to the winged lion of Nineveh, down to the very *beard*, has often impressed me. So also has that of the *tô* of Burma to the winged bull. An intermediary form of the *chinthê* is perhaps to be seen in the two lions couchant (= *chinthê*) from the Amarâvatî Tope in the British Museum.—ED.]

[21] [They probably were intended to represent a military expedition. See below, note 29.—ED.]

[22] [The syllable *bha* in this word is remarkable, and occurs, apparently as a local peculiarity, in other Palicisms of the Talaings. *Eg.*, Tikumbhachêti = the modern Palicized name of the Shwêdagôn Pagoda.—ED.]



No 1. THE KALYÂṆÎ SIMA AT PEGU.



TAW SEIN KO

No 2 THE STONES ON WHICH THE KALYÂṆÎ INSCRIPTIONS ARE CUT.

The Kêlâsa Hill abounds in plants used in Burmese medicine. The plant, called *maukk'adò*, is employed as an antidote against snake-poison, and another, called *k'wêgaungzawet*, is used in curing hydrophobia.

On the same day, the village of Ayetþèmà, which is four miles off, was visited. It is the ancient Taikkulâ and the Gôḷamattikanagara of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions. Dr. Forchhammer in his *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, II. page 7, says: "Though the seashore is now about twelve miles[23] to the west, this place was still an important seaport in the 16th and 17th centuries; it is marked on the map of Professor Lassen as Takkala, but erroneously placed a few miles north of Tavoy. Cables, ropes, and other vestiges of sea-going vessels are still frequently dug up about Taikkulâ."[24]

As to Gôḷamattikanagara (for Gôḷa read Skr. Gauḍa), if the evidence afforded by the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions can be relied on, the settlement in Suvaṇṇabhûmi was apparently colonized from Bengal during one of the struggles for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahmanism and possibly Jainism also.[25] At the conclusion of the third Buddhist Council it was remembered by the mother-country, and missionaries were sent to it in order to re-establish community of faith.

There used to be a Talaing inscription near Ayetþèmà, but it was removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon about eight years ago. Traces of a wall and moat still exist, and fragments of pottery and of glazed tiles are found in the neighbourhood.

Pegu was reached on the night of the 3rd January. Extensive ruins are extant on the east and west face of the town. The ruins at Zaingganaing, on the west side, comprise those of Kalyâṇîsimâ, Mahâchêtî, Yaþêmyô, Kyaikpun,[26] and Shwêgûgyî. There are ten inscriptions at Kalyâṇîsimâ, one at Yaþêmyô and twenty-two at Shwêgûgyî. Between Kalyâṇîsimâ and Mahâchêtî is an enormous image of Gautama Buddha in a recumbent posture, measuring about 181 feet in length. Treasure-hunters have been hard at work among these ruins, and I am told that their acts of vandalism are countenanced both by the *pôngyîs* and the native officials, who expect a share in the "finds." Most of the stone inscriptions have been broken by treasure-hunters, or by pagoda slaves, who were anxious to obliterate the record of their origin. In some cases, the names of persons dedicated as pagoda slaves have been carefully chiselled out.[27]

Pegu is the Thebaid of Râmaññadêsâ, as Pagân is of Burma Proper, and its ruins have great claim to a detailed archæological survey. The Kalyâṇîsimâ is the most interesting of all. (See plate No. 1.) It is an ancient Hall of Ordination, to which Buddhist priests from all parts of Burma, and even from Ceylon and Siam, used to flock to receive their *upasampadâ* ordination. Close by are ten stone-slabs covered with inscriptions on both sides. All of them are more or less broken, but the fragments, which are lying scattered about are

23 Of late, the sea has been encroaching on the land. At the time of my visit, the sites of many villages, which derived their wealth and prosperity from the rice trade, were under water.

24 The subject of the identification of this place with the Takôla of Ptolemy and the Kalah of Arabian Geographers is discussed, *op. cit.*, at pages 12—16, and at pages 198 and 199 of McCrindle's *Ancient India described by Ptolemy.*

25 The Kalyâṇî Inscriptions (1476 A. D), obverse of first stone, say "this town is called to this day Gôḷamattikanagara, because it contains many mud and wattle houses resembling those of the Gôḷa people."

26 Four colossal images of Buddha sitting cross-legged, back to back, and facing the cardinal points. The height of each image is about 90 feet; the thumb measures 8 feet, the arm from the inner elbow-joint to the tip of the middle finger 38 feet, the distance from knee to knee 62 feet. The images represent the four Buddhas, who have appeared in this Kalpa, namely, Kakusandha, Kôṇagamana, Kassapa, and Gautama. Similar images are found at Pagân, the prototype being probably those of Angkor Thôm. [These peculiar images are clearly Cambodian, and form a tower of the ordinary Cambodian type. Terra cotta tablets, much mutilated unfortunately, found in the neighbourhood clearly represent Cambodian figures, such as are common in Pnom-Penh.—ED.]

27 [A common and unfortunate practice all over Burma.—ED.]

capable of restoration. Their average dimensions are about 12 feet high, 4 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot and 3 inches thick. They were set up by **King Dhammachêtî** after he had founded the Kalyâṇîsimâ **in 1476 A. D. The language of the inscriptions is partly Pâḷi and partly Talaing.** (See plate No. 2.) Numerous copies of the Pâḷi portion on palm-leaf are extant, and from two of them I have prepared a text transcribed in the Roman character.[28] The great value of the Kalyâṇî Inscriptions rests on the detailed information they give of the manner in which *simâs* (*þêngs*) should be consecrated in order to secure their validity, of the intercourse of Pegu and Burma with Ceylon and Southern India in the 15th century A. D., and of the Burmese view of the apostolic succession of the Buddhist priesthood.

The **Mahâchêtî Pagoda** is a huge pile of brick and laterite, built by **Hànþâwadî S'inbyûyin** about the middle of the **16th century A. D.** Only the square basement now remains, measuring about 320 feet wide at the base, and about 170 feet high.

Nothing definite is known about the ruins of Yaþêmyô, Kyaikpun, and Shwêgûgyî. In the neighbourhood of the last-named Pagoda, glazed terra cotta tablets exhibiting, in relief, figures of human beings and animals were found lying scattered about. A number of such tablets have been collected in Mr. Jackson's garden near the Kalyâṇîsimâ. All these should be acquired by Government and sent to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. They appear to have been manufactured by colonists from India.[29]

The religious buildings at Pegu suffered greatly at the hands of the **Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito y Nicote, alias Maung Zingà, who held his Court at Syriam** at the beginning of the 17th century, and also at the hands of Alompra's soldiery, who, being incensed at the acts of sacrilege committed by the Talaings during their ephemeral conquest of Burma Proper, wreaked their vengeance when their turn came. It is said that Maung Zingà, who was originally a ship-boy, and was stationed at Syriam to watch events and to represent his master, the King of Arakan, entertained ambitious designs of holding Pegu as a dependency of the Crown of Portugal and of converting the Peguans to Christianity. For the attainment of this object, he allied himself with Byinnyâ Dalà, the Governor of Martaban, who was tributary to Siam, and opened communications with the Viceroy of Goa. He failed in his object and met with his death, because he had alienated the sympathy of the people by breaking down their religious buildings and shipping off to Goa the treasures obtained therefrom in "five ships." In the plaintive words of the *þamaing* or *history* of the Shwêmòdò Pagoda: "Maung Zingà was a heretic, who, for ten years, searched for pagodas to destroy them. Religion perished in Râmañña, and good works were no longer performed."

The **Shwêgûgalê Pagoda** is in a good state of preservation. Its basement consists of a gallery containing 64 images of Buddha, each 4 feet 8 inches high, which were apparently constructed by Siamese architects. It is octagonal in shape, and is a remarkable structure. On each side is an entrance, 6 feet high by 3 feet 2 inches wide, and 7 feet 2 inches long; these entrances lead to an interior gallery, 5 feet 2 inches wide and 7 feet 3 inches high ; the entire gallery, passing round the central portion, measures 246 feet.

Close to the Mazinchaung, is the **Shwênaþâ Pagoda**. It contains an image sculptured in relief on a tablet of sandstone measuring 5½ feet by 4 feet. The image has an Indian cast of features, and is fabled to be shackled with fetters owing to its having once fled from Pegu. It is said that this image, as well as a similar one of the same name on the eastern face of the

[28] [To be published later in this *Journal*. With help from the Government, generously accorded, I am making an effort to restore these invaluable documents to their original condition and to preserve them from further injury.—ED.]

[29] [Through Mr. Jackson's kindness and as a result of a visit by myself to the spot, over 100 of these tablets have been secured for the Phayre Museum. Four are in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford and two in the British Museum. They represent the march, battle and defeat of a foreign (ogre) army. Those found at the other spot mentioned in this article, represent what I take to be Cambodian figures of nobles, and perhaps, ancient Siamese also. A few are inscribed in the Kyaukså (Kiousa) character. Personally, I should doubt their Indian origin.—ED.]

city, were brought away from Taikkulâ. The resemblance between them and the figure of Avalôkitêśvara[30] is very striking, and suggests the idea that they have probably been modified from an Indian original to suit new surroundings.

Near this image was picked up a small terra cotta tablet bearing a Sanskṛit legend which, with other old images lying about the place, was apparently obtained by ransacking the relic-chambers of ancient pagodas. This tablet, now in the British Museum, is of peculiar interest. Some years ago half dozen similar tablets were presented to that museum, which were found at Buddha Gayâ; and the probable history of the specimen found at Pegu is that it was brought from Gayâ as part of the collection of relics procured by the Mission sent thither by king Dhammachêtî in the latter half of the 15th Century, A. D., and deposited in the relic-chamber of some pagoda erected after their return. The legend is said to be the formula of the "three refuges." The general character of the tablet, independently of the inscription on it, is distinctly Indian.[31]

The eastern face of Pegu was visited on the 5th January. The **Shwêmòdò Pagoda**, said to contain two hairs of Gautama Buddha enshrined by Mahâsâla and Chûḷasâla, sons of Piṇḍakamahâsêṭṭhi of Zaungtû, was being re-gilt under the supervision of its trustees. The Pagoda was last repaired by Bôdòp'ayâ, about a hundred years ago, and a broken inscription recording this meritorious act is lying on the Pagoda platform. There is also an ancient brass bell said to have been presented by Byinnyâ Dalà after his conquest of Avâ in 1752 A. D.[32]

Like the Shwêdagôn Pagoda at Rangoon, the Shwêmòdò is a Buddhist shrine of great sanctity. Successive kings of Burma and Pegu lavished their treasures on it in repairing and enlarging it. When originally built, it was only 75 feet high, but as it now stands, it is about 288 feet high, and about 1,350 feet in circumference at the base.

A little to the north-east of the Shwêmòdò is a small hill, fabled to have been the resting-place of two *haṁsa* birds, when the region about Pegu was under the sea. At the foot of this hill are two octagonal pillars of fine granite. The length of one is about 11 feet and that of the other is about 5. They bear no inscriptions, but a tradition is current that they were erected by *kulâ*, *i. e.*, foreign or Indian, merchants, who subsequently claimed the country as their own by virtue of pre-occupation, and that they were driven out by a Talaing prince. However, the true history of the pillars appears to be that, like a similar granite pillar in the ancient town of Tenasserim (Taninδâyî) in the Mergui District, they were erected when Râmaññadêsa was subject to Siamese rule, to mark the centre of the ancient city of **Haṁsâvatî**, and that most probably human beings were buried alive below the pillars, in the belief that the spirits of the deceased would keep an unremitting watch over the city.

A good panoramic view of Pegu and its suburbs is obtained from the **Shwêaungyô Pagoda**, which is situated at the south-east corner of the city walls. At about 700 yards from the southern face is **Jêtûvatî**, the encampment of Alompra, who beleaguered Pegu in 1757 A. D. Within the walls are visible the sites of the palaces of the great kings of Haṁsâvatî, such as

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[30] Plate LV. of *The Cave Temples of India*, by Fergusson and Burgess.

[31] [The legend of the Pegu specimen is by itself mostly illegible, but a nearly identical specimen from Gayâ at the British Museum the inscription is legible enough. It probably is some well-known formula, but it is not that of the "three refuges." There must either have been some reciprocity in the production of these votive tablets between Gayâ and other places whence pilgrims came, or the pilgrims must have induced the local artists to copy inscriptions on their particular gifts in their own various tongues, because among the British Museum specimens is one which has what appear to be imitations of the *Kyauksâ* characters of Burma, much resembling those on the Tenasserim medals figured by Phayre in the *International Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. III., Plates III. and IV., and another has illegible imitation characters on it of some tongue unknown to the artist who made it. Sir Alexander Cunningham has figured some of these tablets, which he calls seals, in his new book, *Mahabodhi*, Plate XXIV. These are apparently from his own collection of finds at Buddha Gayâ, and there are other good samples at the South Kensington Museum, Indian Section, which are wrongly labelled there for the most part.—ED.]

[32] It is said that the Shwêdagôn was raised to its present height in the last century by the Burmese in order to overtop the Shwêmòdò of the Talaings.

Hanbâwadî S'inbyûyin known to European writers as Branginoco,[33] **Yâzâdarît,**[34] **and Dhammachêtî.** Traces of a double wall and moat are also seen, the walls being in good condition.

I have now traversed through the whole of the **ancient Talaing Kingdom of Râmaññadêsa** proper. The stone inscriptions are the chief of many objects of archæological value and should, if practicable, for the purpose of preservation, be removed to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. In the case, however, of inscriptions, whose size and weight render their removal to Rangoon unadvisable, they should be collected at some convenient and central place and arrangements should be made to protect them from the weather. If they remain *in situ* they are liable to become defaced or weather-worn. Manuscripts of historical interest are extremely scarce; the architectural structures have in too many cases been renovated in the modern style; and the religious buildings worthy of conservation are being looked after by the people. No true *stûpas* or topes, like those of India, were met with, and the enquiries instituted failed to elicit any information regarding the existence of any records, lithic or otherwise, in the Asôka character. The absence of any records in this character, both in Râmaññadêsa and at Pagàn, whither it is supposed the Burmese conquerors removed their spoils of war, throws **considerable doubt on the authenticity of the account relating to the mission of Sôṇa and Uttara at the conclusion of the Third Council, as stated in the Mahâvaṁsa and other Buddhist books.** The question, however, may be considered to be an open one, until the information afforded by Talaing, Cambodian, and Siamese records, shall have helped its solution.

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[33] ["Branginoco" represents the title Bayin Naung, perhaps then pronounced Bhurin Nông. It is spelt Bhuran Nôṅ.—ED.]

[34] [This word *Yâzâdarît* is spelt *Râjâdirâj* and seems to clearly equal *Râjâdhirâja*. I may as well note that *Yâzâ-di-badi, Narâ-di-badi, Sênâ-di-badi*, and similar titles in books about Burma are simply the familiar *Râjâdhipati, Narâdhipati, Sênâdhipati*, etc., in disguise. The *Di-ba-di* title, which has puzzled so many writers, is really always the latter part of some title, which includes the term *adhipati*, 'ruler, regent, king,' and means that the holder called himself 'overlord of ———,' whatever the first part of the word might mean.—ED.]

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